



To the PRINCE.

SIR:

Having ended this taske of Obseruations, and according to your grations pleasure & command, supplied such parts as were wanting to make vp the Totall of these Commentaries: it doth return again, by the lowest steps of humbleness, to implore the high patronage of your Princely fauour; Emboldened specially because it carieth Cæsar and his Fortunes, as they come related from the same Author: which, in the deepe Iudgement of his most excellent Maiesty, is preferd aboue all other profane histories; and so, commended, by his Sacred Authoritie, to your reading, as a cheefe paterne and Maiister-peece of the Art of warre. And herein, your admired wisdom, may happely the rather deeme it capable of freer passage, in that it is not altogether vnproper for these happie dayes; as knowing, that Warre is neuer

Aij. so

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ
ΚΟΝ ΔΕ
ΠΟΝ.

so well handled, as when it is made an *Argument* of discourse in times of sweete and plentious peace: The blessings whereof, may euer crowne your yeares; as the soueraigne good of this temporarie life, and the chiefeſt Ornaments of Princely condition.

The humbleſt

of your Highneſſe ſeruants,

CLEMENT EDMONDES.



In Clementis Edmondi de re militari ad Iul. Cæſaris Commentarios Obſervationes.

CPræceperos motus, & aperto prælia Marte
Edmondus nobis pace vigente reſert?
Cur ſenſus mentis que Ducum rimatur, & eſſert?
Diſſerte que Anglos bellica multa docet?
Scilicet, ut mediâ medietur prælia pace,
Anglia bellipotent, nec moriatur bonos,
Promittas hæc certe patriæ depromit hæc uſus,
Vt patria pacem qui cupit, arma parat.

Gull. Camdenus, *Cl.*

To my friend, Maiſter Clement Edmonds.

WHo thus extracts, with more then Chymique Art,
The ſpirit of Bookes, ſhewes the true way to finde
Th' Elixer that our leaden Parts conuert
Into the golden Metall of the Minde,
Who thus obſerues in ſuch materiall kinde
The certaine Motions of hie Præctiſes,
Knowes on what Center th' Actions of Mankinde
Turne in their courſe, and ſees their fatalnes,
And hee that can make theſe obſeruances,
Muſt be about his Booke, more then his Pen,
For, wee may be aſſur'd, hee men can gheſſe,
That thus doth *CÆSAR* knowe; the Man of men,
Whoſe Work, improv'd here to our greater gaine,
Makes *CÆSAR* more then *CÆSAR* to containe.

Sam. Danyell.

To his worthy friend, Maiſter Clement Edmonds.

Obferving well what *Thou* haſt well Obſerv'd
In *CÆSARS* Works, his *Warres*, and *Discipline*;
Whether His Pen hath earn'd more Praise, or Thine,
My ſhalloow Centure doubtfully hath ſwerv'd.
If ſtrange it were, if wonder it deſerv'd,
That what *He wrought* ſo faire, *Hee wrote* ſo fine;
Me thinks, it's ſtranger, that *Thy* learned Line
Should our beſt *Leaders* lead, not hauing ſerv'd.
But hereby (*Clement*) haſt *Theu* made thee knowne
Able to counſaile, apteſt to recorde
The Conqueſts of a *CÆSAR* of our owne;
HENRY, thy Patron, and my Princely Lord.
Whom (O!) Heav'n proſper, and protect from harmes,
In glorious Peace, and in victorious Armies,

IOSVAH SYLVESTER.

TO MY FRIEND, MAISTER
CLEMENT EDMONDES.

Epigramme.

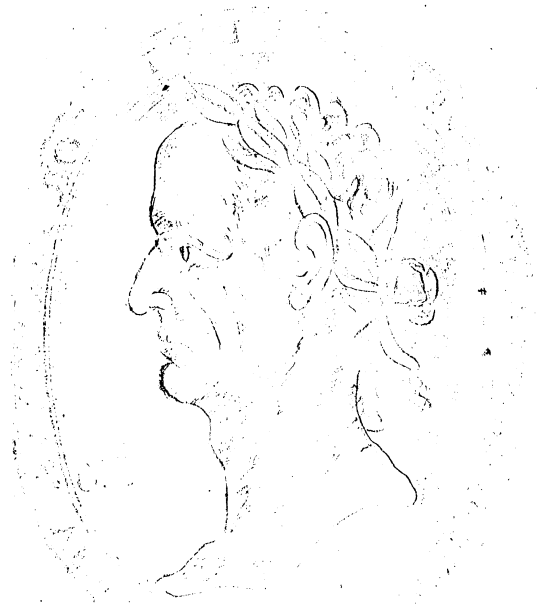
Not *Cæsar* deedes; Nor all his honors wonne
In these West-parts; Nor, when that warre was done,
The name of *Pompey* for an Enemie;
Cato to boote; *Rome*, and her libertie;
All yeelding to his fortune: Nor, the while,
To haue ingrav'd these Acts with his owne stile;
And that so strong, and deepe, as might be thought
He wrote with the same spirit that hee fought;
Nor that his Worke liv'd, in the hands of foes,
Vn-argu'd then: and (yet) hath fame from those;
Not all these, *Edmondes*, or what else, put to
Can so speake *Cæsar*, as thy Labors doo.
For, where his perion liv'd scarce one iust age,
And that 'miditenuy and Parts: then, tell by rage;
His deedes too dying, saue in bookes: (whose good
How few haue read! how fewer vnderstood!)
Thy learned hand, and true Promethean Art,
As by a new creation, part by part,
In euerie councill, stratageme, designe,
Action, or Engine, worth a note of thine,
T' all future time, not only doth restore
His Life: but makes, that hee can dye no more.

Ben. Iouison.

Another, of the same.

Who, *Edmondes*, reads thy booke, and doth not see
What th antique Souldiers were, the moderne be?
Wherein thou shew'st, how much the latter are
Beholden, to this Master of the Warre:
And that, in Action, there is nothing new,
More then to varie what our Elders knew.
Which all, but ignorant Captaines, will confesse:
Nor to giue *Cæsar* this, makes ours the lesse.
Yet thou, perhaps, shalt meete some tongues, will grutch
That to the world thou should'st reucale so much;
And, thence, deprauce thee, and thy Worke: To those
Cæsar stands vp, as from his vrne late rose
By thy great Art: and doth proclame, by mee,
They murder him againe, that enute thee.

Ben. Iouison.





READING AND DISCOURSE

are requisite, to make a Souldier perfect in the Arte

Militarie, how great soeuer his knowledge may be, which
long experience, and much practice of
Armes hath gained.



WHEN I consider the weaknes of mans iudgement, in censuring things best knowne vnto it selfe, and the disabilitie of his discourse, in discovering the nature of vnacquainted objects; choosing rather to hold any sensible impression, which custome hath by long practice inured, then to hearken to some other more reasonable perswasion: I do not maruell that such souldiers, whose knowledge groweth onely by experience, and consisteth in the rules of their owne practice, are hard'y perswaded, that historie and speculative learning, are of any vse in perfecting of their Arte, being so different in nature from the principles of their cunning, and of so small affinity with the life of action; wherein the vse of Armes and achievements of war, seeme to haue their chiefe being. But those purer spirits, embellished with learning, and enriched with the knowledge of other mens fortunes (wherein varietie of accidents, affordeth varietie of instructions, and the mutuall conference of things happened, begetteth both similitudes and differences; contrarie natures, but yet ioyntly concurring to season our iudgement with discretion, and to enstall wisdom in the gouernment of the mind) These men, I say, mounting aloft with the wings of contemplation, doe easily discover the ignorance of such Martialistes; as are only trained vp in the Schoole of practice, and taught their rudiments vnder a few yeeres experience, which serueth to interpret no other author but it selfe, nor can approoue his Maximes, but by his owne authoritie; and are rather moued to pittie their hard fortune, hauing learned one'y to be ignorant, then to entie their skill in matter of ware, when they oppole themselues; against so manifest a truth as this: that A meer practical knowledge, cannot make a perfect souldier.

A i.

Which

Which proposition, that I may the better confirme, giue me leaue to reason a litle of the grounds of learning, and dispute from the habitude of Artes and Sciences; which are then said to be perfectly attained, when their particular parts are in such sort apprehended, that from the varietie of that individualitie, the intellectuall power frameth generall notions and maximes of rule, vnting termes of the same nature in one head, and distinguishing diuersities by differences of properties, aply diuiding the whole body into his greatest and smallest branches, and fitting each part with his descriptions, duties, cautions, and exceptions. For, vnlesse the vnderstanding be in this sort qualified, and able by logistickall discourse, to ascend, by way of composition, from singularity to catholike conceptions; and returne againe the same way, to the lowest order of his partitions, the mind cannot bee saide to haue the perfection of that Arte, nor instructed in the true vse of that knowledge: but guiding herselfe by some broken precepts, feeleth more want by that shee hath not, then benefite by that she hath.

Whereby it followeth, that a Science diuided into many branches, & consisting in the multiplicitie of diuers members, being all so interested in the Bulk, that a Maime of the smallest part, causeth either debilitie or deformitie in the bodie, cannot be said to be thoroughly attained, nor conceiued with such a profiting apprehension as stealeth the mind with true iudgement, and maketh the Scholler. Maister in his Arte, vnlesse the nature of these particularities bee first had and obtained.

And forasmuch as no one Science or faculty whatsoever, in multitude and pluralitie of parts, may anie way be comparable to the Art Militarie, wherein euery small and vnrespected circumstance, quite altereth the nature of the action, and breedeth such disparitie and difference, that the resemblance of their equall participating properties, is blemished with the dissimilitude of their disagreeing parts; it cannot bee denied, but hee that is acquainted with most of these particular occurrences, and best knoweth the varietie of chances in the course of warre, must needs be thought a more perfect souldier, and deserueth a title of greater dignitie in the profession of Armes, then such as content themselves with a few common precepts and ouer-worne rules: without which, as they cannot be said at all to be souldiers; so with them and no more, they no way deserue the name of skilfull and perfect men of war. Now whether meete experience, or experience ioynd with reading and discourse, doe feast the minde with more varietie and choice of matter, or entertaine knowledge with greater plentie of nouelties, incident to expeditions and vse of Armes, I will vse no other reason to determine of this question, then that which Franciscus Patricius alleadgeth in his Parallely, where he handleth this argument which I intreat of.

He that followeth a warre (saith he) doth see either the course of the whole, or but a part only. If his knowledge extend no farther then a part, he hath learned lesse then he that saw the whole; but admit he hath seene and learned the instructions of one whole warre; he hath notwithstanding learned lesse then he that hath seene the proceeding of two such warres. And hee againe hath not
seene

seene so much as another that hath serued in three seuerall warres: and so by degrees, a souldier that hath serued tenne yeeres, must needs knowe more then one that hath not serued so long. And to conclude, hee that hath receiued 22 yeeres stipend (which was the iust time of seruice amongst the Romans before a Souldier could be dismissed) hath greater meanes of experience then another, that hath not so long a time followed the Campe, and cannot challenge a discharge by order and custome. And hence it consequently followeth, that if in one, or more, or all these warres, there haue happened few or no actions of seruice, which might teach a souldier the practice of Armes; that then his learning doth not counteruaile his labor. And if the war through the negligence, or ignorance of the chiefe Commanders, haue bin ill caried, he can boast of no knowledge, but that which acquainted him with the corruptions of Militarie discipline: if the part which he followed, were defeated and ouerthrowne, hee knoweth by experience how to lose, but not how to gaine. And therefore it is not only experience and practice which maketh a souldier worthy of his name; but the knowledge of the manifold accidents which rise fro the varietie of humane actions; wherein reason and error, like Marchants in traffick, interchange contrary euents of Fortune, giuing sometime copper for siluer, and balme for poyson, and repaying againe the like commoditie as time and circumstances doe answere their directions. And this knowledge is only to be learned in the registers of Antiquitie and in histories, recording the notions of former ages.

Caius Iulius Caesar (whose actions are the subiect of these discourses) after his famous victories in France, and that he had gotten the Prouinces of Spaine, broken the strength of the Romaine Empire at Pharsalia, was held a souldier surmounting enuie and all her exceptions: and yet notwithstanding all this, the battell he had with Pharnaces, king of Pontus, was like to haue buried the glorie of his former conquests, in the dishonourable memorie of a wilfull ouerthrow: for, hauing possessed himselfe of a hill of great aduantage, he beganne to encampe himselfe in the toppes thereof. Which Pharnaces perceiving (being lodged likewise with his Camp vpon a Mountaine confronting the Romaines) imbatelled his men, marched down from his camp into the valley, and mounted his forces vp the hill, where the Romans were busied about their intrenchments, to giue them battell. All which, Caesar tooke but for a bravado: and measuring the enemy by himselfe, could not be perswaded that any such foolishhardines could carry men heading into so dangerous an aduventure, vntil they were come so neere, that he had scarce any time to call the legions from their worke, and so giue order for the battell. Which so amazed the Romaines, that vnlesse as Caesar himselfe saith, the aduantage of the place, and the benignitie of the Gods had greatly fauoured them, Pharnaces had at that time reuenged the ouerthrowe of Pompey & the Senat, and restored the Romaine Empire to liberty. Which may learne vs how necessary it is (besides experience, which in Caesar was infinite) to perfect our knowledge with varietie of chances; and to meditate vpon the effects of other mens aduventures, that their harmes may be our warnings, and their happy proceedings our fortunate directions.

And albeit amongst so many decades of History, which pregnant wits haue presented

presented to these later ages, we seldom or never meet with any one accident which hampeth in all points with another of the like nature, that shall happen to fall out in managing a warre, or setting forth of an Armie; and so doe seeme to reape little benefit by that wee read, and make small use of our great travell: Yet we must vnderstand, that in the Audit of Reason, there are many offices, which through the soueraigne power of the discursive facultie, receiue great commodities, by whatsoeuer falleth vnder their iurisdiction, and suffer no action to passe without due triall of his nature, and examination of his state; that so the iudgement may not be defrauded of her reuenues, nor the mind of her learning. For, notwithstanding disagreeing circumstances, and differences of formes, which seeme to cut-off the priuiledge of imitation, and frustrate the knowledge we haue obtained by reading: the intellectuall facultie hath authoritie to examine the use, and looke into the inconueniences of these wants and diuersities, and by the helpe of reason, to turne it to her aduantage; or so to counterpoise the defect, that in triall and execution, it shall not appeare anie disadvantage. For, as in all other Sciences, and namely, in Geometry, of certain bare elements, and common sentences, which sense admitteth to the apprehension, the powers of the soule frame admirable Theoremes and Problemes of infinite use, proceeding with certaintie of demonstration, from proposition to proposition, and from conclusion to conclusion, and still make new wonders as they goe, besides the strangenesse of their Architecture, that vpon such plaine and easie foundations, they should erect such curious and beautiful buildings: so in the Arte Military, these examples, which are taken from histories, are but plaine kind of principles, on which the mind worketh to her best aduantage, and vseth reason with such dexteritie, that of inequalities, shee concludeth an equalitie, and of dissimilitudes most sweet resemblances; and so she worketh out her owne perfection by discourse, and in time groweth so absolute in knowledge, that her sufficiency needeth no further directions. But as Lomazzo the Miliese, in that excellent worke which hee writ of picturing, saith of a skilfull Painter; that being to draw a portraiture of gracefull lineaments, will neuer stand to take the symmetry by scale, nor marke it out according to rule: but hauing his iudgement habituated by knowledge, and perfected with the varietie of shapes and proportions; his knowledge guideth his eye, and his eye directeth his hand, and his hand followeth both, with such facilitie of cunning, that each of them serue for a rule whereby the true measures of Nature are exactly exprest: The like may I say of a skilfull Souldier, or any Artizan in his facultie, when knowledge hath once purified his iudgement, and tuned it to the key of true apprehension.

And although there are many that will easily admit a reconciliation of this disagreement, in the resemblance of accidents being referred to the arbitrement of a well tempered spirit; yet they will by no means acknowledge, that those monstrous & inimitable examples of valour & magnanimity (whereof antiquity is prodigall, & spendeth as though time should neuer want such treasure) can any way auale the manners of these daies, which if they were as they ought to be, wold appeare but counterfeit to the lustre of a golden age, nor yet copara-
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Lib. 3.

ble to siluer or brasse, or the strength of yron, but deserue no better title then earth or clay, whereof the frame of this age consisteth. For, what resemblance (say they) is between the customs of our times, & the actions of those ancient Heroes? They obserued equity as well in war as in peace: for, vertue rather flourished by the naturall disposition of men, then by lawe and authoritie; the tenure of their Empire was, valour in war, and concord in peace; the greatest treasure which they esteemed, were the deedes of Armes which they had achieved for their country, adorning the temples of their gods with pietie, and their priuate houses with glory, pardoning rather then persecuting a wrong, and taking nothing from the vanquished but ability of doing iniury: But the course of our times hath another bias; for, conuoluesse hath subuerted both faith and equity, and our valour affecteth nothing but ambition, pride and cruelty tyrannize in our thoughts, and subtilty teacheth vs to carrie rather a faire countenance, then a good nature; our meanes of getting are by fraud & extortion, and our manner of spending is by waste and prodigalitie: not esteeming what we haue of our owne, but coueting that which is not ours; men effeminated & women impudent, vsing riches as seruants to wickedness, and preuenting Natures appetite with wanton luxurie; supplanting vertue with trechery, & vsing victory with such impietie, as though *iniuriam facere, were imperio vti*: and therefore the exemplary patterns of former times wherein true honour is exprest, may serue to be gazed vpon, but no way to be imitated by this age, being too subtil to deale with honesty, and wanting courage to encounter valour. I must needs confesse, that he that compareth the historie of Luie with that of Guichardine, shall find great difference in the subiects which they handle; for, Luie triumpheth in the conquests of vertue, and in euery page erecteth trophes vnto valour, making his discourse like Cleanthes table, wherein vertue is described in her entire Maiestie, and so sweetened with the presence & seruice of the Graces, that all they which behold her are rapt with admiration of her excellency, and charmed with the loue of her perfection: but Guichardine hath more then Theseus taske to perform, being to winde through the labyrinth of subtilty, and discover the quaint practices of politicians: wherein publike & open designs are oftentimes but shadows of more secret projects, and these againe serue as foiles to more eminent intentions; being also discoloured with dissimulation, and so insnared in the sleights of subtiltie, that when you look for war, you shall find peace; and expecting peace, you shall fall into troubles, dissensions and wars: So crabbed and crooked is his argument in respect of Luies fortune, and such art is required to vnfolde the truth of these mysteries.

But to answere this obiection in a word, and so to proceed to that which followeth, I say those immortal memories of vertue which former time recordeth, are more necessarily to be knownen, then any stratagems of subtler ages: for, equitie and valour being truly apprehended, so season the motions of the soule, that albeit in so corrupt a course, they cannot peradventure stir vp imitation; yet they oftentimes hinder many malicious practices, and diuclish deuities, when euill is reprobred by the knowledge of good, and condemned by the
author

authority of better ages. And if we will needs follow those steppes which the present course of the world hath traced, and plaie the Cretian with the Cretian; this obiection hindereth nothing, but that historie, especially these of later times, affordeth sufficient instructions to make a Souldier perfect in that point.

Let not therefore any man despise the sound instructions which learning affordeth, nor refuse the helps that history doth offer to perfect the weaknes of a short experience; especially when no worth can counteruaile the waight of so great a businesse: for, I take the office of a chiefe Commander, to be a subiect capable of the greatest wisdom that may be apprehended by naturall meanes; being to manage a multitude of disagreeing mindes, as a fit instrument to execute a designe of much consequence and great expectation, and to qualifie both their affectiōs and apprehensions according to the accidents which rise in the course of his directions; besides the true iudgement, which he ought to haue of such circumstances as are most important to a fortunate end: wherein our providence cannot haue enough eyther from learning or experience, to prevent disadvantages, or to take holde of opportunities. Neither can it be denied, but as this knowledge addeth perfection to our iudgement, so it serueth also as a spur to glory, and increaseth the desire of honour in such as beholde the achievements of vertue, commended to a perpetuall posteritie, hauing themselves the like meanes to consecrate their memory to succeeding ages, wherein they may serue for examples of valour, and reap the reward of true honour. Or to conclude, if we thirst after the knowledge of our owne fortune, & long to foresee the end of that race which wee haue taken, which is the chiefe matter of consequence in the vse of Arms; what better coniecture can be made, then to looke into the course of former times, which haue proceeded from like beginnings, and were continued with like meanes, and therefore not unlikely to sort vnto like ends?

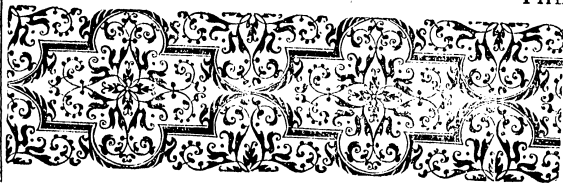
And now if it be demanded whether reading or practice haue the first place in this Art, and serueth as a foundation to the rest of the building? Let Marius answer this question: who enuying at the nobilitie of Rome, saith thus; *Qui postquam Consules facti sunt, ad a Maiorum & Gracorum militaria precepta legere ceperint: homines praepositi, nam legere quam fieri, tempore posterius, et vti prius est.* Whereas (saith he) reading ought to go before practice (although it follow it in course of time; for, their is no reading, but of some thing practiced before,) these preposterous men, after they are made Consuls and placed at the helme of gouernment, begin to read, when they should practice that which they had read; and so bewray their insufficiencie of knowledge, by vsing out of time that, which in time is most necessarie. This testimonie gaue Marius of reading & book-learning, being himselfe an enemy to the same, forasmuch as al his knowledge came by meer experience. But how soeuer, his iudgement was good in this poynt: for, since that all motion and action proceedeth from the soule, and cannot well be produced, vntill the Idea thereof be first imprinted in the minde, according to which patterne the outward being and sensible resemblance is duely fashioned; how is it possible that any action can be well expressed,

fed, when the minde is not directed by knowledge to dispose it in that sort, as shall best agree with the occurrents of such natures, as are necessarily interested both in the means and in the end thereof? And therefore speculative knowledge as the Tramontane, to direct the course of all practice, is first to be respected.

But that I may not seeme partiall in this controuersie, but carrie an equall hand betwene two so necessarie yoke-fellows, giue me leaue to conclude in a word, the benefite of practice, and define the good which commeth from experience; that so nothing that hath bene spoken may seeme to come from affectiō, or proceed from the forge of vniuersall partiality. And first it cannot be denied, but that practice giueth boldnesse and assurance in action, and maketh me expert in such things they take in hand: for, no man can rest vpon such certainty, through the theorie of knowledge, as he that hath scene his learning verified by practice, and acknowledged by the testimonie of assured proof: besides, there are many other accomplishments gotten onely by practice, which grace the presence of knowledge, and giue credit to that which we haue read; as first to learn the vse & aduantage of the Arms which we beare; secondly, by frequent aspect & familiarity of dangers, and accidents of terror, to learne to feare nothing but dishonour, to make no difference between heate and colde, sommer and winter, to sleepe in all places as on a bed, and at the same time to take pains & suffer penury, with many other difficulties which custom maketh easie, and cannot be gotten but by vse and practice.

And thus at length, I haue brought a shallow discourse to an abrupt end, wishing with greater zeale of affection then I am able with manifest proof of reason, to demonstrate the necessitie, that both these parts were by our soldiers so regarded, that neither practice might march in obinate blindness without learned knowledge; nor this againe be entertained with an idle apprehension without practice: but that both of them may be respected, as necessarie partes to make a compleat nature; wherein knowledge as the intellectuall part giueth life and spirit to the action, and practice as the materiall substance maketh it of a sensible being, and like a skillfull workman expresth the excellency, which knowledge hath fore-conceiued: wishing no man to despaire of effecting that by practice, which the Theorie of knowledge commendeth. For, *Cur despicere nunc posse fieri, quod iam toties factum est?*

THE



*THE SVMMME OF THE FIRST
BOOKE OF CÆSARS COMMENTARIES;
WITH OBSERVATIONS VPON THE
same, discouering the excellencie of
Cæsars Militia.*

THE ARGVMENT.

IN this first booke, are contained the specialities of two great warres, begun and ended both in a Summer: the first, between Cæsar & the Heluetij: the second, between him & Ariouistus, king of the Germans. The history of the Heluetians, may be reduced to three principall heads: vnder the first, are the reasons that moued the Heluetians to entertaine so desperate an expedition, & the preparation which they made for the same. The second, containeth their defeat by Cæsar: and the third, their returne into their Country. That of Ariouistus, diuideth it selfe into two parts: the first giueth the causes that induced Cæsar to vndertake that war: the second, intreateth of the war it selfe, and particularly describeth Ariouistus ouerthrow.

Switchers.

CHAP. I.

Gallia described: the Heluetians dislike their native seate, and propound to themselves larger territories in the Continent of Gallia. Orgetorix feedeth this humour, for his owne aduantage.



GALLIA is all diuided into three parts: vvhoreof the Belges do inhabite one, the Aquitanes another, & those which they call Celtes, & we, Galles, a third: all these do differ each from other in maners, language, & in lawes. The riuer Garun doth separate the Galles from the Aquitans, and Marne & Seine doe bound them from the Belges: of these the Belges are most warlike, as furthest off the ciuilitie & politure of the Prouince, & lesse frequented with Merchants, or acquainted with such things as are by the imported to effeminate mens minds: as likewise being sited next to the Germans beyond the Rhene, with whō they haue continuall wars. For which cause also the Heluetians doe

*Matrona.
Seguana.*

doe excell the rest of the Galles in deeds of *Armes*, being in daily conflicts with the *Germanes*, for defence of their owne territories, or by innading theirs. The part inhabited by the Galles, beginneth at the river *Rhone*, and is bounded with *Garun*, the *Ocean*, and the confines of the *Belges*; and reaching also to the *Rhene*, as a *Linnet* from the *Sequans* & *Heluetians*, it stretcheth northward. The *Belges* take their beginning at the extreame confines of *Gallia*, and inhabit the Country which lieth along the lower part of the *Rhene*, trindling to the North, and to the East. *Aquitania* spreadeth itself between the river *Garun* & the *Pyrenean hills*, and buieth upon the *Spanish Ocean*, between the West and the North.

Amongst the *Heluetians*, *Orgetorix* did far exceed all others, both for noble descent and store of treasure: & when *M. Messala* and *M. Piso* were *Consuls*, being stirred up with the desire of a kingdom, he moued the Nobilitie to a commotion; perswading the State to goe out of their confines with their whole power: as an easie matter for them, that excelled all other in valour & prowesse, to seize upon the Empire of all *Gallia*. To which he did the rather perswade the, for that the *Heluetians* were on euery side shut up, by the strength & nature of the place wherein they dwelt; on the one side, with the depth and breadth of the river *Rhene*, which diuideth their Country fro the *Germanes*; on the other side, with the high ridge of the hill *Tura*, which runneth between them & the *Sequans*; & on the third part, they were flanked with the lake *Lemanus*, & the river *Rhone*, parting their territories from our Province.

Hence it happened, that being thus straightened, they could not easily enlarge themselves, or make war upon the bordering Countries: and thereupon, being men wholly bent to *Armes* and war, were much grieued, as hauing too little elbow-roume for their multitude of people, and the renowne they had got of their valor; their whole country containing but 211 miles in length, & 180 in breadth. Spurred on with these inducements, and moued specially with the authority of *Orgetorix*, they resolved to make prouision of such things as were requisite for their expedition; bought great number of Carres, and horses for carriages; sowed much tillage, that they might haue plentie of Corne in their iourney; made peace and amity with the confining Countries. For the persisting and supply of which things, they tooke 2 yeers to be sufficient; and in the third, ended their setting forward by a Solemne Law, asigning *Orgetorix* to giue order for that which remained.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

IE that will examine this expedition of the *Heluetians*, by the transigrations and sittings of other Nations, shall find some vnexampled particularities in the course of their proceeding: for, first it hath neuer bene heard, that any people vterly abandoned that Country which Nature or prouidence had allotted the; vnless they were driuen therunto by a generall calamity, as the infection of the aire, the cruelty & oppresion of a neighbor nation, as were the *Sueuians*, who thought it great honor to suffer no man to border vpon their confines; or


some

some other vniuersall, which made the place inhabitable, and the people willing to vndertake a voluntarie exile. But oftentimes we read, that when the inhabitants of a Country were so multiplied, that the place was over-charged with multitudes of offspring; and like a poore father, had more children then it was able to sustaine, the abounding surplus was sent out to seek new fortunes in fortaine Countries, and to possesse themselves of a resting seate; which might recompence the wants of their native Country, with a plentious reuenue of necessary supplementis. And in this sort, wee read that *Rome* sent out many Colonies into diuers parts of her Empire. And in this manner the ancient *Galles* disburdened themselves of their superfluitie, and sent them into *Asia*. The *Gothes* came from the lands of the *Baltick* sea, & in *Sulla* his time, swarmed ouer *Germanie*; besides many other Nations, whose transigrations are particularly described by *Lazius*. But amongst all these, we find none that so forsooke their Country, but there remained some behind to inhabit the same; from whence, as from a fountaine, succeeding ages might deriue the streame of that over-flowing multitude; and by them take notice of the causes, which moued them vnto it. For, their manner was in all such expeditions, and sending out of Colonies, to diuide themselves into two or three parts, equall both in equalitie and number: for after they had parted their common people into euen companies, they diuided their Nobility with as great equalitie as they could, among the former partitions: & then casting lots, that part which went out to seeke new adventures, left their lands & possessions to the rest that remained at home; and so by industrie, they supplied that defect which continuance of time had drawne vpon them. And this was the meanes, which the first inhabitants of the earth found out after the flood, to people the vnhabited places, and to keepe off the inconueniences of scarcitie and famine.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

IE that would prognosticate by the course of these seuerall proceedings, whether of the two betokened better successe, hath greater reason to foretell happinesse to these which I last spake of, then to the *Heluetians*; vnlesse their valour were the greater, and quitted all difficulties which hatred and enuie would cast vpon them: for, an action which sauoureth of necessitie (which was alwaies vnderstood in sending out a Colony) hath a more plausible passport amongst men, then that which proceedeth from a proud voluntarie motion. For, as men can bee content to tolerate the one, if it concerne not their particular; so on the other side, they count it gaine to punish pride with shame, and to oppose themselves against the other.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

rgetorix, thirsting after princely dignitie, discovereth the humour of vaine-glorie. For, not contented with the substance of honour, being already of greatest power amongst the Heluetians, & ordering the affaires of the State by his owne direction, thought it nothing without the marks and title of dignitie, vnto which the inconueniences of Maiestie are annexed: not considering that the best honor, fitteth not alwaies in imperiall thrones, nor weareth the Diadems of Princes; but oftentimes resteth it selfe in meaner places, and shineth better with obscurer titles.

For prooffe whereof, to omit antiquitie, take the familie of the Medices in Florence, and particularlie, Cosimo and Lorenzo, whose vertue raised them to that height of honour, that they were nothing inferiour to the greatest Potentates of their time, beeing themselves but priuate Gentlemen in that State, and bearing their proper names as their greatest titles. But howsoever; the opportunitie of changing their soile, was well obserued by Orgetorix, as the fittest meanes to attempt an inuouation: but the successe depended much vpon the fortunate proceeding of their expedition.

For, as a multitude of that nature, can bee content to attribute a great part of their happinesse, wherein euery man thinketh himselfe particularly interested, to an eminent Leader; & in that vniuersall extasie of ioy, will easilie admit an alteration of their State: so, if the issue be in any respect vnfürfortunate, no man will acknowledge himselfe faultie; but, euery one desiring to discharge his passion vpon some object, a chiefe director is likeliest to be the mark, at which the darts of their discontent will be throwne; and then he will find it hard to effect what he intendeth.

CHAP. II.

Orgetorix practices are discovered: his death. The Heluetians continue the resolution of their expedition, and prepare themselves accordingly.

Cæsar.



Rgetorix, thereupon, undertook imploiment to the adioyning States, and first perswaded Castiens, the sonne of Catamanthalides, a Sequan (whose father had for many yeeres reigned in that place, and was by the Senate and people of Rome, stiled with the title of a Friend) to possesse himselfe of the Signiorie of that State which his Father formerly inioyed; and in like manner, dealt with Dumnorix the Heaun, Diuitiacus brother (who at that time was the onely man of that Province, & verie well beloued of

the

the Commons) to indeauour the like there; and vntill, gaue him his daughter in marriage: shewing them by lively reasons, that it was an easie matter to effect their desires; for that he being sure of the soueraintie of his State, there was no doubt but the Heluetians would doe much throughout all Gallia, and so made no question to settle them in those kingdoms, with his power and forces. Drawne on with these inducements, they gaue faith and oath each to other, hoping with the support of the soueraintie of three mightie Nations, to possesse themselves of all Gallia.

This thing beeing discovered, the Heluetians (according to their customes) caused Orgetorix to answer the matter in Durance: whose punishment vpon the Attaine, was to be burned alive. Against the day of triall, Orgetorix had got together all his Family, to the number of ten thousand men, besides diuers followers, and others far indebted, which were many; by whose meanes hee escaped a iudiciall hearing. The people, there vpon, being much incensed, agreed, the Magistrate (should execute their lawes with force of Armes, and to that end, (should raise the Country: but in the meane time, Orgetorix was found dead, not without suspicion (as was conceived) that he himselfe was guilty thereof.

Notwithstanding his death, the Heluetians did pursue their former designe of leaving their Country: and when they thought themselves readie prepared, they set fire on all their Townes (which were in number 12) together with foure hundred Villages, besides priuate houses, and burnt likewise all the Corne, saue that they caried with them; that al hope of returne being taken away, they might be the readier to vndergoe all hazards: And commaunded that euery man should carie so much Meale with him, as would serue for three Months.

*Moreover also, they perswaded the Rauraci, the Tulingi and Latobrigi, their neighbour borderers, that putting on the same resolution, they would set fire on all their habitations, and goe along with them. And likewise tooke vnto them the Boij, which had dwelt beyond the Rheine, but were now seated in the Territories of the Norici, and had taken the capitall towne of that Country. There were onely two waies which gaue them passage out of their Country: the one through the Sequans, very narrow and difficult, betwene the Hill Iura, & the Riuier Rhone, by which a single Cart could scarce passe; and had a high hill hanging ouer, that a small force might easily hinder them. The other, was through our Province, farre easier and readier; forasmuch as the riuier Rhone, running betwene the Heluetians and the * Allobroges (who were lately brought in obedience to the people of Rome) did giue passage in diuers places by Foordes.*

The utmost towne belonging to the Allobroges, that bordereth vpon the Heluetians, is Genecus; whereunto adioyneth a bridge leading to the Heluetians; who doubted not but to perswade the Allobroges (that seemed as yet to carry no great affection to the people of Rome) or at least, to force them to giue them passage. Things beeing now ready for their iourney, they assigned a day when all should meete together vpon the banks of Rhone: which day was the first of the Calends of Aprill, in the Consulship of L. Piso, and A. Gabinus.

* Sauoyens.

OBSERVATION.

The omission
in the Helu-
etian expedi-
tion.



These prouisoes were all requisite; so one thing was omitted, which might haue furthered their good fortune more then any thing thought of: which was, to haue concealed by all meanes the time of their departure. For, all the beasts of the wood must needs stand at gaze, when such Lions roused themselves out of their dennes; and be then very watchfull of their safetie when they knew the instant of time, when some of their spoiles must needs bee offered to appease their furie. Or at the least, it behooued them so to haue dealt by hostages and treatie, that such as were likeliest, and best able to crosse their designements, might haue been no hinderance of their proceedings: considering there were but two waies out of their Countrey by which they might goe; the one narrow and difficult, betwene the hill Iura and the riuer Rhone, by the Countrey of the Sequani: the other through Prouence, far easier and shorter, but not to be taken but by the permission of the Romaines. But how-so-euer; their errour was, that after two yeres prouision to goe, and hauing made an exterminating decree which inioyned them to goe, when they came to the point, they knew not what way to goe.

CHAP. III.

Cæsar denieth the Heluetians passage through the
Romane Prouince: he fortisfeth the passage
betwene the hill Iura, and the
lake of Geneva.

Cæsar.

* Rome.



As soone as Cæsar was aduertised, that their purpose was to passe thorough our Prouince, he hastned to leaue the * Cittie, & posting by great iourneys into the further Gallia, he came to Geneva. And inrolling great forces throughout all the Prouince, for that there was but one legion in those parts, he brake downe the bridge at Geneva.

The Heluetians, hauing intelligence of Cæsars arriual, they sent diuers of the best of their Nobility, Embassadors vnto him, whereof Numenius & Veredoſtius were the chiefe; to giue him notice, that they had a purpose to passe peaceably through the Prouince, hauing no other way to goe: & therein to pray his suffe-
rance and permission.

Cæsar, well remembring how Lu. Cæsius the Consull was slaine, his Armie beaten, and the souldiers put vnder the yoke, did not hold it conuenient to grant their request. Neither did hee thinke that men so ill affected, could forbear to offer wrongs & insolencies, if leaue were giuen them as was required. Howbeit, for the better gaining of time, and getting such forces together as were caused

to

to be inrolled, he answered the Commissioners that he would take a time of deli-
beration; and to that end, willed them to returne againe by the Ides of Aprill.
And, in the meane time, with that legion he had ready, and the souldiers that
came out of the Prouince, he made a ditch, and a wall of sixteen foot in height,
from the lake Lemanus, which runneth into the Rhone, to the hill Iura, that di-
uideth the Sequans from the Heluetians, being in length nineteene miles; and
disposed guarizons and fortresses along the worke, the better to impeach them,
if happily they went about to breake out by force.

At the day appointed, when the Embassadors returned, for a resolution, he
utterly denied to giue any leaue to passe through the Prouince; hauing neither
custome nor president from the people of Rome, to warrant him in that kind.
And if they should endeavour it by force of Armes, he would oppugne them.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



His manner of prolonging of time, to reinforce the troupes or get
some other aduantage, as it was then of great vſe to Cæsar, and hath
sometimes been practised to good purpose; so doth it discouer to a
circumspect enimie, by the directions in the meane time (which
cannot easily be shadowed) the drift of that delay; and so inuiceth him with
greater courage, to take the opportunitie of that present aduantage; especial-
ly if tract of time may strengthen the one, and not further the other: which is
easily discerned by the circumstances of the action.


THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



Her request of the Heluetians seemed to deserue a facile answer; be-
ing in effect no more then Nature had giuen to the riuer Rhone:
which was to passe through the Prouince, with as much speed & as
little hurt as they could. But Cæsar, looking further into the mat-
ter, and comparing things already past, with occurrences that were to follow
after, found the maieltie of the Romane Empire to be intercessed in the answer;
being either to maintaine her greatnes, by resisting her enimies, or to dege-
nerate from ancient vertue, by gratifying such as sought her ruine: which in
matter of State, are things of great consequence. And further, hee knew it to
be an vnſafe course, to suffer an enimie to haue meanes of doing hurt; con-
sidering that the nature of man is alwaies prone to loade him with further
wrongs whom hee hath once iniuriured: not but that he could peraduenture be
content to end the quarrell vpon that aduantage; but fearing the other, whom
he wronged, to expect but an opportunitie of reuenge, he gets what aduan-
tage he can before hand, and so ceaseth not, vntill he haue added a bloody end
to an iniurious beginning.

THE

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

 Concerning this marvellous fortification, between the hill & the lake, how terribable such works were vnto him in all his wars; in what fort, and in how small a time they were made; I will deferre the treatise of them vntill I come to the height of Alesia, where he gaue some ground of that hyperbolically speech: *An me deleto, non animaduertebatis decem habere lectas quidem legiones populum Romanum, quæ non solum vobis obfistere sed etiam caelum diruere possent?*

CHAP. IIII.

The Heluetians, failing to passe the Rhone, take the way through the Countrey of the Sequani. Cæsar hasteth into Italie, and there inrolleth more legions: and returning, ouerthroweth part of them at the riuer Arar.

Cæsar.



He Heluetians, frustrated of their former hope, went about, some with boats coupled together, others with Flats (where of they made great store) the rest, by foords and places where the Riuer was shallowe, sometimes in the day, and oftentimes in the night, to breake out: but being beaten back by the helpe of the fortification, and the concourse of souldiers, and multitude of weapons, they desisted from that attempt.

There was onely another way left, through the Sequans, which they could not take, by reason of the narrownesse thereof, but by the fauour of the Countrey. And forasmuch, as of themselves they were able to preuaile little therein, they sent Messengers to Dumnorix the Heduan, that by his mediation, they might obtaine so much of the Sequans. Dumnorix, what through fauour and bountious carage, was of great power in his Countrey, much affecting the Heluetians, by reason of his marriage with Orgetorix daughter: & drawne on with a desire of a kingdome, gaue his mind to new projects; labouring to gratifie many States, to tie them the rather to fauour his courses. And there-upon, vndertaking the business, got the Sequans to giue the Heluetians leaue to passe through their Confinnes, giuing each other Pledges, that the Sequans should not interrupt the Heluetians in their iourney: nor they, offer any iniury to the Countrey.

It was told Cæsar, that the Heluetians were determined to passe through the Territories of the Sequans and Heduanes, on the confines of the Santons, who are not farre from the borders of the Tholians, a people of the Prouince: which if they did, beforeaw how dangerous it would be, to haue a warlike Nation, and such as were enemies to the people of Rome, to come so neere them; and to haue the aduantage of an open and plentiful Countrey.

For

For which causes, he left T. Labienus a Legat, to command those works, and he himselfe made great iourneys to get into Italy; where he inrolled two legions, and tooke 3 more out of their wintering Camps, neer about Aquileia: and with these fine legions, went the next way ouer the Alps, into the further Gallia. Where, by the way, the Centrons, Garocles, and Catariges, taking aduantage of the open ground, did seek to keep the Army from passage: but, being beaten and put off by many skirmages, they came in seauen daies from Ocellum, a towne in the furthest parts of the neerer Prouince, into the confines of the Voconij, a people of the further Prouince: from whence he led them into the territories of the Allobroges; and so onto the Sabusians, that are the first beyond the Rhene, bordering vpon the Prouince.

By that time, the Heluetians had caried their forces through the straights, and frontiers of the Sequans into the Dominions of the Heduanes, and began to forage & pillage their Countrey. Who finding themselves vnable to make resistance, sent Messengers to Cæsar, to require aide; shewing their deserts to be such from time to time of the people of Rome, that might challenge a greater respect, then to haue their Countrey spoiled, their children led into captivity, their townes assaulted and taken, as it were in the sight of the Romaine Army. At the same instant likewise, the Ambarri, that had dependancy & alliance with the Heduanes, aduertised Cæsar, that their Countrey was utterly wasted, and they scarce able to keep the Enemy from entering their townes. In like manner also, the Allobroges, that had farmes and possessions beyond the Rhone, fled directly to Cæsar, complaining that there was nothing left them but the soile of their Countrey.

With which aduertisements, Cæsar was so moued, that he thought it not convenient to linger further, or expect vntill the fortunes of their Allies were all ouerwhelmed, and that the Heluetians were come vnto the Zantones. The riuer Arar, that runneth through the confines of the Heduanes and Sequans, into the Rhone, passeth away with such a stillnesse, that by view of the eye, it can hardly be discerned which way the water taketh. This riuer did the Heluetians passe ouer, by Flotes, & bridges of boats. When Cæsar was aduertised by his Discoverers, that three parts of their forces were already past the water, and that the fourth was left behind on this side the riuer; about the third watch of the night he went out of the Camp with three legions, and surprising that part which was not as yet gotten ouer the riuer, slew a great part of them: the rest fled into the next woods.

This part was the Tigurine Canton: and the Heluetians being all parted into foure diuisions, this Canton alone, in the memory of our fathers, slew L. Cassius the Consul, and put his Army vnder the Take. So, whether it were by chance, or the providence of the Gods, that part of the Heluetian State, which gaue so great a blowe to the Romaine people, was the first that did penance for the same. Wherein, Cæsar took reuenge, not onely of the publique, but of his particular loss; forasmuch as the Tigurines, had in that battell, with Cassius, slain L. Piso, the Grandfather of L. Piso, his father in law.

* Soane.

Zurricke.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

THis defeat being chiefly a service of execution, vpon such as were taken at a dangerous disadvantage, which men call vnware, containeth these two aduises. First, not to neglect that aduantage which Sertorius by the haire of his horse taile hath proued to be very important; that beginning with a part, it is a matter of no difficultie to ouercome the whole. Secondly, it may serue for a caueat, so to transport an Armie ouer a water, where the enemy is within a reasonable march, that no part may be so seuered from the bodie of the Armie, that aduantage may thereby be taken to cut them off altogether, and separate them from themselves. The safest and most honourable way, to transport an Armie ouer a riuer, is by a bridge, placing at each end sufficient troopes of horse and foot, to defend the Armie from suddaine assaults, as they passe ouer the water; and thus went Cæsar ouer the Rhene into Germanie, two seuerall times.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

The manner of this watch.



Concerning the circumstance of time, when Cæsar went out of his Campe, which is noted to be in the third watch, we must vnderstand, that the Romans diuided the whole night into 4 watches, euery watch containing three houres: and these watches were distinguished by seuerall notes and sound of Cornets or Trumpets; that by the distinction and diuersitie thereof, it might easily be knowne what watch was sounded. The charge and office of founding the watches, belonged to the chiefeest Centurion of a legion, whom they called Primpilus, or Primus Centurio; at whose pauiion the Trumpetters attended, to be directed by his houre-glasse.

The first watch began alwaies at sunne-setting, and continued three houres (I vnderstand such houres as the night contained, being diuided into twelue: for, the Romaines diuided their night as well as their day into twelue equall spaces, which they called houres): the second watch continued vntill midnight; and then the third watch began, & contained likewise three houres; the fourth was equall to the rest, and continued vntill sunne-rising. So that by this phrase *de tertia vigilia*, we vnderstand, that Cæsar went out of his Campe in the third watch; which was after midnight: and so we must conceiue of the rest of the watches, as often as we shall find them mentioned in historie.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Cæsar passeth ouer the riuer Arar: his horsemen incountred with the Heluetians, and were put to the worse.



After this overthrow, he caused a bridge to be made ouer the riuer Arar, and carried ouer his Army, to pursue the rest of the Heluetian forces. The Heluetians, much daunted at his suddaine coming, that had gotte ouer the riuer in one day, which they could scarce doe in twentie, sent Embassadors vnto him, of whom Dinico was chiefe, sent Embassadors the Heluetians in the warre against Cæsius: who dealt with Cæsar to this effect; That if the people of Rome would make peace with the Heluetians, they would go into any part which Cæsar should appoint them: but, if otherwise he would prosecute warre, that he should remember the overthrow which the people of Rome receiued by their valour; and not to attribute it to their owne worth, that they had surprized at vnwares a part of their Army, when such as had passed the riuer could not come to succour them. They had learned of their fore-fathers, to contend rather by valour, then by craft and deuices; and therefore, let him beware, that the place wherein they now were, did not get a Name, or carie the vnder destruction of his Army.

To this, Cæsar answered; That he made the lesse doubt of the successe of these businesses, in that he well remembred and knew those things, which the Heluetian Commissioners had related: and was so much the rather grieved thereat, because it happened without any cause or desert of the people of Rome; who, if he were guiltie of any wrong done vnto them, it were a matter of no difficultie to beware of their practices: but therein was his errour, that he could thinke of nothing which he had committed, that might cause him to feare: neither could he feare without occasion. And, if he would let passe former insolencies, could hee forget those late & fresh iniuries in that they had attempted to pass through the Province by force of Armes, sacked and pillaged the Hedunians, Ambar, & Allobrogians? that did so insolently vaunt of their victorie, admiring that these iniuries were suffered so long time to rest vnrerued; came all in the end to one passe. For, the immortal Gods were wont sometimes to giue happinesse and long impunitie to men; that by the greater alteration of things, the punishment should be the more grievous for their offences. Howbeit, if they would giue Hostages for the performance of those things which were to be agreed vpon, and satisfy the Hedunians and Allobrogians, together with their Allies, for the iniuries they had done vnto them, he would be content to make peace with them.

Dinico replied, that they were taught by their Ancestors, to take Hostages rather then to giue them, whereof the people of Rome were witnesses: and there-

upon

upon departed. The next day they remooued the Campe, and the like did Cæsar, sending all his horse before, to the number of foure thousand (which he had raised in the Province, and drawne from the Heduans, & there Associates) to vnderstand which way the Enemy tooke: vwho, prosecuting the reare-ward ouerholty, were forced to vndertake the Heluetian Canallry, in a place of disaduantage; and thereby lost some few of their Company.

The Enemy, made proud with that encounter, hauing with five hundred horse beaten so great a multitude, did afterwards make head vwith more assurance; and sometimes stuck not to fallly out of the Reareward, and assault our Partie. Cæsar kept backe his men from fighting; and held it enough for the present, to keepe the Enemy from spoiling and harrying the Country: and went on for fifteen daies together, in such manner, as there were but five or sixe miles between the first troopes of our Armie, and the Rearward of theirs.

OBSERVATION.



His example of the Heluetians, may lesson a Commaunder, not to weke insolent vpon euery ouer-throwe which the enemic taketh, but ducly to weigh the true causes of a victorie gotten, or an ouer-throwe taken; that apprehending the right current of the action, he may neither vaunt of a blind victorie, nor be dismaied at a casuall mishap.

And heerein, let a heedfull warinesse so moderate the sequells of victorie in a triumphing spirit, that the care and ieaiousie to keep still that sweet sounding fame on foote, may as farre surpasse the indultrie which he first vsed to obtaine it, as the continuance of happinesse doth exceede the beginning of good fortunes. For, such is the nature of our soule, that although from her infancie, euen to the manhood of her age, she neuer found want of that which shee lusteth after: yet when shee meeteth with a counterbuss to check her appetite, and restraine her affections from their satisfaction; shee is as much troubled in that want, as if shee had neuer receiued any contentment at all: for, our will to euerie obiect which it seeketh after, begetteth alwaies a new appetite: which is not satisfied with a former quittance; but either seeketh present paiement, or returneth discontentment vnto the mind.

And, as our soule is of an eueralasting being, and cannot thinke of an end, to her beginning; so shee seeketh a perpetuall continuance of such things which shee lusteth after: which hee that meaneth to hold Fortune his friend, will endeavour to maintaine.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Cæsar sendeth to get the aduantage of a hill, and so to giue the Heluetians battell: but was put off by false intelligence. The opportunitie beeing lost, hee intendeth prouision of Corne.



In the meane time, Cæsar pressed the Heduans from day to day to bring in Corne, according to their promise: for, by reason of the cold temperature of Gallia, which lieth to the Northward, it happened not onely that the Corne was farre from being ripe; but also, that there was scarce forrage for the horses. And, the prouisions which were brought along the riuer Arar, flood him in small speed at that time, forasmuch as the Heluetians had tooke their iourney cleane from the Riuer, and that he would by no means forsake them.

The Heduans, putting it off from one day to another, gaue out still it was vpon coming. But, when Cæsar found the matter so long delaied, & that the day of meting out Corne to the souldiers was at hand, calling before him the chiefest Princes of the Heduans, of whom he had great numbers in his Campe, and amongst them, Dinitiacus and Lifcus, vwho for that time were the soueraigne Magistrates (vwhich they call Vergobret, being yeerely created, & hauing power of life & death) he did greatly blame them, that he was not supplied with Corne from them, the Enemy beeing so neere, and in so needfull a time, that it could neither be bought for money, nor had out of the fields: especially, when for their sake, and at their request, he had vndertooke that vwarre. Whereat hee was the rather grieved, because he found himselfe forsaken of them.

At length, Lifcus, moued vwith Cæsars speech, discovered (which before hee had kept secret) that there were some of great authority amongst the Commons, and could doe more being priuate persons, then they could do being Magistrates. These, by sedicious and bad speeches, did defer the people from bringing Corne: shewing it better for them, sith they could not attaine to the Empire of Gallia, to vndergoe the soueraigntie of the Galles, then the Romaines: for, they were not to doubt, but if the Romaines vanquished the Heluetians, they would bereaue the Heduans of their libertie, with the rest of all Gallia. By these men are our deliberations and counsells, or vwhat soeuer else is done in the Campe, made knowne to the Enemy: neither were they able to keepe them in obedience; but knew well withall, what danger hee fell into, by acquainting Cæsar vwith these things; which was the cause he had kept them from him so long.

Cæsar, perceived that Dammorix, Dinitiacus brother, was shot at by this speech of

Cæsar.

of *Liscus*: but, forasmuch as hee would not haue those things handled in the presence of so manie, hee speedilie brake off the Councell, and retaining *Liscus*, asked priuately after those things which he had deliuered in the Assembly; wherunto he spake more freely and boldly then before. And inquiring secretlie of others, he found it to be true, that *Dumnorix* was of great courage, and singularly fauoured for his liberalitie of the Common people: Desirous of newelties and changes, and for many yeeres, had kept at a lowe rate, the Taxes and Impositions of the *Heduns*; forasmuch as no man durst contradiet what he would haue done. By which courses, he had increased his priuate estate, and got great meanes to be liberall: for, a great number of horsemen, did onely liue vpon his entertainment, and were continually about him, being not onely powerfull at home, but abroad also, amongst diners of the neighbour States. And for this cause, had married his Mother to a great Richman, and of a Noble house, in the Country of the *Bituriges*; himselfe had tooke a wife of the *Heluetians*, had matched his sister by his Mother, and others of his kinne, into other States. For that affinity, hee fauoured and wished well to the *Heluetians*: and on the other side, hated the *Romaines*, and specially *Cæsar*, of all others; for that by their coming into *Gallia*, his power was weakened, and *Dinitiacus* his brother restored to his ancient honour and dignitie. If any misfortune happened to the *Romaines*, his hope was to obtaine the Principalltie by the fauour of the *Heluetians*: where-as the sueraintie of the *Romaines*, made him not onely despaire of the kingdome, but also of the fauour, or what other thing sooner he now inioyed. And *Cæsar* had found out by inquirie, that the beginning of the flight, when the Cavalrie was routed, came from *Dumnorix*, and his horsemen: for, hee commaunded those troopes which the *Heduns* had sent to aide *Cæsar*, and out of that disorder, the rest of the Cavalrie tooke a fright.

Which things being discovered, forasmuch as these suspicions were seconded with matters of certaintie, in that hee had brought the *Heluetians* through the confines of the *Sequans*, had caused hostages to be giuen on either side, and done all those things, not onely without varrant from the State, but without acquainting them therewith. And lastly, in that he was accused by the Magistrate of the *Heduns*, hee thought it cause sufficient for him to punish him, or to commaund the State to doe iustice vpon him. One thing there was which might seem to oppugne all this: the singular affection of *Dinitiacus*, his brother, to the people of *Rome*; the great loue he bare particularly to *Cæsar*; his loyalty, iustice & temperance: and therefore he feared, least his punishment might any way alienate or offend *Dinitiacus* sincere affection. And therefore, before hee did anie thing, hee called *Dinitiacus*, and putting aside the ordinarie Interpreters, hee spake to him by *M. Valerius Proculus*, one of the principall men of the Province of *Gallia*, his familiar friend, and whom hee specially trusted in matters of importance, and tooke notice what *Dumnorix* had uttered in his presence, at a Councell of the *Galles*, shewing also what informations hee had priuately received concerning him: and therefore, by way of aduice, desired, that without any offence to him, either hee himselfe might call him in question, or the State take some course in the same.

Diniti-

Dinitiacus, embracing *Cæsar*, with many teares besought him, not to take anie seuer course vwith his brother; hee knew well that all those things were true, neither was there any man more grieued thereat then himselfe. For, where-as he had credit and reputation, both at home and amongst other States of *Gallia*, and his brother being of small power by reason of his youth, was by his aide and assistance, growne into fauour and authoritie, hee used those meanes as an aduantage, not onely to weaken his authoritie, but to bring him to ruine: And yet neuer thelesse, he found himselfe over-ruled through brotherly affection, and the opinion of the common people. And if *Cæsar* should take any strict account of these offences, there was no man but would thinke, it was done vwith his priuatie, considering the place he held in his fauour; wherevpon, would consequently follow, on his behalfe, a generall alienation, and distaste of all *Gallia*.

As hee uttered these things, with many other words, accompanied vwith teares, *Cæsar*, taking his right hand, comforted him, and desired him to intreat no further: for, such was the respect hee had vnto him, that for his sake, and at his request, hee forgave both the iniurie done to the Common-wealth, and the displeasure which hee had iustly conceived for the same. And therupon, called *Dumnorix* before him, and in the presence of his brother, shewed him wherein hee had deserved much blame and reproofe; told him what hee had understood, & what the State complained on; aduised him to auoide all occasions of mislike for the future; that which was past, hee had forgiven him, at *Dinitiacus* his brothers intreatie. Howbeit, he set espials vpon him, to obserue his courses, that he might be informed what hee did, and with whom hee conversed.

The same day, vnderstanding by the Discoverers, that the Enemy was lodged vnder a Hill, about eight miles from his Campe, he sent some to take a viewe of the Hill, and of the ascent from about the same. Which was found, and accordingly reported vnto him to be very easie. In the third watch of the night, hee sent away *T. Labienus* the Legat, vwith two legions, and those Guides that knew the way; commaunding him to possesse himselfe of the toppe of that Hill. Himselfe, about the fourth watch, marched on after the Enemy, the same way they had gone, sending all his horsemen before.

P. Causidius, that was held for a great souldier, first, in the Army of *L. Sylla*, and afterwards vwith *M. Crassus*, was sent before, with the Discoverers. At the breaking of the day, when *Labienus* had gotte the toppe of the hill, and himselfe was come within a mile and a halfe of the *Heluetian* Campe, without any notice to the Enemy, either of his or *Labienus* approach (as was afterwards found by the Captiues) *Causidius* came running as fast as his horse could driue, and told him, that the Hill vwhich *Labienus* should haue taken, was held by the *Galles*; vwhich hee perceined plainelie by the Armes and Ensignes of the *Heluetians*. Whereupon, *Cæsar* drew his forces to the next Hill, and imbatteled the Armie.


Labienus (according to the directions hee had from *Cæsar*, not to fight, vlesse hee saw his forces neere the Enemies Campe, that they might both at the same time assault them from diners parts at once) when he had tooke the Hill, kept his men from battell, expecting our Armie.

C 2

At

At length, when it was farre in the day, Cæsar vnderstood by the Discoverers, that the Hill was possessed by his Party; as also, that the enemy was dislodged, & that Causidius was so astonished with feare, that he reported to haue seene that which he saw not. The same day, he followed the Enemy, at the distance hee had formerly used, and incamped himselfe three miles from them. The day following, forasmuch as the Army was to be paid in Corne within two daies next after, & that hee was but eigheteene miles distant from Bibract, a great and opulent City of the Hedunns, hee turned aside from the Heluetians, and made towards Bibract.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

 He getting of this hill, as a place of aduantage, was maruelous important to the happy successe of the battell: for, the aduantage of the place is not onely noted as an especiall cause of easie victorie, throughout this historie; but in all their warres, from the very cradle of their Empire, it cleared their Armies from all difficulties, to what extremities forced they were put. The first reason may bee in regard of their Darts & Slings, and especially their Piles; which being a heavy deadly weapon, could not any way bee so auailable, being cast countermont or in a plaine leuell, as when the declinitie and down-fall of a swelling banke, did naturally second their violent impression. Neither can the shock at handy-blowes bee anything so furious (which was a point of great respect in their battels) when the souldiers spent their strength in franchising the iniurie of a rising Mountaine, as when the place by a naturall inclination did further their course.


And to conclude, if the battell succeeded not according to their desire, the fauour of the place afforded them means of a strong retreat, in the highest part whereof, they had commonly their Camps well fenced, and fortified against all chaunces. If it be demanded, whether the vpper ground be of like vse, in regard of our weapons: I answer, that in a skirmish of shotte, I take the aduantage to lie in the lower ground rather then on the hill; for, the pieces being hastily charged, as commonly they are after the first volley, if the bullet chance to lie loose, when the nose of the peece is lower then the breech, it must needs flie at random, and be altogether vneffectuall: but when the nose shall be raised vpward to the side of a hill, the bullet being rammed in with his owne waigitt, shall flie with greater certaintie and furie; considering the nature of the powder to be such, that the more it is stoppt and shut in, the more it seeketh to enlarge his roome, and breaketh forth with greater violence and fury.

Concerning other weapons, I take the vpper ground in the shocke and encounter, to be aduantageous, as well for the sword as the pike, and would deserue as great respect, if the controuersie were decided by these weapons, as fildome times it is.


THE

Places of aduantage in the Roman warres.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

 Y Causidius his demeanour, we see that verified which Physitions affirme, that Nothing will sooner carrie our iudgement out of her proper seate, then the passion of feare: and that amongst souldiers themselves, whom custome hath made familiarlie acquainted with horror and death, it is able to turne a flock of sheepe into a Squadron of Corslets, & a few canes or Osiers, into Pikes and Lanciers. Which may serue to aduise a discret General, not easily to credit a relation of that nature, when a man of reputation, in so perfit a discipline, and so experienced in the seruice of three famous Chiefes, was so surpris'd with feare, that hee could not discern his friends from his enemies: but I will speake more of this passion, in the war with Ariouistus.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

 N euery relation throughout the whole course of this historie, the first words are commonly these, *Refrumentaria comparata*; as the foundation & strength of euery expedition, without which no man can manage a war, according to the true maximes and rules of the Art Military: but must be forced to relieue that inconvenience, with the losse of many other aduantages of great consequence. Which gaue occasion to Gaspard de Coligni, that famous Admirall of France, amongst other Oracles of truth, wherewith his mind was maruelously enriched, often to vse this saying; that He that wil shape that beast (meaning war) must beginne with the belly. And this rule was diligently obserued by Cæsar, who best knew how to express the true portraiture of that beast, in due proportion & liuely resemblance.

The order of the Romans was, at the day of measuring, to giue corne to euery particular souldier, for a certain time, which was commonly defined by circumstances: and by the measure which was giuen the, they knew the day of the next payment; for, euery footman receiued after the rate of a bushell a weeke, which was thought sufficient for him and his seruant: for, if they had paid the their whole stipend in money, it might haue bene wasted in vnecessary expenses: but by this means they were sure of prouision for the time determined: & the sequell of the war, was proudly cared for by the Generall.

The Corne being deliuered out, was husbanded, ground with hand-milles, which they caried alwaies with them, & made into hasty cakes, dainty enough for a souldiers mouth, by no other but themselves and their seruants. Neither could they sell it or exchange it for bread; for, Salust reckoneth this vpay way their corne, which was giuen the by the Treasurer, & bought their bread by the day. And this manner of prouision had many speciall comodities, which are not incident to our custome of victualing: for it is impossible, that victualers should

Their manner of victualing

should follow an Armie vpon a cruice, in the Enemies Countrey, twentie or thirtie daies together, with sufficient prouision for an Armie: And by that meanes, the Generall cannot attend aduantages & fittest opportunities, which in tract of time are often offered; but is forced either to hazard the whole, vpon vnequall tearmes, or to found an vnwilling retreat.

And whereas the Victualers are for the most part voluntarie, respecting nothing but their gaine; and the souldiers on the other side, carelesse of the morrow, and prodigall of the present: in that turbulent mar-market, where the seller hath an eye onely to his particular, & the buyer respecteth neither the publique good, nor his priuate commoditie, there is nothing to be looked for, but famine and confusion: Where-as the Romans, by their manner of prouision, imposed the generall care of the publique good vpon the chiefe Commander, whose dutie it was to prouide store of Corne for his Armie; and the particular care vpon euery priuate souldier, whom it especially concerned to see, that the allowance which the Common-weale had in plentifull manner giuen him, for his maintenance, might not bee wasted through negligence or prodigallie: which excellent order, the nature of our victuals will no way admit. Their Prouinces, & the next confederate States, furnished their Armies continually with Corne; as it appeareth by this place, that for prouision of graine, he depended altogether vpon the Hedul: and, when they were in the Enemies Countrey, in the time of haruest, the souldiers went out to reape and gather Corne, and deliuered it threshed and cleafed to the Treasurer, that it might be kept vntill the day of payment.

But, to leaue this frugall and prouident manner of prouision, as vnpossible to be imitated by this age, lets returne to our historie, and see how the Heluetians were ledde, by a probable error, to their last ouerthrowe.

CHAP. VII.

The Heluetians follow after Cæsar, and ouertake
the Rereward. He imbattaileth his legions vpon the
side of a hill: and giueth order for
the Battaile.

Cæsar.



Hereof the Enemy beeing aduertised, by certaine fugitives of the troope of horse, commaunded by L. Emilius presently; whether it were that they thought the Romaines did turne away for feare (and the rather, for that the day before, hauing the aduantage of the upper ground, they refused to fight) or whether they thought to cut them off from prouision of Corne, they altered their purpose, and turning back againe, beganne to attack our men in the Reare. Which Cæsar perceiuing, hee drew his forces to the next hill, and sent the Canalic to sustaine the

the charge of the Enemy: and in the meane time, in the midst of the hill, made a triple battell, of foure legions of old souldiers; and vpon the highest ridge thereof, he placed the two legions which he had lately inrolled in the hither Gallia, following the cariages in one place: which he commaunded to be fenced & guarded by those that were in the uppermost battalions.

The Heluetians, on the other side, conuained their cariages and impediments into one place; and hauing beaten back Cæsars horsemen, with a thick-thronged Squadron, they put themselves into a Phalanx, & so pressed under the first battell of the Romaine legions.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



Concerning the true sense of this triple battell, which Cæsar made vpon the side of the hill, I vnderstand it according to the ancient custome of the Romaines; who in the infancie of their Militarie discipline, diuided their Armie into three sorts of souldiers, *Haslati*, *Principes*, and *Triarij*: for, I omit the *Velites*, as from front to back. In the first battell were the *Haslati*, and they possessed the whole front of the Armie, and were called *Acies prima*. Behind these, in a convenient distance, stood the *Principes*, in like sort and order disposed, and were called *Acies secunda*: and lastly, in a like correspondent distance, were the *Triarij* imbattelled, and made *Acies tertiam*.

Their legion consisted of tenne Companies, which they called cohorts, and euery cohort consisted of three small Companies, which they named *Manipuli*: a maniple of the *Haslati*, a maniple of the *Principes*, and another of the *Triarij*, as I will more particularly set downe in the second booke. And as these three kinds of souldiers were separated by distance of place from front to backe: so was euery battell diuided into his maniples; and these were diuided by little allies and waies, one from another, which were vied to this purpose: The *Haslati*, being in front, did euer begin the battell: & if they found themselves too weake to repell the enemy, or were happily forced to a retreat, they drew themselves through these allies or distances, which were in the second battell, betweene the maniples of the *Principes*, into the space which was betweene the *Principes* and the *Triarij*; and there they rested themselves, whilst the *Princes* tooke their place, and charged the Enemy. Or otherwise, if the Commanders found it needfull, they filld vp thole distances of the *Principes*: and so, vnited with them into one body, they charged the enemy all in grosse; and then, if they preuailed not, they retired into the spaces between the *Triarij*, and so they gaue the last assault, all the three bodies being ioyned all into one.

Now, if we examine by the current of the history, whether Cæsar obserued the same order and diuisions in his warres, we shall find little or no alteration at all: for, first, this *triplex Acies* heere mentioned, was no other thing but the diuiss.

The manner
of their im-
battelling.

By triplex
Acies.

diuision of the *Hastati*, *Principes* and *Triarii*, according to the manner of the first institution. And least any man should dreame of that ordinary diuision, which is likewise threelold, the two cornets and the battell, and in that sense he might say to haue made *triplicem Aciem*, let him vnderstand, that the circumstances of the diuision haue no coherence with that diuision: for, in that hee saith of the Heluctians, *successerunt Aciem primam*, pressed neere the first battell or Vanguard, hee maketh it cleare that the Armie was diuided into a triple battell from front to backe: for, otherwise, hee would haue said, *successerint dextram aut sinistrum cornu, aut mediam Aciem*: for so were the parties of that diuision teamed. Again, in the retrait which the Heluctians made to the hill, when he saith that the first and second battell followed close vpon the enemy, and the third opposed it selfe against the *Boji* and *Tulingi*, & stood ready at the foote of the hill, to charge the legions in the flanke and on the backe: It is manifest, that no other diuision can so fitly be applied to this circumstance, as that from front to back.

But that place in the first of the Ciuill warres taketh away all scruple of controuersie, where he vseth the verie same teames of *prima*, *secunda*, and *tertia Acies*: for, beeing to incampe himselfe neere vnto Afranius, and fearing least his souldiers should be interrupted in their work, he caused the first and second battell to stand in Armes, & keepe their distance, to the end they might shroud & couer the third battell (which was imploied in making a ditch behind them) from the view of the enemy; and this kind of imbattelling, Cæsar obserued in most of his fights: by which it appeareth, that he vseth the verie same order and discipline for imbattailing, as was instituted by the old Romaines.

Concerning the ancient names of *Hastati*, *Principes*, and *Triarii*, which Ramus in his *Militia Iulij Cæsaris*, vrgeth to be omitted throughout the whole historie, I grant they are sildome vled in these Commentaries, in the sense of their first institution: for, the *Hastati*, when the discipline was first erected, were the youngest and poorest of the legionarie souldiers. The *Principes*, were the lustie and able bodied men: and the *Triarii* the eldest, and best experienced. But in Cæsars Campe, there was little or no difference either of valour or yeeres, betwene the *Hastati*, *Principes* or *Triarii*; which hee nameth, *Prima*, *Secunda*, and *Tertia Acies*: and therefore, were neuer teamed by those names, in respect of that difference.

Notwithstanding, in regard of order and degrees of discipline, that vertue might be rewarded with honour, and that time might challenge the priuiledge of a more worthy place, the said distinctions and teames were religiously obserued: for, in the battell with Petreius at Ilerda in Spaine, hee mentioneth the death of Q. Fulginius, *ex primo Hastato legionis quarta decima*: and in the ouerthrowe at Dyrrachium, he saith, that The Eagle-bearer being grievously wounded, commended the safetie of his Ensigne to the horsemen, all the Centurions of the first Cohort beeing slaine, *prater principem Priorem*. And for the *Triarii*, there is no teame more frequent in Cæsar, then *Primipilus*; which name, by the rules of the ancient discipline, but to the chiefeest Centurion of the first maniple of the *Triarii*: whereby it appeareth, that the man-

Lib. 1. de bello
Ciuili.

Lib. 3. de bello
Ciuili.

ples

ples kept the same names in regard of a necessary distinction, although peraduenture the *Hastati* were as good souldiers, as either the *Principes* or the *Triarii*.

As touching the spaces betwene the maniples, whereinto the first battaile did retire it selfe if occasion vrged them, I neuer found any mention of them in Cæsar. Excepting once heere in England, where, in a skirmish the Brittaines so vrged the court of guard, which kept watch before the Romaine Camp, that Cæsar sent out two other Cohorts to succour them; who making distance betwene them as they stood, the court of guard retired it selfe in safetie, through that space into the Campe: otherwise, we neuer find that the first battell made any retreat into the allies, between the maniples of the second battell; but when it failed in any part, the second and third went presently to second them: as appeareth in the battell following with Ariouistus and in diuers others.

Concerning the vfe of this triple battell, what can be said more then Lipsius hath done; where he laien open the particular commodities thereof, as farre forth as a speculative iudgement can discern of things so far remote from the vfe of this age, which neuer imitateth this triple battell, but only in a march: for, then commonly they make three companies; a vanguard, a battell, and a reuerward: but in imbattelling, they draw these three Companies all in front, making two cornets and the battell, without any other troops to second them. But let this suffice concerning Cæsar his manner of imbattelling, and his *triplex Acies*, vntill I come to the second booke; where I will handle more particularly the parts of a legion, and the commoditie of their small battallions.

Lib. 5. de mili-
tia Romana

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

THe Macedonian Phalanx, is described by Polybius, to bee a square battell of Pikemen, consisting of sixteene in flanke, and five hundred in front; the souldiers standing so close together, that the pikes of the first ranke, were extended three foote beyond the front of the battell: the rest, whose pikes were not seruiceable, by reason of their distance from the front, couched them vpon the shoulders of those that stood before them; and so locking them in together in file, pressed forward, to hold vp the sway or giuing backe of the former ranks, and so to make the assault more violent and vnersittable.

A Phalanx
described.

The Grecians were very skilfull in this part of the Art Militarie, which containeth order and disposition in imbattelling: for they maintained publique professors, whom they called *Tactici*, to teach & instruct their youth the practice and Art of all formes conuenient for that purpose. And these *Tactici*, found by experience, that sixteene in flanke, so ordered as they were in a Phalanx, were able to beare any shock, how violent so-euer it charged vpon them: which number of sixteene, they made to consist of foure doubles: as first vnitie maketh no order, for order consisteth in number & pluralitie; but vnitie doubled, maketh two, the least of all orders, and this is the double: which doubled againe,

again, maketh the second order, of foure souldiers in a file, which doubled the third time, maketh eight, and this doubled, maketh 16, which is the fourth doubling from a vnite; and in it they staied, as in an absolute number and square, whose roote is foure the Quadruple, in regard of both the extremes: for every one of these places, the *Tactici* had severall names, by which they were distinctly knowne. But the particular description requireth a larger discourse, then can be comprehended in these short obseruations. Hee that desireth further knowledge of them, may read Elianus, that lived in the time of Adrian the Emperour: and Arianus in his historie of Alexander the great: with Mauritius, and Leo, Imperator; where he shall haue the diuisions of *Tetraphalanx*, *diphalanx*, *Phalangia* vnto a vnite, with all the discipline of the Grecians. The chiefest thing to be obserued, is, that the Grecians, hauing such skill in imbatellling, preferred a Phalanx before all other formes whatsoever; either because the figure in it selfe was very strong: or otherwise, in regard that it fitted best their weapons, which were long pikes and targets. But, whether Cæsar teamed the battell of the Heluetians a Phalanx, in regard of their thicke manner of imbatellling onely, or otherwise, forasmuch as besides the forme, they vied the naturall weapon of a Phalanx, which was the pike, it remaineth doubtfull. Brancario, in his discourses vpon this place, maketh it no cōtrouersie, but that every souldier carried a pike and a target. The target is particularly named in this historie: but it cannot so easily be gathered by the same, that their offensive weapons were pikes. In the fight at the baggage it is said, that manie of the legionarie souldiers were wounded through the cart-wheeles, with *tragulas* and *materas*, which are commonly interpreted Speares and Laurelins: and I take them to be weapons longer then common darts: but whether they were so long as the Sarissas of the Macedonians, I cannot tell. Howloeu; this is certaine, that the Heluetians haue euer been reputed for the true *Phalangia*, next vnto the Macedonians; and that in their thicke and close imbatellling, they failed not at this time of the forme of a Phalanx: for they rooted it so thicke with targets, that Cæsar saith they were sore troubled, because manie of their targets were fastened and tied together, with piles dorted through the. Which argueth, that their Phalanx was very thicke thronged, whatloeu; their weapon was.

CHAP. VIII.

Cæsar sendeth away al the horses of ease; exhorteth his men; and beginneth the battell.



Cæsar, to take away all hope of safety by flight, first caused his own & then all the private horses of ease to be carried out of sight, and so vnto some motives of courage, began the battell. The souldiers casting their Piles, with the aduantage of the hill, did easily breake the Heluetians Phalanx, & then with their swords betook themselves to a furious close.

THE

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



He ancient Sages found it necessary, to a faithfull and serious execution of such an action, to prepare the minds of their men with words of encouragement, and to take away all scruple out of their conceits, either of the vnlawfulnessse of the cause, or disadvantage against the Enemy: for, if at any time that saying be true, that *Oratio plus potest quam pecunia*, it is here more powerfull and of greater effect. For, a donative offer, and doe oftentimes breed a suspicion of deauour, euer yielding to a better that are willingly enriched with them: and so maketh them slack to discharge their seruice with loyalty: yea, oftentimes of friends to become enemies. But inasmuch as speech discloseth the secrets of the soule, and discouereth the intent and drift of every action, a few good words laying open the iniurie which is offered to innocencie, how equity is controlled with wrong, and iustice controlled by iniquitie (for, it is necessary that a Comander approve his Cause, and settle an opinion of right in the mind of his souldiers, as it is easie to make that every man relieth vpon anothers knowledge, and respecteth nothing lesse the right) a few good words I say, will so stirre vp their minds in the seruicenesse of the cause, that every man will take himselfe particularly ingaged in the action by the title of Equite; and the rather, for that it iumpeth with the necessity of their condition. For, men are willing to doe well, when well-dooing agreeth with that they would doe: otherwise, the Act may formerly be effected, but the mind neuer approueth it by assent.

And this manner of exhortation or speech of encouragement, was neuer omitted by Cæsar in any conflict mentioned in this historie: but hee still vied it as a necessary instrument to set vertue on foote, and the onely meane to stir vp alacritie. Or if it happened that his men were at any time discouraged by disaster or crosse accident, as they were at Gergobia, & at the two ouerthrowes he had at Dyrrachium; he neuer would adventure to giue battell, vntill he had encouraged them againe, and confirmed their minds in valour and resolution. But this age hath put on so scornfull a humor, that it cannot heare a speech in this key, found it neuer so gaudely, without scoffing and derision: and on the other side discontinuance of so necessarie a part, hath bred at length such an *inutilem pudorem* in our chiefe Commanders, that they had rather lesse the gaine of a great aduantage, then buy it with words to be deliuered in publike.

Speeches of encouragement before they giue battell.

Lib. 7. de bello Gallico.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



In this Chapter we may further obserue the violence of the Roman pile, which being a heauie deadly weapon, could hardly be frustrated with any resistance, and in that respect was very proper and effectuall against a Phalanx, or any other thicke and close battell, or where.

The Roman Pile described.

wherefoever elle, the stroke was certaine, or could hardly deceive the aime of the caſter: for, in ſuch encounters, it fo galled the enemy, that they were neither able to keep their order, nor anſwere the aſſault with a reſiſting counterbuſſe. By which it appeareth, that the onely remedie againſt the Pile was, to make the ranks thinn; allowing to euery ſouldiour a large poſſime or place to ſtand in, that ſo the ſtroke might of it ſelfe fall without hurt, or by fore-ſight bee prevented; as it ſhall plainly appeare by the ſequell of this hſtorie, which I will not omit to note, as the places ſhal offer themſelues to the examination of this diſcourſe.

But as touching the Pile, which is ſo often mentioned in the Romaine hſtorie, Polybius deſcribeth it in this maner; A Pile, ſaith he, is a caſting weapon, the ſtaffe whereof is almoſt three cubites long, and it hath *palmareſ diametrum*, a hand breadth in thickneſſe. The ſtaues were armed with a head of iron, equall in length to the ſtaffe it ſelfe: But in that fort, that halfe the head was faſſened vp to the middle of the ſtaffe, with plates of iron, like the head of a Halbert: and the other halfe ſtucke out at the end of the ſtaffe, like a pike, containing a fingers breadth in thickneſſe, and ſo decreaſing leſſe and leſſe, vnto the point, which was barbed. This head was ſo ſlender toward the point, that the waight of the ſtaffe would bend it as it ſtucke, as appeareth in this battell of the Heluetians. This weapon was peculiar to the Romans, and was called *Pilum*, as Varto noteth of *Pilum* a Peſtell, *quod Hoſtes ferierit ut pilum*. Lipſius, finding that *Palmareſ diametrum*, was too great a thickneſſe to be managed by any mans hand, interpreteth it to be foure inches in circuit, if the ſtaffe were either round or ſquare, for they had of both forts, and ſo hee maketh it very manageable; but nothing anſwerable to the deſcription, giuen by Polybius, either in forme or waight.

Patricius, in his Paralleli, maketh the ſtaffe to haue *palmareſ diametrum* in the butte end, but the reſt of the ſtaffe he maketh to decreaſe taper-wiſe, vnto the head of iron, where it hath the thickneſſe of a mans finger; and ſo it anſwereth both in forme and waight to a Peſtell, as may be ſeene by the figure, and I take it to bee the meaning of Polybius. Patricius in that place ſetteth downe foure diſcommodities of the Pile. Firſt, a furious and hot ſpirited enemy will eaſily prevent the darting of the Pile, with a nimble and ſpeedy cloſe: And ſo wee read, that in the battell which Caſar had with Ariouſtus, the Germanes came ſo violently vpon them, that the ſouldiers caſt away their piles, and betooke them to their ſwords. And likewise, in that woorthy battell betwene Cateſine and Marcus Petreius, they caſt away their piles on either part. The ſecond diſcommoditie was, that the piles being ſo heauie, could not be caſt a nic diſtance; but were onely ſeruiceable at hand. Thirdly, they could not bee caſt with any aime, or as they ſay, point blank. And laſtly, the ſouldiers were to take aduantage of ground backward when they threw them: which might eaſily diſorder their troopes, if they were not very well experienced.

THE

Lib. 3. de mil-
lita Romand

Lib. 5.

Saluſt.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

THe laſt thing which I obſerue in this ſpecialitie, is, that the legionarie ſouldiers had no other offenſiue weapon, but one pile or two at the moſt, and their ſwords. By which it may bee gathered, that all their victories came by bucking at handy-blows; for, they came alwaies ſo neere before they caſt their pile, that they left themſelues no more time then might conueniently ſerue them to draw their ſwords: neither would their Armes of defence, which was compleat, beſides a large target which they carried on their left arme, ſuffer them to make any long purſuit, or continued chafe, whenſoever a light armed enemy did make any ſpeedie retreat; as will more plainly appeare by that which followeth.

CHAP. IX.

The Heluetians, fainting in the battell, retire to a Hill: the Romans follow after, and the battell is continued.

(..)



Twas a great hinderance to the Gallies in their fight, that manie of their Targets were ſtrooke through, and tied together vwith one fall of a pile: for, ſo it happened, that it could neither be pulled out by reaſon of the bowing of the Iron, nor could they uſe their left hand for the defence of themſelues. Whereby it fell out, that many of them (after a wearifome toile) did caſt away their targets, and fought naked, and vnarmed. At length, fainting vwith wounds, they began to giue place, and retreated to a Hill a mile off.

The Hill being taken, and the Legions following on to drine them ſro thence, the Boij and Tulingi, to the number of fifteene thouſand, being in the Reare of the Enemy, to guard the lagge of their Army, ſetting on our men, as they were in purſuit of the reſt, did charge them vpon the open ſide, and beganne to incloſe them about: which, the Heluetians, that had got the Hill, perceiving, beganne againe to ſal vpon our men, & renewed the battell. The Romaines diuiding themſelues, turned their Enſignes two waies; the firſt and ſecond Armie fought againſt the Heluetians that returned from the Hill, and the third battell rooke charge of them that ſtood ready to incloſe them about. And heere the fight was doubtfull and furious for a long time; vntill at length they were no longer able to indure the violence of the legionarie ſouldiers: and ſo one part betooke themſelues as at the firſt, to the Hill; and the other, to the place where their Carts and baggage were lodged.

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And

Caſar.

And hitherto there was not one man seene to haue turned his backe in all this conflict; although the fight continued from the seauenth houre vntill the euening.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

*The Ensignes
of the Ro-
maines.*

Uncerning the Ensignes of the Romaines; wee are to vnderstand that the chiefe Ensigne of euey Legion, was an Eagle: which alwaies attended vpon the Primipile or chiefe Centurion of the said Legion. The Ensigne of a Maniple was, either a Hand or a Dragon, a Woole or a Sphinx; as it appeareth (besides the testimonie of historie) by the Columne of Traiane in Rome, wherein the Ensignes are figured, vvith such purtraitures: so that these Ensignes, resembling the proportions of liuing creatures, had their fore-parts alwaies caried that way which the legions were to march, or where they were to fight. And therefore in this history, by the aspect and carying of the Ensignes, the front of the Armie was commonly noted: as in this place it is said, that the Ensignes of the first and second battell, were caried towards the hill, whither the Heluetians had made their retreat; & the Ensignes of the third battell looked another way, towards the *Boji* and *Tulingi*, which stood on the foote of the hill. By which is signified, how the legions were diuided to resist the brunt of the double encounter.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

*The diuision
of their day.*

Uncerning the time of the day: wee are to vnderstand, that the Romaines vsed not the same diuision of the day as we commonlie doe: for, they diuided their artificiall (which is the space betwene sunne rising and setting) into twelue equall parts, which the Astronomers called vnequall or planetarie houres. The first houre of the day beganne alwaies at sunne rising; the sixt houre was alwaies high noone; and the twelfth houre was sunne setting. And, as the day waxed longer or shorter, so these houres were either greater or lesse: neither did they agree with equall or equinoctiall houres, such as are now vsed, but onely at the *Aequinoctium*: so that by this manner of reckoning, *ab hora septima ad vesperrum*, is meant, the battell beganne about one of the clocke, according to our Computation, & continued vntill the euening. The like we must vnderstand, throughout this whole historie, as often as there is mention made of the circumstance of time.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

The Heluetians continue their fight at the caria-
ges: but at length they left the field, and mar-
ched towards Langres.

(..)



IN like manner, the fight was kept on foote at the carriages, vntill it was farre in the night; the place being fortified vvith Cartes in sleet of a Rampier: and the Enemy casting their weapons from the upper ground, and vvith darts and laurelins, vnder the vvaggons, and from between the wheeles, did wound and gall many of our men. After a long conflict, our souldiers tooke their carriages and their Campe: vvherein Orgetorix daughter, and one of his sonnes vvore taken. There vvore saued out of that battell, about one hundred and thirtie thousand persons; vvho marching continually all that night, and making no stay in any place, came the fourth day into the confines of the Lingones: for, by reason of the souldiers hurts, and the buriall of the slaine, wherein there was spent three daies, there was no pursuit made after them.

Cæsar.

Langres.

OBSERVATION.

IF we consider the nature of the action, and looke into the true cause of their ouerthrow, as farre as the right sence of the historie shall direct our iudgement, wee shall find valour not to be wanting in the Heluetians, but rather superlatiue abounding in the Romans. For, that vehement opinion of their valiancie and manhood, which caried them out of the streights of the Country, to seek larger fortunes in other kingdoms, was not so abated with the losse of the fourth part of their Host at the river *Ara*; nor with the terrible furie of those veteran legions: but it yielded this effect, which Cæsar in his estimate of valour thought memorable, that for five houres space or more, there was not one man seene to haue turned his backe. Their maner of imbattailing, had not the Romaines been the enemy, was vviresistable. For, being cast into a Phalanx, which in the Plaines of Asia had made Alexander the great and the Macedonians famous, they did as farre surpass any other forme of imbattelling (supposing that the conueniencie of the place did fit that disposition) wherein the strength of the whole is diuided into many particulars, as the violence of a great body exceedeth the force & motion of his parts, when it is diuided into smaller cantons. For, as in a phalanx, many particular souldiers are by a close & compact order incorporated into one entire body: so their severall vertues are gathered into one head, & are as parts vnited into one general force; which easily swaloweth vp the ability of many other lesser quan-

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quantities, into which a greater strength is equally diuided.

The aduantage of the place which they got by reitrait, & the double charge wherewith they ingaged the Romaines, both in front and flank, was able in an indifferent confict, to haue made Fortune fugitiue, and beare armes on their side: or at the least, so to haue steemed the swelling tide of victorie, which carried the Romaines so violently in the chase, that they might haue beene equall sharers in the honor of the day; had it not followed from an Ocean of valour, whose course could not be hindered with any stops and oppositions, vntill it came to that height, which true valour and vnexampled resolution affected. And yet the height of this courage, could not so allay the heat of the Heluetians furie; but it brake forth into dangerous flames, when it came to the place where their cariages were laid, and cost much blood and many mens liues before they quitted the place: for, they fought with that spirit and industrie, as though they meant to make triall, whether their fortune would proue no better in the night then it had done in the day.

The ouerthrowe of the Tigurine Canton at the riuer Arar, proceeded rather from want of good directions (which is the lesse to be maruelled at, considering they had no chiefe Commander as wee read of) then from any defect of valour: for, the rules of Militarie gouernment, require especiall care in passing ouer a water; for, then especially, an Armie is in greatest danger, when it is disordered and diuided. And therefore the Romaines archiued this victorie by the horrible vigilancy (as Tully calleth it) of their Cōmander: who alwaies watched *opportunitates rei bene gerende*, as necessary and speedy means to ouercome in all his warres.

*Periculi semper
ab hostibus gra-
uissimū sustine-
re diuini & inor-
dinati exerci-
tus.*

CHAP. XI.

Cæsar, after three daies respite, followeth after the
Heluetians: he taketh them to mercy, and
sendeth them backe againe to the
Country.

Cæsar.



Cæsar sent Letters and Messengers to the Lingones, forbidding to supply them, either with Corne, or any other thing; which if they did, hee wouold esteeme of them as of the Heluetians. Himselfe, after three daies respite, followed after with all his forces. The Heluetians, pressed with the want of all necessarie provisions, sent Commissioners vnto him, to treat of their reddition. Who, meeting him on the way, cast themselves at his feete; and with humble vwoords and teares, desired Peace. Being commaunded to attend in the place they then were, they accordingly obaied. Cæsar, being come vp vnto them, required hostages, together with their Armes and seruants; as also the fugitiues that were fledde vnto them.

While

While those things were sought out, and brought, in the night time, six thousand men or thereabouts, of the Canton, called Verbigene, whether moued through feare of being executed, after their Armes were giuen up, or induced with hope of escaping (as thinking that amongst such a multitude of people, that were there to be rendred, their flight should not be missed, or at least wouold be concealed) did in the beginning of the night, leaue the Heluetian Camp, & made towards the Rhene, and the confines of the Germanies.

Cæsar, vnderstanding through whose territories they passed, commaunded them to seeke them out, and bring them back againe, if they would be blamelesse in that behalfe: And being brought back, dealt with them as enemies. All the rest, after Hostages, Armes and fugitiues were giuen in, hee receiued to mercie; and commaunded the Heluetians, Tulinges, and Latobriges, to retorne into their Country from whence they came. And forasmuch, as hauing lost all their provision of Corne, there remained nothing at home to satisfie hunger, hee gave order to the Allobroges to supply them with Corne; and willed the Heluetians to redifie their Townes and Citties, that they had before destroyed & forsaken. Which he did specially for this cause; that the Germanies inhabiting beyond the Rhene, might not be invited with the richnesse of that soile, to seate themselves so neer neighbours to the Prouince of Gallia, and the Allobroges. The Boij, at the mediation of the Heludans, as knowing them to be men of great valour, were permitted to dwell in their Country; to whom they gave lands and possessions, and receiued them into the same liberties and immunities, as they themselves inioyed.

In the Heluetian Campe was found a List, or Register, writ in Greeke, and brought to Cæsar, containing by pole, the whole number that left their Country, how many of them were able to beare Armes: & in like manner, the boies, old men and women, were inrolled apart by themselves. The summary wherof was, that the whole number of the Heluetians, amounted to 263 thousand, the Tulinges, to 36 thousand, the Latobriges to 14, the Rauracks to 23, the Boij to 32. Of these there were that bare Armes, 192 thousand. The totall of all, were 363 thousand. A view being taken by Cæsars appointment, of those that returned home, there were found 110 thousand.

OBSERVATION.

THe directions concerning their rendry & retorne, were very found, and of good consequence. For first, in that he cōmanded them to attend his coming, in the place where they were, hee tooke away all motions of new trouble, which often remoues might haue caused, by the opportunity of some accident which might haue happened: assuring himselfe, that their aboad in that place would increase their miseries, and consequently ripen that desire of peace which they made shew of; considering that the Lingones, in whose territories they were, durst not for feare of Cæsars displeasure, furnish them with any necessaries in that extremitie. Touching the security, which the Romaines required, of the loyalty of such people as they conquered; their maner was to take as hostages, a sufficient number of the men

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children of the chiefeit men of that Nation : whose liues depended vpon their Parents fidelitie, and ended with the first suspicion of their rebellion. Which custome, besides the present good, promised the like or better securitie to the next age; when as those children by conuersation and acquaintance should be so affected to the Romaine Empire, that returning to their own country, their actions might rather tend to the aduancement thereof, then any way be prejudiciall to the same. And, least the loue of libertie and freedome, should preuaile more with them, then that affection which Nature had inioyned them to beare to their children; he did what hee could to take away the meanes and instruments of their rebellion, by causing them to deliuer vp such Armes & weapons as were there present: and so to become suitable to that petition of peace which they had made.

The summe of all is this; he corrected the insolencie of a furious people, and reduced them to a feeling of their owne madnesse. He kept them from sacking the possessions of many thousands, in the continent of Gallia; and sent them backe againe to continue their name and Nation, in the place where they first inhabited; which continueth vnto this day. And thus we see, that there is no humour to head-strong, nor so backt with strength of circumstances, but it may meete with a remedie to qualifie the insolencie thereof, and make it subiect to correction and controulement.

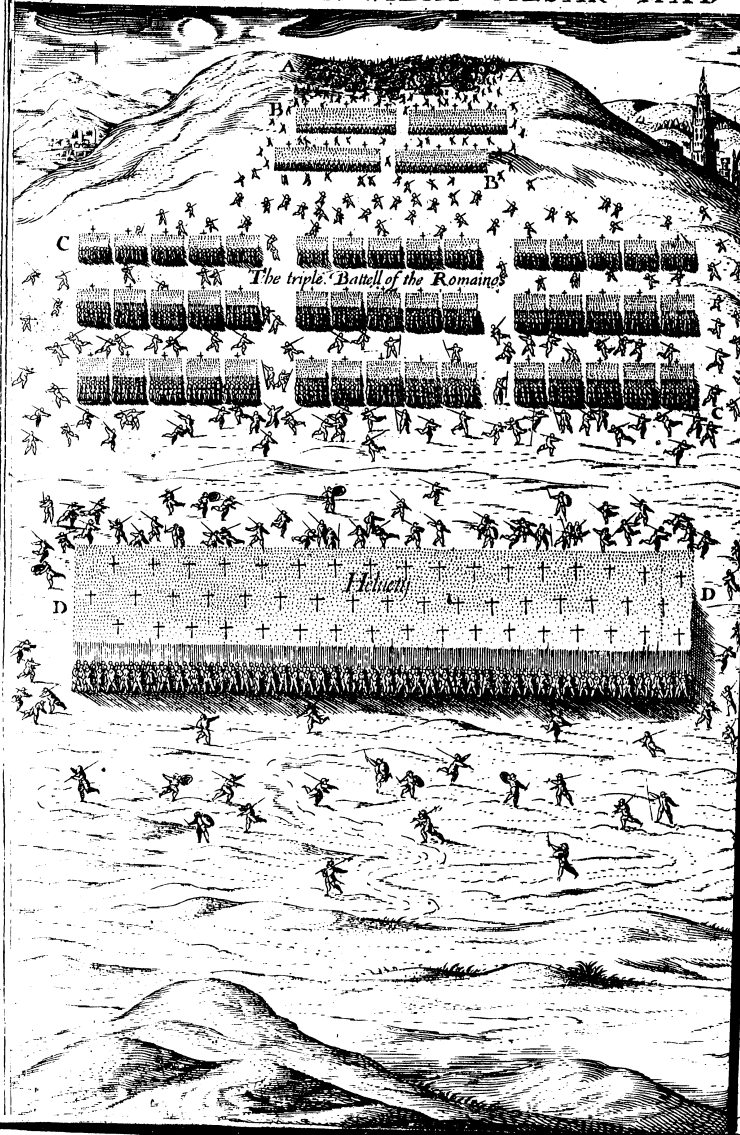
CHAP. XII.

The States of Gallia congratulate Cæsars victorie:
*they call a councell, and disouer their inward
griefe, concerning Ariouistus and
his forces.*

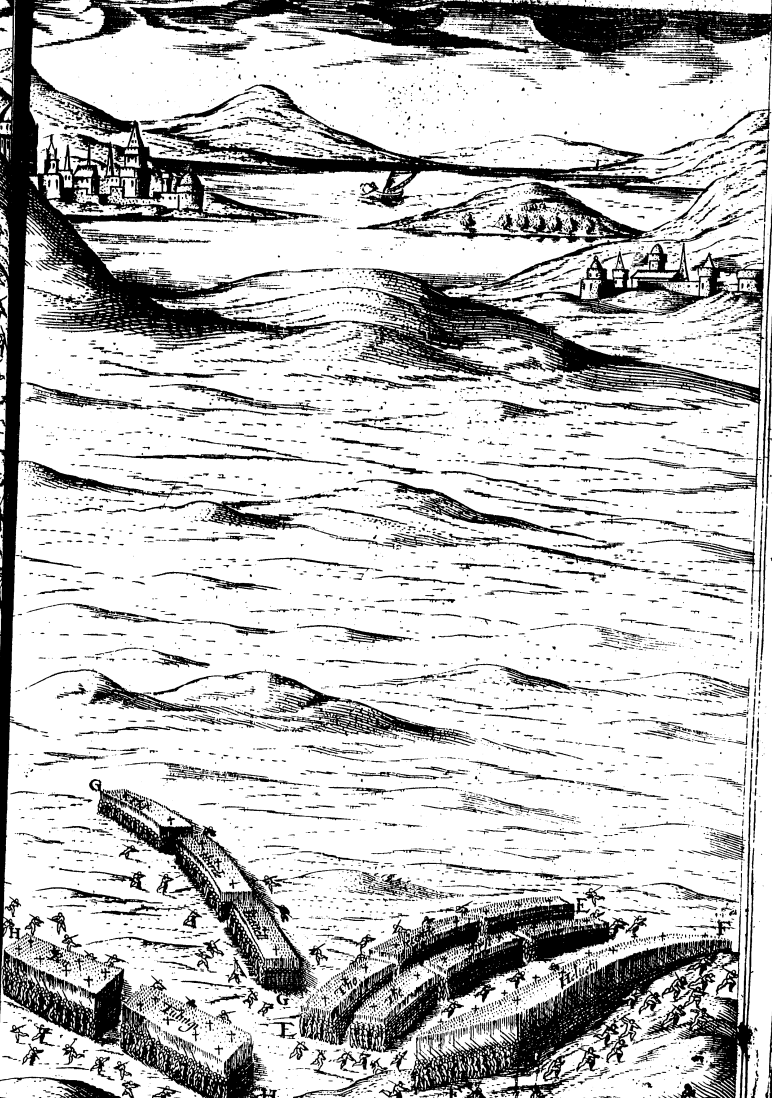
Cæsar.

THe Heluetian warre beeing thus ended, the Princes and chiefe men of all the States of Gallia, came to Cæsar, to congratulate the happinesse of this victorie; insomuch as they well vnderstood, that albeit the people of Rome, had by the course of this warre reuenged the iniuries which heere-to-fore they had done vnto them: yet neuertheless, the issue thereof did redound no lesse profitable to the peace of Gallia, then to the Romaine Empire; forasmuch as the Heluetians, left their houses and Country, abounding with all plenty and prosperitie, for no other purpose, but to innuade the whole Country of Gallia, & to bring it in subiection to themselves; and, chusing out of that large Continent, some fitte, and fruitfull place of habitation, to make the rest of the States their Tributaries: And required further, that with his good leave they might call a generall assembly at a day prefixed, of all the States of Gallia, forasmuch as they had matters of great importance to be handled, which they desired (with a common consent)

THE BATTLE WHICH CÆSAR HAD



WITH THE HELVETIANS.



to preferre to his consideration. Which beeing graunted, and the day of meeting appointed, they bound themselves by oath, not to reucale the causes of their assembly, but to such as should be designed by common Councell.

The Parlement beeing broken up, the same Princes returned to Caesar, and desired that they might in secret treat with him, of the safety of themselves, and all the rest: which beeing granted, cast themselves in lamentable manner at his feete, contending with as great earnestness, that those things which they deliuered, might not be reucaled, as they did to haue their petition graunted: forasmuch as they saw, that the discouerie of such declarations as they propounded, would necessarily pull upon them most grievous afflictions.

Dimitrius the Heduan, in the name of the rest, deliuered; that Gallia was diuided into two factions: the Hedui were the head of the one, and the Auerni of the other. These two States, contending many yeeres for the principallitie, the Auerni, with the Sequans their Clients, hired the Germanes to take their part; of whom, at first, there passed ouer the Rhene some fiftene thousand: but afterwards, these barbarous people, hauing tasted the plentie & ciuilitie of the Galles, drew ouer many more, that now there were no lesse then one hundred & twentie thousand. With these, the Hedui & their Clients, had once or oftener fought; but the successe sorted to their owne calamitie, & the utter ouerthrowe of their Nobilitie and Senate: with which losses, they were so broken and decayed, that where-as heretofore, as well by their owne credit, as by the fauour of the people of Rome, they strooke a great stroake throughout all Gallia, they were now driuen to deliuer the chiefest of their State, as pledges to the Sequans, and to binde themselves by oath, neuer to seeke their release or freedome, nor to implore the aide of the people of Rome, nor to seeke meanes to free themselves from their serueraignty; onely himselfe, of all the Heduans, could not be brought to take that oath, or to give his children as hostages: for which cause he fled to Rome, and besought helpe of the Senate, beeing no way obliged to the contrary, either by oath or hostages.

But it so fell out, that the victorie became more grievous to the Sequans then to the Heduans; for that Ariouistus, king of the Germanes, was planted in their territories: and beeing alreadye possessor of a third part of their Country, which was the best part of all Gallia, did now require the Sequans to forgoe another third part, for that a few months before, there were come vnto him twentie foure thousand Harndes, to whom lands and possessions were to bee allotted. Whereby it would come to passe within a few yeeres, that all the Galles would be driuen out of their dwellings, and all the Germanes would come ouer the Rhene; for, there was no comparison betweene Gallia and Germanie, either in richnesse of soile or fashion of life.

Concerning Ariouistus, after he had once defeated the Galles in a battell, neer Amagetobrig, he caried himselfe very cruelly, and insolently, requiring the children of all the Nobility for hostages, & shewing strange examples of torture vpon them. If any thing were done, not according to his commaund or desire, hee would easilie shew himselfe to be a barbarous, fierce and hasty man, whose tyranny they could no longer indure: and vnlesse there were helpe to be found in Caesar

and

and the people of Rome, all the Gallies must as the Helueticans did, forsake their Country, and seeke new houses, and (seates of habitation, farre remote from the Germanes, and try their fortunes, what-euer befell them. If these things should happily be discovered to Ariouistus, he would doubtlesse take a seuerer reuenge of all the pledges in his custodie. Cæsar might by his owne authority, or the presence of his Armie, or by the renoune of his late victory, or by the countenance of the people of Rome, keepe the Germanes from transporting any more Colonies into Gallia, and defend it from the iniuries of Ariouistus. This speeche being deliuered by Dinitiacus, all that were present, with much weeping besought Cæsar to giue them reliefe.

Cæsar obserued, that onely the Sequans of all the rest, did no such matter, or were so affected as the others were; but with their heads hanging downe, looked mournfully vpon the ground: and wondering at it, asked them the cause thereof. To which they made no reply, but stood silent, with the same countenance of sorrow. And hauing oftentimes iterated his demaund, without gaining any word of answer; Dinitiacus the Heduan, replied, that the state of the Sequans, was heerein more miserable and grievous then the rest; that they of all others, durst not complaine, or implore aide, although it were in secret: as hauing before their eyes the crueltie of Ariouistus being absent, no lesse then if he were present. And the rather, for that other men had safe meanes of flying away: but the Sequans, hauing receiued Ariouistus into their Country, and made him Maister of their townes, were necessarily to undergoe all miseries.

These things being knowne, Cæsar encouraged the Gallies with good words, and promysed them to haue a care of that matter, as hauing great hope, that by his meanes and power, Ariouistus should bee forced to offer no further iniuries. And therevpon dismissed the Councell.

OBSERVATIONS.

IN this relation, there are diuers points woorthily recommended to the discretion of such, as are willing to bee directed by other mens misadventures. As first, into what extremities ambition doth driue her thirstie fauourites, by suppressing the better faculties of the soule, and setting such vnbridled motions on foote, as cary men headlong into most desperate attempts. For, as it had deserued commendation in either faction, so to haue caried their emulation, that by their owne meanes & strength applied to the rule of good gouernment, their authoritie might wholly haue swaied the inclination of the weaker states: so was it most odious in the Sequani, to call in forraigne forces, to satisfie the appetite of their vntempered humor; and in the end, were accordingly rewarded.

Secondly, it appeareth how dangerous a thing it is, to make a stranger a stickler in a quarrell which ciuill dissension hath broched, when the partie that called him in, shall not be as able to refuse his assistance vpon occasion, as he was willing to entertaine it for aduantage. Lastly, the often discontentes of these

these States shew the force of a present euill, which possesseth so vehemently the powers of the soule, that any other calamitie, which already past, or yet to come, how great soeuer, seemeth tolerable and easie, in regard of that smart which the present griefe inflicteth.

So the Sequani, chose rather to captiuate their libertie to the Barbarisme of a sauage Nation, then to indure the Hedui to take the hand of them. And againe, to make themselves vassalls to the Romans, rather then indure the vsurping crueltie of the Germanes. And finally (as the sequell of the historie will discouer) to hazard the losse of life and Country, then to suffer the taxes & impositions of the Romans: So predominant is the present euill in mens affecti- ons, and so it preuaileth at the feare of our iudgement.

CHAP. XIII.

The reasons that moued Cæsar to undertake this warre.



Any were the inducements which moued him to take that businesse to hart; As first, that the Heduan, who were oftentimes siled by the Senate with the title of Bretheren, Cousins and Allies, were in the seruitude and thraldome of the Germanes, and that their hostages were with Ariouistus and the Sequans: which in so great a soueraigntie of the people of Rome, he tooke to be very dishonourable, both to himselfe and the Common-weale; as also, for that hee saw it very dangerous for the Roman Empire, that the Germanes should accustom, by little and little, to stocke in such multitudes into Gallia. Neither did he thinke he could moderate or restraine such fierce & barbarous people; but, that hauing possessed all the Continent of Gallia, they would, as the Cimbri and Teutons had done before, breake out into the Prouince, and so into Italy: especially the Sequans; being diuided from the Prouince but with the riuer Rhone.

These things he thought fitte with all speede to preuent: and the rather, for that Ariouistus was growne to that pride and arrogancie, as was not to be suffered. For which respect, he thought it expedient to send Embassadors vnto him, to appoint some indifferent place for parlee; for that he had to treat with him, concerning publique affaires, and some matters that did much import both of them.



OBSERVATIONS.

May heere take an occasion, to speake somewhat concerning the authoritie of the Roman Generals, which we see to be very large; considering that Cæsar of himselfe, without any further leave of the Senate & people of Rome (for what may be gathered by this historie) did

Cæsar.

The author-
tie of the Ro-
ma Generals.

did undertake a warre of that consequence, and put in iopardie the Legions, the Prouince, or what other interest the Romans had in Gallia.

Wherein we are to vnderstand, that when the state of Rome did allotte the gouernment of any Prouince to a Proconsull, they did likewise recommend vnto him, the carefull managing of such accidents, as might any way concerne the good of that regiment. For, considering that such causes as may trouble a well ordered gouernment, are as well externall and forraigne, as internall, and bred within the bounds of that Empire: it had been to small purpose, to haue giuen him onely authoritie, to maintaine a course of wholesome gouernment at home; and no meanes to take away such oppositions, which forraigne accident might set vp against him. And so we see, that Cæsar vnderooke the Heluetian warre, in regard of the safetie of the Prouince: and this againe with Ariouistus, least the Germans should multiply in Gallia, that the Prouince it selfe might at length bee endangered. Neither had their Generalls authoritie onely to undertake these warres: but the absolute disposition also of the whole course thereof, whether it were to treat, capitulate, compound, or what els they thought convenient for the aduancement of the Common-weale, did wholly rest vpon their direction; *repub. bene gesta*, beeing the stile of the warrant for all their actions.

Neither may we thinke, that any subordinate or depending authoritie, can be so powerfull in the course of businesse, as that which absolutely commaundeth without controulement, and proceedeth according to the opportunitie of time and occasion, further then either prescription or limitation can direct it. And therefore, whensoever the Romaine affaires were distressed, and driven to an exigent, they created a Dictator, that had *regiam potestatem*, such an absolute commaund, that whatsoeuer power rested either in the Consuls, or in the Tribunes, in the Senate, or in the people, it gaue way to the greatnesse of that Magistrate; that there might bee no let or retracting power to weaken that course, which nothing but an absolute commaund could establish, for the good of the Common-weale. And yet notwithstanding this absolute gouernment, they attributed such power to the course of humane actions, that by the punishment which they inflicted vpon dissolute and vnfortunate Leaders, they seemed to acknowledge, that no man, how circumspect, could promise more then likelihoods or probabilities of good fortune, as farre forth as his meanes and industry could attchieue it. For, old M. Fabius, pleading for the life of his gallant sonne, and opposing the rigour of Papyrius the Dictator, with examples of antiquitie, saith: *Populi quidem, penes quem potestas omnium rerum esset, ne iram quidem unquam atrocioris fuisse in eos qui temeritate atque inscitia exercitus amississent, quam ut pecunia eos multaret: capite antiquitum ob rem male gestam de imperatore nullum ad eam diem esse*. The people, saith he, in whom the soueraigne power of things consisteth, neuer shewed greater displeasure against such, as had lost an Armie, either by rashnesse or vnskillfulnesse, then imposing a fine vpon them: but, to bring the life of a Generall in question for failing in his indeauours, was neuer heard of to that day.

The condition of the inferior Officers of their Campe, was farre otherwise

Liue lib. 8.

in

in regard of Militarie discipline: for, prescription guided them in all their seruices, and the chieft part of their dutie was obedience; although they saw euident reason to the contrarie, and found their directions vnperfect in that behalfe: and therefore Cæsar saith vpon that occasion: *Alia sunt legati partes atque imperatoris: alter omnia agere ad prescriptum, alter libere ad summam rerum consulere debet*. The office of a Legate or Lieutenant, differeth from that of a Generall: the one doing all things by prescription; & the other freely deliberating of whatsoeuer may concerne the cause, And this course the Romans held, concerning the authoritie of their Generalls.

Lib. 3. de bello Civili.

CHAP. XIII.

Ariouistus his answere: a second Embassage,
with the successe thereof.



That Embassage, Ariouistus answered, That if his occasions had required Cæsar's assistance, he would haue furthered them with his owne presence: and hee thought it as reasonable, that if it were in his meanes to please the Romans, Cæsar ought not to thinke much of the like labour. For his owne part, hee durst not come into those parts of Gallia which Cæsar possessed, without an Armie; nor could draw an Armie to a head without great trouble & expence. The thing that he most wondered at, was, that the Romaines, or Cæsar, had to doe in that part of Gallia, which the law of Armes had made his inheritance.

Cæsar.

Vpon the returne of this answere, Cæsar framed a second Embassage; the purport whereof was: Forasmuch as he thus required the honour wherewith the people of Rome had beautified his best dignity (for, in Cæsar's Consulship, the authoritie of their Empire had vouchsafed to esteeme of him, as a King in his dominions, & as a friend vnto their State) & that hee disdained to admit of a Parlee, concerning the common good; let him knowe, that these were the things that hee required to be performed by him: First, that hee should not suffer any more troopes of Germanes to be transported ouer the Rhene into Gallia. Secondlie, that hee should deliuer vp those Hostages which hee had of the Hedunans and Sequans; & should cease to molest them further with war or other iniuries. These things if hee did performe, Cæsar would assure him of a gratefull acceptance on the behalfe of the people of Rome: otherwise, forasmuch as in the Consulships of M. Meisala, and L. Pise, the Senate had decreed, That he that should obaine the gouernment of the Prouince, should as neere as it would stand with the good of the Common-weale, indeauour the defence of their Associates and Friends: therefore he would not neglect the iniuries done vnto the Hedunans.

To these Mandates, Ariouistus replied: The law of Armes kept this tenure amongst

mongit all Nations; That a Conquerour might governe a subdued people, according as he thought best for his owne safetie. The people of Rome, did not direct the course of their government, by another mans prescript, but by their own arbitrement: and, as he had not directed the Romans, so ought not they to meddle with his proceedings.

The Hedwans, having tried the fortune of warre, were by right become his Stipendiaries; wherein Cæsar offered great wrong, for that his coming thither, had made their tribute much lesse unto him then before. Touching their Hostages; his purpose was still to retaine them. Neither would hee make any vniust warre vpon any of their Associates, if they observed the Articles of agreement, and paid their yeerely tribute: but if they failed in that, the fraternity of the Romaines would come too late to their succour. If Cæsar would needs undertake their quarrell; hee was to let him knowe, that no man euer contended with Ariouistus, but to his owne destruction. Try when he would, he should find what valour consisted in the Germanes, that for foureteene yeeres space, were neuer covered with other roffe then the Heauens.

OBSERVATION.



And thus farre proceeded Cæsar with Ariouistus, in debating the wrongs and agrievances of the Hedui. Wherein appeareth the difference betweene a matter handled according to mortall civilitie, in tearmes of mildnesse and pleasing accent, and that which is rudely deliuered, & dependeth rather vpon the plainnesse of the project, then suited with words fitt for perswasion.

For, that which Ariouistus alledged, to make good his interest in Gallia, was as consonant to reason, as any thing to the contrary vrged by Cæsar.

But as the Lacedæmonian said of one, That hee spake the truth otherwise then it should be spoken: so it may be said of Ariouistus answere, that it wanted that sweetening humanitie which giueth credit to veritie it selfe; forasmuch as it proceeded from a well tempered spirit, wherein no turbulent passion seemeth to controll the force of reason, nor hinder the sentence of true iudgement; but rather, seasoning her conceptions with humilitie, doth courtly complayne of open wrong, and strengthen her assertions with a pleasing deliuerie. And therefore, how great soeuer the controuersie be, that partie which exceedeth not the boundes of modestie, but maketh mildnesse his chiefeft aduocate, will so preuaile in any auditors, that albeit equitie doth disallow her title; yet the manner of his carriage will cleare him from offering wrong, in that he vseth the sequels of innocencie, to proue his interest in that which he demaundeth. But to leaue this circumstance, as onely to be noted, let vs proceed to the vvarre it selfe, which I made the second part of this historie.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

The Treuri bring newes of one hundred townships of the Sweui, that were come to the Rhene. Cæsar taketh in Besançon: his souldiers are surpris'd with an extreame feare of the Germanes.



At the same time, as this answere was returned to Cæsar, there came likewise Embassadors from the Hedwans and Treures. The Hedwans complained, that the Harudes lately transported into Gallia, did depopulate and waste their borders, and that they could not buy their peace of Ariouistus, without giuing of Hostages for their allegiance. The Treures brought newes of one hundred townships of the Sweui, that were come to the riuier Rhene, to seeke a passage into Gallia, conducted by Nasua and Cimberius, two brethren. Whereat, Cæsar being exceedingly mooued, thought his best meanes of preuention to consist in celeritie, least the difficultie of resisting should growe greater, when those new forces of the Sweui, were ioyned with the power which was already with Ariouistus. And therefore, having provided Corne, hee made haste to seeke the Germanes. And having gone three daies journey on his way, he had intelligence, that Ariouistus with all his forces, was gone to take in Besançon, the greatest towne of the Sequans; and that hee was three daies journey on his way already.

Cæsar, knowing how much it imported him to prevent that disadvantage (forasmuch as the Towne abounded with all necessarie provisions for warre, and was so sited, that hee that commaunded it, might prolong the warre at his owne pleasure: being incircled with the riuier Alduabiz, excepting a small space of sixe hundred foote, which was fortified with an exceeding high Hill, the foot whereof did at each end ioine vnto the Riuier, and the Hill strengthened with a wall, and so ioined to the towne) made all the hysse hee could to take the towne, and there left a guarizon. And as hee rested there a few daies, to make provision of Corne, and other necessities, the Romaines inquiring of the Galles and Marchants, concerning the qualitie of the Germanes; vnderstood that they were men of a huge stature, of courage invincible, and of great practice and experience in feates of Armes; whereof the Galles had oftentimes made triall: For, when they encountered them, they were not able to indure so much as the sternenesse of their countenance, or the fiercenesse of their looks. The whole Armie conceived such a feare thereat, that all mens minds were wonderfullie appalled. This feare beganne first amongst the Tribunes and Commanders of horse, and such others as for friendship sake followed Cæsar from Rome, & had small or no skill in matter of war. These men, finding some one excuse, & some another, of very earnest business, which called thẽ home, desired leaue to depart. Some others, who shamed would not suffer to forsake the Campe, bewraied the like passion

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passion in their countenances & hauiour: for, hiding themselves in their Tents, they either bewailed their deshaie secretly to themselves, or otherwise, with their acquaintance and familiar friends. They lamented the danger they were all like to fall into; so that throughout the whole Campe, there was nothing but making and signing of Testaments. And through the talke and fearefulness of these men, the old souldiers and Centurions, and such as had great experience in the Campe, beganne by little and little to apprehend the terrour wherewith they were amazed: and those that would seeme to be lesse fearefull, said, they feared not the enemy, but the narrowness of the waies, & the greatnesse of the woods, that were betwene them and Ariouistus; or otherwise they cast doubts where they might haue prouision of Corne. And many stuck not to tell Cæsar, that whensoever he should giue commaundement to march forward, or aduance the Standarts, the souldiers would refuse to doe it.

OBSERVATION.

WHerein, for that we find a strange alteration, no way answerable to that courage, which a late gotten victorie doth usually breed in noble spirits; it shall not bee amisse, a little to insitt vpon the qualitie of the accident, and to gather such breecfe instructions from their weakenesse, as may best serue to qualifie the amasement of horroure, and mitigate the frensie of so violent a passion. And albeit my ignorance in the works of Nature, cannot promise any such learning, as may discouer the true meanes and secret motions, whereby a fore conceiued feare doth trouble the senses, and astonish the mind; yet sith the history offereth it to our scanning, giue me leaue onely to note the strangenesse of the circumstance, and rudely to delineate the purtairure of a beast oftener seene then wel knowne, vsing the vniuersall pile for my penile, and fixing my speech to a warlike auditorie. I knowe not how it happeneth, but thus it may happen, that when the senses receiue intelligence of an eminent euill, which may either dispossesse the soule of this earthly mansion, or trouble the quiet wherewith shee resteth; the spirits (as it seemeth) by the direction of their soueraigne Mistresse, retire themselves into the inner cabinets and secreter pavillions of the body, where the chiefeest part of the soule is most resident: & so they leaue the frontier quarters of her kingdome, naked and vnguardized, the better to strengthen that capital Citie of the heart, out of which the life cannot flie, butto the vtter ruine and destruction of the whole bodie. For, feare is not onely a perturbation of the soule, proceeding from the opinion it hath of some euill to come: but it is also a contraction, and closing vp of the hart, when the blood and the spirits are recalled from the outward partes, to assitt that place which giueth life and motion to all the rest. In this Chaos and confusion of humours and spirits, when the multiplicitie of faculties (which otherwise require an ordinate distinction in their seruice, and by the order of nature, should bee disposed into severall instruments, and be dilated throughout the bodie)

body) are thus blended confusedly together, the conceptions of the mind, which presently rise from these aduertisements, are suddenly choaked with the disordered mixture of so many severall properties, and are stifled as it were in the throng, before they can be transported to our iudgement, or examined by reason, for want of that ordinate vniformitie of place which nature requirith in the powers of the mind. And hence proceedeth that amazednesse and astonishment, which so daunteth the hearts of men, when they are taken with this passion, that because the soule giueth no counsell, the body can afford no motion, but standeth frozen through the extremitie of the perturbation, benumbed in sense, and forsaken of the spirits. So we read, that Theophilus the Emperour, in an ouerthrowe which he had giuen him by the Hagerans, was strooken with such an excessiue feare, that hee could not betake himselfe to flight (*Adeo pavor etiam auxilia formidat*) vntill one of his chiefe Commanders shaking him by the shoulder, as though he were to awake him out of a deep sleep, threatened him with present death, if he would not prevent the ruine of the Empire, by vsing that meanes which was onely left for his safetie.

Again, if in that turbulent confutory, the spirits chance distinctly to receiue any apprehension proceeding from the forging facultie of the soule, they carie it presently to execution, before it be examined by reason, and follow the action with such vehemencie, that they leaue no place for better aduice and reknowledge. And this is the cause, that oftentimes through extremitie of feare, to avoid one euill, we run headlong into a worse, and find a greater danger in the meanes wee vse to avoid a lesse; because reason did not first trie the apprehension, before it was deliuered to externall Agents. And so we find in the battell betwene Germanicus and the Almaines, that two grosse troopes of souldiers were driuen into such an extasie of feare, that taking contrarie courses to avoid one and the same danger, they either of them fledde to that place, which the other had quitted: neither could they bee aduised by each others flight, that the places which they sought after, afforded them no remedie.

And, albeit reason be called to counsell, when a parlee is summoned of composition, yet it beareth so small a sway in the consultation, that the will of it selfe concludeth to betray vertue to dishonour; and so to purchase peace, with the losse of the soules chiefeest treasure: which ought euer to bee estimated at a higher rate, then any other happinesse which can bedie the mind. For among all the sensible things of this world, there is no creature that hath such a confused feare, or is more amazed therewith, then man is: neither is there any miserie greater, or any bondage more shamefull, seruile, or vile, then this, which maketh men very abiects of all other creatures, to redeem the euill which the danger threatneth: and then doth shame follow after so base a part, and aggravate the burthen of the sinne with lothsome disgrace, and penitent discontentment; adding oftentimes Aloes to Wormewood, and making the end grieuouster then the beginning. And thus doth danger breed feare, and feare yielde to dishonour, and dishonour bringeth shame, and shame beeing alwaies mingled with wrath & anger, reuengeth it selfe vpon it selfe, & bringeth more perrill then the first danger could threaten.

Whereby it appeareth, that as the affections of the mind are bred one of another: so, on the contrarie part, some are bridled and restrained by others; for, as enuie, hatred, & anger, rise oftentimes of loue, so is ioy lessened with griefe, enuie with mercie, and feare with shame.

But, forasmuch as all such perturbations, proceede of ignorance and inconsideratenesse, whereby we thinke that the euill is greater then indeede it is; let vs consider what disposition of our iudgement, best moderateth the violent heat of these affections. And first, touching the passages, whereby the soule receiueh her aduertisments, as they are of diuers natures, the chiefeſt whereof are the eye and the eare: so are their auisols different in qualitie, and require a severall consideration to be rightlie discerned. The intelligence by the eye, is more certain then that which cometh by the way of hearing; forasmuch as the eye is a winelle it selfe of euery action, whereof it taketh notice; neither is it deceived in her proper object: and therefore, the iudgement is not much troubled, to determine definitely how great or how small the danger is, when the relations carie alwaies that certaintie. And, albeit the eare in like manner bee not deceived in her proper objects for it faithfully giueh vp that sense, which sound hath deliuered vnto it: yet, forasmuch as the fantasie hath greater scope to come her vaine conceptions, in regard of the absence of the action, it is necessary, that the discourſing facultie, bee called for an assistant, before the iudgement can truly determine: and then it will appeare, that the truth doth not alwaies aunſwere the report which is made thereof; inasmuch as diseased spirits, will not stick to dilate or qualifie relations, according to the key wherein they themselves are tuned. And therefore, this first cometh to be considered of in all such violent commotions, by which of these two senses the first intelligence was receiued. But concerning the iudgement it selfe, this is most certaine, that the more it is infected with the corruptions of the flesh, the more violent are the affections of the soule. And againe, the purer the iudgement is, & the higher it is lifted vp from earthly natures, being no further interessed therein, then to hold a resolution of well dooing; the fewer and lighter are the affections, which trouble and molest it: for, then it better discerneth the truth and falsehood, good or euill that is in things.

To rectifie this inconuenience, Cæsar betooke himselfe to the fittest & most proper remedie: which was by the authoritie of his speech, to restore reason to his former dignitie, and by discourse, which feare had interrupted in them, to put downe a surging passion, which had so troubled the gouernment of the soule; recalling it to the meane of true resolution, which was to moderate audacitie with warinesse, but not to choke valour with beastly cowardice: for, this Oratorie inducing perswasions, were not the least point of their discipline; considering how they framed the inward habite of the mind (being the foundation and beginning of all motion) to giue life and force to those actions, which the feueritie of outward discipline commanded. For, as lawes and constitutions of men, enforce obedience of the bodie: so reason, and perswasions, must obtaine the soules consent: according to that saying; *Homines duci volunt,*

2221 Cæſar.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

Cæsar his speech to the Armie, concerning
this feare.



Cæsar being informed of these things, he called a Councell of warre, admitting all the Centurions, of what degrees or orders soeuer, vnto the same: And, being thus assembled, he greatly blamed them; First, that any man should be so inquisitive, as to imagine to himselfe, whither and vpon what seruice they were caried. Concerning Ariouistus, he had in the time of Cæsar's Consulshippe, most earnestly sued for the friendship of the people of Rome: and why then should any man misdeeme, that he should so vnadvisedly goe back from his dutie? For his owne part, he was verily perswaded, that if Ariouistus once knew his demands, & vnderstood the reasonable offers that he would make him, he would not easily reiect his friendship, or the fauour of the people of Rome. But if he were so madde, as to make warre vpon them, why should they feare him? or why should they despair, either of their own prowess, or of Cæsar's diligence? For, if it came to that point, the enemie that they were to encounter, had bene tried what he could doe twice before: first, in the memorie of their fathers, when the Cimbri and Teutoni were vanquished by Marius, at what time the Army merited no lesse honour then the Generall: and now of late againe, in Italie, at the insurrection of the bondemen; who were not a little furthered through the practice and discipline they had learned of the Romaines. Whereby it might be discerned, how good a thing it is to be constant & resolute; inasmuch, as whom for a time they feared without cause, being naked and vnarmed, the same men afterwards (although well armed, and Conquerors withall) they nobly overcame. And to be short, these were no other Germaines, then those whom the Heluetians had vanquished in diuers conflicts; and not onely in their owne Country, where the Heluetians dwelt themselves, but also euen at home at their owne doores: and yet the same Heluetians were not able to make their party good against our Armies.

If any man were moued at the sight and overthrow of the Galles, vpon inquirie he should find, that being wearied with continuall warres (after that Ariouistus had for many monethes together kept himselfe within his Campe, in a boggie and fenny Country) and despairing of any occasion of battell, he suddenly set vpon them as they were disperſed, and so overcame them, rather by policie then by force. Which, although it tooke place against saueage and vnskillfull people, yet was not Ariouistus so simple, as to thinke that hee could insnare our Armies with the like subtilties. As for those that fained the cause of their feare, to bee the difficultie of provision of Corne, and the dangerousnesse of the way, they seemed very arrogant in their conceits, in presuming to direct their Generall, as if he had not knowne what pertained to his dutie. The Sequans and Lingons, had vnderooke that charge; besides that, Corne was almost ripe euery where in the fields: and what the waies were, should shortly be seene.

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Where-as it was given out, that the souldiers would not obey his Mandates, nor aduance their Standards, he little valued it; for, he was well assured, that if an Army refused to be obedient to their Generall, it was either because he was thought to be unfortunate in his enterprises; or else, for that he was notoriously committed of Avarice: but the whole course of his life, should witness his innocence; and the overthrow of the Heluetians, his happiness. And therefore, that which he was minded to have put off for a longer time, he would now put in execution out of hand; for, the night following, at the fourth watch, hee would dislodge from thence: that without further delay, he might understand, whether shame, and respect of their dutie, would preuaile more with them, then feare or cowardise. And though he wist that no man else would follow him; yet notwithstanding, he would goe with the tenth legion alone, of whom he had no doubt or suspicion, and would take them as a guard to his person. Cæsar had chiefly fauoured this legion, and put much trust in them for their valour.

Vpon the making of this speech, the minds of all men were wonderfully changed; for, it bredde in euery one a great alacritie and desire to fight: neither did the tenth legion forget to giue him thanks by their Tribunes, for the good opinion he had of them; assuring him of their readinesse to set forward to the warre. And then likewise, the rest of the legions made meanes, by the Tribunes of the souldiers and Centurions of the first Orders, to giue Cæsar satisfaction; protesting, they neither doubted nor feared, nor gave any censure of the issue of that warre, but alwaies left it to the wisdom of the Generall.

Their satisfaction being taken, and a view being made of the waies by Diuitiacus (whom of all the Galles, he best trusted) and report being by him made, that in fetching a compass of fiftie miles, hee might carie his Armie in open and champaigne Countries; in the fourth watch of the night, according to his former saying, he set forward.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

IN the speech it selfe, are presented many specialities, both concerning their discipline and Militarie instructions, which deserue examination; amongst which I note, first, the extraordinary number admitted to the Councell; *Omnium ordinum ad id concilium adhibitis Centurionibus*: Where-as there were vually no more admitted to their councell of warre, but the Legates, Quæstor, Tribunes, and the Centurions of the first Orders; which I vnderstand to be the first *Hastate*, the first *Principes*, and the first *Pilum* of euery legion. And this is manifestly prooued out of the fifth Commentarie, where Cicero was besieged by Ambiorix: in which, amongst other, there were two valiant Centurions, Pulso, and Varenius; betweene whom, there was euery yeere great emulation for place of preferment: *Et iam primis ordinibus appropinquabant*, saith Cæsar, that is, they had passed by degrees, through the lower orders of the legion, and were very neere the dignitie of the first cohort; wherein, as in all the rest, there were three maniples, and in euery maniple, two orders.

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THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

IF the first motiue which he vseth to recall their exiled iudgement, discovered their breach of discipline: for, contrarie to the course of Militarie government, they had presumed not onely to make inquirie, but to giue out, whether, and vpon what seruice they were committed; which in the rigour of Camp-politie, could not passe without due punishment: for, what can more contradikt the fortunate successe of an expedition, then to suffer to bee measured with the vulgar conceit: or weighed in the balance of such false iudgments? especially, when those weake Censors are to be Actors, and Executioners of the designe: for, then, euery man will sure the nature of the action according to his owne humour; although his humour be led with blindness, & haue no other direction, then an vncertaine apprehension of profit, or disadvantage.

And in this case, there cannot be a better president then Nature hath prescribed: for, as naturall Agents, whilst they concur to produce a worke of absolute perfection, neither know what they do, nor can discern the things they look vpon; but yield themselves to be guided by a Moderator of infinite knowledge: so ought a multitude to submit their ability to the direction of some wise and prudent Captaine, that beholdeth the action in true honour; and balance the losse of many particulars, with the health and safetie of the publique good. For, if euery man should prescribe; who should obey? *Tam nescire quam milites, quam scire oportet*, saith Otho in Tacitus, vpon the like disorder: and againe, *Parendo potius quam imperia ducum sciscitando*, yes militares continentur. Which proueth, that the greatest vertue which is required in a souldier, is obedience; as a thing wherein the force of all discipline consisteth.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

IN the reason which he vseth to proue their disparitie of valour, in regard of the Romans, being superiour to the Heluetians, that had oftentimes overthrowne the Germans; hee strengtheneth the argument with the aduantage of the place: and saith, that the Heluetians had put them to the worst; not onely where the Heluetians dwelt themselves, but euen in their owne Country, and at home at their owne doores: as though an enemy were charged with greater furie in the presence of a mans owne Country and dearest friends, then in a strange & vknowne land.

This question was handled in the Romaine Senate, by Fabius Maximus, & Scipio, surnamed Africanus, when they sate in councell how to ridde their Country of that subtle Carthaginian, that for sixteene yeeres space, had fretted like a canker the beautie of Italie, wasted the land, and brought it to desolation, sacked their confederates, or alienated them from their dutie, overthrowne their Armies, slaine their Consuls, and threatened their imperiall Citie with ruine and destruction. Fabius, vpon the motion to make warre in Africa,

Whether men
haue greater
courage in
their owne or
in a strangers
Country.

frick, thought it agreeable to nature, first to defend that which was their owne, before they attempted other mens possessions: when peace was established in Italy, then let war be set on foote in Affrick; and first let them be without feare themselves, before they went about to terrifie others: for, those forces afforded little hope of victorie in another kingdom, that were not able to free their owne Country from so dangerous an enemy. Alcibiades ouerthrew the Athenian Common-weale with the like counsell: and concerning Hanniball, let them be sure of this, that they should find him a forer enemy in his own Country, then in another kingdom.

Scipio, on the other side, caried on with the honour of so glorious an enterprise, wanted neither reasons nor examples to impugne Fabius his authoritie: for, he shewed that Agathocles, the Syracusan king, being a long time afflicted with the Punick warre, auerted the Carthaginian from Cicily, by transporting his forces into Affrick: but how powerfull it was to take away feare, by retorting danger vpon the Oppressor, could there bee a presenter example then Hanniball? There was great difference in the nature of the action, betweene the spoile and waste of a strangers Country, and to see their owne native Country wasted with sword and destruction: *Plus animi est inferenti periculum, quam propulsanti*. For, he that inuadeth anothers kingdom, easily discovereth both the advantage which may be taken against the enemy, and the strength wher-vpon he resteth. And amongst the variable euents of war, many vnexpected occasions arise, which present victorie to him that is ready to take it; and many strange chances so alter the course of things, that no foresight can discern what may happen.

VVith these, and the like remonstrances, this question of no lesse doubt then importance, was handled by two famous & woorthy Captaines, whose minds (as it seemed) were intangled with such particular affections for the present, as might rather draw them to wrest reason to their owne humour, then to determine in sinceritie of iudgement, vpon what specialities the truth was grounded, in the contrarietie of their positions. But, to leaue other commodities or disadvantages, which are annexed vnto either part, I will onely set down some reasons, to proue how valour and courage may either grow or be abated, by the accidents which rise in a warre of that nature. And first, this cannot be denied, the testimonie of an vnfallible truth being grounded vpon the propertie of mans nature; that as advantage bringeth hope of victorie, and hope conceineth such spirits as usually follow, when the thing which is hoped for, is effected; and thereby the courage becommeth hardie and resolute in victorie: so on the other side, disadvantage and danger breed feare, and feare so checketh valour, and controlleth the spirits, that vertue and honour giue place to distrust, and yield vp their interest to such directors, as can afford nothing but diffidence and irresolution.

Neither can it be denied, but he that setteth vpō an enemy in a strange country, and so preuenteth such attempts as might be made vpon his owne territories, hath that advantage which giueth life vnto action, and stealeth his enterprise with resolution. For, besides the commoditie of leauing when he list, and

proceed-

proceeding as farre forth as hee shall find his meanes able to fortunate his attempts; he knoweth that the strife & controuersie is not for his native Country, which he quietly enioyeth, & is referred at all times to entertaine him, how focuer Fortune shall fauour his designs: but, for a Strangers kingdom, which his ambition thirsteth after, wherein, forasmuch as the riches and wealth of that State, are laid before them, as the recompence of their labour, besides the honour which is atchieued thereby, euery mans valour soareth at a high pitch, and their courage is increased, without any trouble or disturbance of the other faculties of the mind. But, when a Prince shall be assaulted in his owne kingdom, and in the sight of his subjects haue his land consumed with ruine and destruction; the danger will so disturbe the powers of the soule, that through the turbulent disorder of the weaker parts, the better faculties will lose their prerogative of aduising how the enemy may bee best resisted; when as euery man shall apprehend the terrour of the danger, and few or none conceiue the true meanes to auoide it.

And albeit the presence of such things as are dearest to his soule, as the pietie and respect of aged parents, the tender affection towards wife and children, are sufficient to raise valour to the highest point of resolution; yet the motives are of such weight, as will rather make them diffident of their owne worth, as insufficient to maintaine so great a cause, then hold them in that key which true honour affecteth: forasmuch as the terrour and feare of so great a danger, will present a greater measure of woes to their mind, then the hope of victorie can afford them joy.

Hence therefore groweth the difference, between him that seeketh to maintaine that estate which he hath in possession by force of Armes: and an other, that seeketh to increase his meanes by valour. For, the former is presented with the danger of losing all his estate; which affrighteth and troubleth, hauing no other reward propounded vnto him: and the other looketh vpon the advantage which hee gaineth by ouercomming; which much increaseth his valour, without any losse or disadvantage, if hee chance to bee put to the worst. And therefore, there is alwaies great odds betweene him that hath already lost his goods, and is by that meanes become desperate, hauing nothing further to lose; and another, that yet keepeth his substance, but is in danger to lose it: for, feare will so dimmy his mind, that he will rather distrust his owne abilitie, then entertaine a resolution of valour.

To proue this, wee neede not seeke other examples, then those imperiall Citties, in whole cause this controuersie was first moued. For, when Hanniball was come into Italie, and had defeated Sempronius the Consull at Trebeas, the Romaines were driuen into such an extasie of terrour, that they believed verily, as the enemy was then comming to assault the City; neither had they any hope or aide in themselves, to keepe or defend the same. On the other side, Scipio was no sooner landed in Affrick, but there was such a tumult in Carthage, as though the Cittie had bene already taken: neither could the opinion of victorie, which Hanniball by a conquering Armie in Italie had confirmed for sixteene yeeres together, preuaile in the apprehension of so imminent

ment

nent a danger. And then that which Fabius borrowed of Nature to teach the Romans (that first men ought to defend their owne, before they seeke other mens possessions) was carefully followed by the Carthaginians: for, with all speed they sent for Hanniball out of Italy, to be their Champion against young Scipio. If therefore other things bee correspondent (as there are many other particularities concerning the power and strength of either Nation to be considered) I take it much better for a Prince to invade an enemy in his own country, then to attend him at home in his owne kingdom.

THE FOYRTH OBSERVATION.



He last circumstance which I note in this speech, was the trust which he reposed in the tenth legion, being in it selfe peradventure as faultie as any other: wherein he shewed great Art and singular Wisdom. For, he that hath once offended, & is both burdened with the guilt of conscience, and vpbraid with the reproache of men, can hardly be persuaded that his fault can be purged with any satisfaction. And although the punishment be remitted, yet the memorie of the fact will neuer be blotted out with any vertuous action; yet still remaineth, to cast dishonour vpon the offender, and to accuse him of disloyaltie.

And therefore, it oftentimes happeneth, that an error beeing once rashlie committed, through despaire of remission, admitteth no true penitencie, but either draweth on more grievous crimes, confirming that of the Poet, *Scelere scelus luendum est*; or maintaineth his error by wilfull obstinacie: as it is said of the Lion, that beeing found by Hunters in a Cauce, will rather die in the place then quit it, for shame that he was found in so base a place of refuge; and therefore his propertie is thus exprest, *ingrediendo cacus, exendo protervas*. This did Cæsar wisely prevent, by clearing the tenth legion of that, which he accused the rest of the Armie; which made them the more earnest to answer his expectation, inasmuch as they were witness to themselves of a common error: and the other legions, enuying at their fortune, resolved to shew as great alacrity in the sequell of the warre, and to deserve more then the iudgement of the Emperour had imputed to their fellowes.

CHAP. XVII.

The treatie betwene Cæsar and Ariouistus.



Cæsar.

He seauenth day, as hee continued on his march, his Espialls brought him word, that Ariouistus with all his forces, was within twentie foure miles of that place: who as soone as he understood of Cæsars comming, sent Embassadors vnto him; Declaring that forasmuch as hee was come some-what neerer, and that he might doe it without danger, he was content

tent to admit of a parlee. Cæsar refused not the offer; thinking now to find him reasonable, in that he offered of his owne accord, what he had formerly denied at Cæsars request: and thereby was in good hope, that understanding what was required, he would in the end, consider of the many fauours he had received from the people of Rome, and desist from such wilful courses.

The fift day following was appointed for the Treaty. In the meane time, there passed often Messages reciprocally betwene them. Ariouistus required, that Cæsar would not bring any footmen to the parlee, for that hee feared to be circumuenced by treacherie; and therefore thought fitte, that either partie should come onely with their Cavalrie: otherwise he would not giue meeting.

Cæsar, not willing to put off the Treatie for any such cause, nor yet daring to put himselfe in trust to the French horse, thought it most conuenient to leaue the French Riders behind him; and to set the souldiers of the tenth legion (whom he best trusted) vpon their horses: that if he stood in need, he might haue a faithful guard of his friends about him. Wherevpon, one of the souldiers said prettily, that Cæsar had doone more for them then he had promised: for, hee had said before, he would make the tenth legion as a guard to his person, and now hee had inrolled them all for horsemen.

There was a great and open Plaine, and in the midst thereof a rising Mount, which was almost in the mid-way, betwene both the Campes: and thither, according to the agreement, they came to parlee. The legion which Cæsar had brought with him on horsebacke, hee placed two hundred paces from the said Mount: and likewise the horsemen of Ariouistus, stood in the same distance. Ariouistus requested, they might talke on horsebacke, and bring each of them tenne persons to the conference. At their meeting, Cæsar beganne his speech with a commemoration of the fauours and benefites the Senate had done vnto him; in that hee was by their authoritie, intituled by the name of a King and a Friend: & therupon, had receiued great gifts. Which fauour fell but vnto a few; and was by the Romaines giuen onely to men of great desert: Whereas hee, without any occasion of access vnto them, or other iust cause on his behalfe, had obtained these honours, through his curresie, and the bountie of the Senate.

Hee shewed him further, what ancient and reasonable causes of amitie, tied them so firme to the Edeuans: What Decrees & orders of Senate, had oftentimes been made in their fauour and behoofe: That from all antiquity, the Edeuans had held the principalltie of Gallia; and that, long before they were in amitie with the Romaines. The people of Rome had alwaies this custome, not onely to indeauour that their Allies and Confederates should not lose any thing of their proper; but also, that they might increase in dignitie and reputation: and therefore, who could indure to see that forced from them, which they quietly possessed, when they entered league with the Romaines?

In like manner, he required the performance of such things, which he had formerly giuen in charge to his Embassadors: that hee should not make warre, either vpon the Edeuans, or their Associates. That he should restore their hostages: and if hee could not returne any part of the Germanes backe againe ouer the Rhetie, yet he should forbear to bring any more into that Country.

Ariouistus

Arionius made little answer to Cæsars demands, but spake much of his owne vertues and valour; That he was come over the Rhene, not out of his owne desire, but as the mediation and intreatie of the Gallies: that hee had not left his house and kindred but with great hope of high rewards; the possessions hee had in Gallia, were giuen him by themselves; their hostages were voluntarily delivered vnto him; he tooke tribute by the law of Armes, which was such, as Conquerours might lay vpon the vanquished; he made no war vpon the Gallies, but the Gallies made warre vpon him: All the States of Gallia came to fight against him, and had put themselves into the field; whose forces were in one battell all dispersed and ouerthrowne. If they were desirous to make another triall, he was ready to undertake them: but if they would haue peace, it were an iniury to retract that tribute, which of their owne accord they had paid vntill that time. He expected that the Amittie of the people of Rome, should be rather an honor and a safety, then a losse vnto him, and that he had sought it to that end: but if by their meanes, the tribute due vnto him should be retracted, hee would as willingly refuse their friendship as he had desired it. In that hee had brought so many Germans into Gallia, it was rather for his own defence, then of any purpose to subdue the Country: as might appeare, by that he had not come thither but vpon intreatie, & set no war on foot but for his own defence. He was seated in Gallia before the Romaines came thither; neither had the people of Rome before that time, carried their Army beyond the bounds of their Prouince: and therefore he knew not what he meant to intrude himselfe into his possessions. This was his Prouince of Gallia, as that was ours: and as it was not lawfull for him to command in our quarters; so it was not fitting, that they should disturbe his government.

In that hee alleaged, the Heduns were by decree of Senate adopted into the amittie of the people of Rome; he was not so barbarous, or vnacquainted with the course of things, as to be ignorant, that in the last warre of the Allobroges, they were aiding and assisting to the Romaines: and in the quarrell the Heduns had with the Sequans, the Romans were in like manner assisting vnto them. Wherevpon he had good occasion to suspect, that Cæsar, vnder pretence of league & amity, kept his Army in Gallia for his ruine and destruction: and that if hee did not depart and withdraw his Army out of those Countries, hee would no longer take him for a friend, but for an enemy. And if his fortune were to slay him, hee should performe a very acceptable seruise to many noble & cheefe men of Rome: as he had well vnderstood by Letters and Messengers he had received from them, whose fauour and amity hee should purchase, by taking away his life. But if hee would depart, and leaue him the free possession of Gallia, hee would gratifie him with great rewards: and what war soeuer hee desired to be undertaken, should be gone through withall, without his perill or charge.

Many things were spoken by Cæsar, to shew why he could not desist from that courses for, neither was it his use, nor the custome of the people of Rome, to forsake their well-deserving Associates: neither could he think, that Gallia did rather belong to Arionius then the Romans. The Aruerns and Rutenes, were in due course of war subdued by Q. Fabius Maximus: who the people of Rome had pardoned, and not reduced to a Prouince, or made them stipendiaries. And if anti-

quitte

quitte were looked into, the people of Rome had good claime to that Counrey: but, forasmuch as the intention and will of the Senate was, they should remaine a free people, they were suffered to be gouerned by their owne lawes, and left vnto themselves, notwithstanding any former conquest by force of Armes.

Whilst these things were treated in parlee, it was told Cæsar, that Arionius his horfmen did approach neerer to the Mount, and that assembling our men, they tooke himselfe to his Party, commanding them not to cast a weapon at the enemy. For, albeit hee well perceined, hee might without perill of that elect legion, had intrapped them with a parlee, contrary to faith made, and agreement. After it was reported amongst the vulgar souldiours, how arrogantly Arionius had carried himselfe in the treaty; forbidding the Romaines to frequent any part of the parlee brake off: the Army was possessed with a greater alacrity and desire to fight, then before. Two daies after, Arionius sent Messengers to Cæsar, signifying, that he desired to treat with him, concerning those things which were left vnperfit, & therupon willed him to appoint another day of meeting, or if hee liked not that, to send some vnto him with authority, to conclude of such things as should be found expedient. Cæsar was unwilling to giue any further meeting; & the rather, for that the day before, the Germanes could not be restrained from violence, & force of Armes: Neither did hee think hee might safely expose the person of any of his followers, to the inhumanity of such barbarous people; and therefore thought it fittest, to send vnto him M. Valerius Proculus, the sonne of C. Valerius Caburius, a vertuous young man, & well bred, whose father was made free of Rome by C. Valer. Flaccus: which he did, the rather in regard of his singular integrity, & his perfectnes in the French tongue, which Arionius through long continuance had learned; & that the Germans had no cause of offence against him. And with him he sent M. Titius, that was familiarly acquainted with Arionius; with instruction to heare what was said, and to make report thereof to Cæsar. Whom, as soone as Arionius saw come into his Campe, hee cried out in the presence of his Army; demanding wherefore they came thither? and whether they were not sent as Spies? And as they were about to make answer, hee cutte them off; and commanded them to be put in Irons.

The same day he remooued his Campe, and lodged himselfe vnder a hill, sixe miles from Cæsar. The next day, he brought his forces along by Cæsars Campe, and incamped himselfe two miles beyond him, of purpose to cut off all such coine and conuoies, as should be sent to the Romaines by the Heduns and Sequans. From that day forward, by the space of five daies together, Cæsar imbattled his men before his Campe; to the intent, that if Arionius had a mind to giue battell, hee might doe it when he would. But Arionius all this while, kept his Army within his Campe, and daile sent out his horfmen to skirmish with the Romaines.

This was the manner of fighting which the Germans had practised: there were 6000 horfmen, & as many strong and nimble footmen, whom the horfmen had selected

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selected out of the whole host, every man one for his safeguard: these they had alwaies at hand wth them in battell, and vnto these they resorted for succour. If the horsemen were ouer-charged, these euer slept in to helpe them. If any one were wounded or vnhor^{sed}, they came about him, & succoured him. If the matter required either to aduenture forward, or to retire speedily back againe, their swiftnesse was such (through continuall exercise) that hanging on the horse-mane by the one hand, they would runne as fast as the horses.

OBSERVATION.

Footmen inter-
mingled among
horsemen.

IT may seeme strange vnto the souldiours of our time, that the footmen should be mingled pell mell amongst the horsemen, without hurt and disadvantage to themselves; so vnlikely it is, that they should either succout the horsemen in any danger, or annoy the enemy: and therefore some haue imagined, that these footmen in the encounter, cast themselves into one bodie, and so charging the enemy, assisted the horsemen. But the circumstances of this place, and of others which I will alleage to this purpose, plainly euince that these footmen were mingled indifferentlie amongst the horsemen, to assist euery particular man, as his fortune and occasion required: and therefore, the choise of these footmen, was permitted to the horsemen, in whose seruice they were to be imployed; that euery man might take his friend, in whom he reposed greatest confidence. When they were ouercharged, these slept in to helpe them; if any man were wounded, or vnhor^{sed}, he had his footman ready to assist him: and when they were to goe vpon any speedy seruice, or suddainly to retire vpon aduantage, they staid themselves vpon the mane of the horses, with one hand, & so ran as fast as the horsemen could go. Which seruices, they could not possibly haue performed, without confusion & disorder, if the footmen had not generally attended vpon the, according to the affection specified in their particular election.

The principall vse of these footmen of the Germanes, consisted in the aide of their owne horsemen vpon any necessitie, not so much regarding their seruice vpon the enemy, as the assistance of their horsemen. But the Romans had long before practiced the same Arte, to a more effectuell purpose; namely, as a principall remedy not onely to resist, but to defeat far greater troopes of horse, then the enemy was able to oppose against them. Whereof the most ancient memorie which historie mentioneth, is recorded by Liuius, in the second Punic warre, at the siege of Capua, vnder the regiment of Quintus Fuluius the Consul: where it is said, that in all their conflicts, as the Romaine legions returned with the better; so their caualrie was alwaies put to the worst: & therefore they inuented this meane, to make that good by Arte, which was wanting in force.

Out of the whole army were taken the choicest young men, both for strength and agilitie, and to them were giuen little round bucklers, and 7 darts apiece in stead of their other weapons: these souldiers practiced to ride behind the horsemen,

men, and speedie to light from the horses at a watch-word giuen, and so to charge the Enemy on foote. And when by exercise they were made to expect, that the nouelty of the inuention no whit affrighted them, the Romaine horsemen went forth to encounter with the enemy, euery man carrying his foot souldiour behind him; who at the encounter suddainly alighting, charged vpon the enemy with such a furie, that they followed them in slaughter to the gates of Capua. And hence, saith Liuius, grew the first institution of the Velites: which euer after that time were inrolled with the legions. The author of this stratagem, is said to be one Q. Nauius, a Centurion, and was honourable rewarded by Fuluius the Consul, for the same.

Salust, in the historie of Iugurth, saith, that Marius mingled the Velites with the Caualrie of the associates, *ut quacunq; inuaderent equitatus hostium propulserent*. The like practice was vsed by Cæsar, as appeareth in the 3 book of the Ciuil war; sauing that in stead of the Velites, he mingled with his horsemen, 400 of the lustiest of his legionarie souldiers, to resist the caualrie of Pompey, while the rest of his Armie passed ouer the riuer Genusium, after the ouerthrow he had at Dyrrachium: *qui tantum proficere*, saith the text; *ut equestri pralio commisso, pellerent omnes, complures interficerent, ipsique in euulsum ad agmen se reciperent*. Many other places might be recited: but these are sufficient to proue, that the greatest Capitaines of ancient times, strengthened their caualrie with footmen dispersed amongst them. The Romaine horsemen, saith Polibius, at the first, caried but a weake limber pole, or staffe, & a little round buckler; but afterwards, they vsed the furniture of the Grecians: which Iosephus affirmeth to be a strong launce or staffe, and three or foure darts in a quiver, with a buckler, and a long sword by their right side. The vse of their launce was most effectuell when they charged in troope, pouldron to pouldron; and that manner of fight afforded no meane to intermingle foot-men: but when they vsed their darts, euery man got what aduantage of ground hee could, as our Carabines for the most part do, & so the foot-men might haue place among them: or otherwise, for so good an aduantage, they would easily make place for the foot-men to serue among them. But, howsoeuer it was, it appeareth by this circumstance, how little the Romaines feared troopes of horse, considering that the best meane to defeat their horse, was by their foote companies. But to make it more plaine, of many examples I will onely alleage two; the one out of Liuius, to proue that the Romaine horsemen were not comparable for seruice to foot-men: the other out of Hirtius, to shew the same effect against strangers, and Numidian horsemen.

In the Consulships of L. Valerius, and Marcus Horatius, Valerius, hauing fortunately ouerthrowne the Equi and the Volsci, Horatius proceeded with as great courage in the warre against the Sabines; wherein it happened, that in the day of battell, the Sabines reserued two thousand of their men to giue a fresh assault vpon the left Cornet of the Romaines, as they were in conflict: which tooke such effect, that the legionarie foot-men of that Cornet were forced to retreat. Which the Romaine horsemen (being in number six hundred) perceiuing, and not being able with their horse to make head against the

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Lib. 3. de
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De bello A-
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enemy; they presently forooke their horses, and made haile to make good the place on foote; wherein they caried themselves so valiantly, that in a moment of time they gaue the like aduantage to their footemen, against the Sabines; and then betooke themselves againe to their horses, to pursue the enemy in chase as they fled. For the second point; the Numidians, as Cæsar witnesseth, were the best horsemen that euer he met with, and vsed the same Arte as the Germanes did, mingling among them light-armed footemen. An Ambuscado of these Numidians charging the legions vpon a suddaine, the historie saith, that *primo impetu legionis Equitatus & leuis armatura hostium, nullo negotio, loco pulsa & deiecit a se de colle*. And as they sometimes retired, and sometimes charged vpon the rereward of the Armie, according to the manner of the Numidian fight; the historie saith, *Cæsariani interim, non amplius tres aut quatuor milites veterani si se conuertissent & pila viribus contorta in Numidas infestos coniecissent, amplius duorum millium ad vnum terga vertebant*. So that to free himselfe of this inconuenience, he tooke his horsemen out of the rereward, and placed his legions there, *ita vim hostium per legionarium militem commodius sustinebat*. And euer as he marched, he caused 300 souldiers of euery legion to be free and without burthen, that they might bee ready vpon all occasions, *Quos in Equitatum Labienus immisit. Tum Labienus, conuersis equis, signorum conspectu perterritus turpissime contendit fugere, multis eius occisis, compluribus vulneratis, milites legionarij ad sua se recipiunt signa, atque iter inceptum ire ceperunt*. I alleage the very words of the historie, to take away all suspicion of falsifying, or wresting any thing to an affected opinion. If any man will looke into the reason of this disparitie, he shall find it to be chiefly the worke of the Romaine pile (an vnresistible weapon) and the terror of horsemen; especially, when they were cast with the aduantage of the place, & fell so thick, that there was no meanes to auoide them.

But to make it plaine, that any light armed footmen could better make head against a troope of horse, then the Cavalrie of their owne partie, although they beare but the same weapons: Let vs consider how nimble and ready they were that fought on foote, either to take an aduantage, or to shunne and auoide anie danger; casting their darts with far greater strength and more certaintie, then the horsemen could doe. For, as the force of all the engines of old time, as the *Baliste, Catapultæ and Tolenones*, proceedeth from that stabilitie and resting Center, which nature affordeth, as the onely strength and life of the engine: so what force soeuer a man maketh, must principally proceede from that firmnesse and stay, which Nature, by the earth, or some other vnmooueable rest, giueth to the body, from whence it taketh more or lesse strength, according to the violence which it performeth; as hee that listeth vp a waight from the ground, by so much treadeth heauier vpon the earth, by how much the thing is heauier then his body. The footmen therefore, hauing a surer stay to counterpoise their forced motion, then the horsemen had, cast their darts with greater violence, and consequently with more certaintie.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

Cæsar preuenteth Ariouistus of his purpose, by making two Campes.



When Cæsar perceived that Ariouistus meant nothing lesse then to fight, but kept himselfe within his Camp: least peraduenture he should intercept the Sequans, & others of his Associates, as they came with conuoijs of Corne to the Romaines, beyond that place wherein the Germanes aboard, about six hundred pases from their Camp, he chose a ground meet to incamp in: and marching thither in three battells, commaunded two of them to stand ready in Armes, and the third to fortifie the Campe. Ariouistus sent sixteene thousand foote, and all his horse, to interrupt the souldiers, and hinder the intrinchement. Notwithstanding, Cæsar, as he had before determined, caused two battells to withstand the enemy, and the third to goe through with the worke: which beeing ended, he left there two legions, & part of the associate forces, and led the other foure legions backe againe into the greater Campe.

The next day, Cæsar, according to his custome, brought his whole power out of both his Campes; and marching a little from the greater Campe, hee put his men in array, and profered battell to the enemy: but perceiving that Ariouistus would not stirre out of his trenches; about noone, hee conuained his Armie into their severall Campes. Then at length, Ariouistus sent part of his forces to assault the lesser Campe. The encounter continued very sharp on both parts, untill the evening; and at sunne-setting, after many wounds given and taken, Ariouistus conuained his Army againe into their Campe. And as Cæsar made inquirie of the Captiues, what the reason was that Ariouistus refused battell, hee found this to be the cause. The Germanes had a custome, that the women should by casting of Lots, and Southsaying, declare whether it were for their behoofe to fight or no: and that they found by their Arte, the Germanes could not get the victorie, if they fought before the new Moone.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

If we may obserue what especiall importance, this manner of incamping carried in that absolute discipline which the Romans obserued, and by which they conquered so many Nations: for, besides the safetie which it afforded their owne troops, it serued for a hold well fenced and manned, or as it were a strong fortified towne in any part of the field, where they saw aduantage: and as oft as they thought it expedient, either to fortifie themselves, or impeach the enemy, by cutting off his passages, hindring his attempts, blocking vp his Campe, besides many other aduantages, all auerring the saying of Domitius Corbulo: *dolabra vincendū esse hostē*:

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a thing long time neglected, but of late happily renewed, by the Commanders of such forces as serue the States, in the vniited Prouinces of Belgia; whom time and practice of the warres hath taught to entertaine the vse of the spade, &c to hold it in as great reputation as any weapons whatloeuier, which may bee thought worthy executioners of the deeds of Armes.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

IN the second place wee may obserue, that there was no Nation so barbarous (for, I vnderstand the Germanes to bee as barbarous, in regard of the motions of religion, as any knowne Nation of that time, being in a Climate so neere the North, that it afforded no contemplation at all) that could not make vse in their greatest affaires, of that superstition to which their mind was naturally intrahled; and forge prophesies and diuinations, as well to stir vp, as to moderate the irregular motions of a multitude, according as they might best serue to aduantage their proceedings. Neither did Cæsar let slippe the occasion of making vse of this their religion: for, vnderstanding by their prisoners, that their diuinations forbadde them to fight before the new Moone, he vsed all the meanes he could to prouoke them to battell; that their religious opinion of mischicuing, might preiudice their resolution to returne Conquerers. Which may serue to proue, that a superstitious people are subiect to many inconueniences, which industry or Fortune may discouer to their ouerthrowe.

It is recorded, that Columbus, being Generall of some forces, which Ferdinando king of Castile sent to discouer the West Indies, and suffering great penurie for want of victuals in the Ile of Iamaica: after that hee had obserued how the Ilanders worshipped the Moone, and hauing knowledge of an Eclipse that was shortly after to happen; hee told the inhabitants, that vnlesse they would furnish him with such necessaries as he wanted for the time, the vvrath of their God should quickly appeare towards them, by changing his bright shining face into obscuritie and darknesse: which was no sooner happened, but the poore Indians, strooken with a superstitious feare of that which the course of nature required, kept nothing backe that might asist their enemies, to depopulate and ouer-runne their owne Country.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIX.

Cæsar seeketh meanes to giue them battell,
and the Germans dispose themselves
thereunto.



He next day, Cæsar left a sufficient Guarizon in each of his Campes; and, forasmuch as the number of his legionarie souldiers was small, in respect of the multitude of the Germanes, hee placed all the Auxiliarie troopes for a shew, before the lesser Camp: and putting his legions in a triple battell, he marched towards the Camp of Ariouistus. And then at length, ouer the Germanes constrained to bring out their power, setting euerie Tribe and people by themselves, in like distance and order of battell (as, the Harudes, Marcomans, Triboces, Vangiones, Nemetes, Sedusians and Sueuians) and inuironing their vvhole Army with Cartes and cariage, that there might be no hope at all left to save any man by flight. And in these they placed their women, that they by their out-stretched hands and teares, mouing pittie, might implore the souldiers, as they descended by course to the battell, not to deliuer them into the bondage and thraldome of the Romaines.

Cæsar, assigned to euery legion a Legat and a Questor, that euery man might haue an eye-witnesse of his valour: and he himselfe, began the battell with the right Cornet, forasmuch as he perceived that part of Ariouistus Armie to be the vweakest.

Cæsar.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



He Romaines, euen from the infancie of their state, were ever zealous admirers of true honour, and alwaies desired to behold with the eye, to what measure of vertue euery man had attained; that the tongue with greater seruencie of spirit, might sound out the celebration of *Macte virtute*; which imported more honour then any wealth that could be heaped vpon them. Neither was this the least part of their wisdom: considering that the most precious things that are, lose much much of their worth, if they be not sited with other correspondent natures, whose sympathy addeh much more excellencie then is discerned, when they appeare by themselves without such assistance. For, how small is the beautie which Nature hath giuen to the eye-pleasing Diamond, when it is not adorned with an artificiall forme? or what perfection can the forme giue, without a foile to strengthen it? or what good is in either of them, if the light doe not illuminate it? or what auaile all these, where there wanteth an eye to admire it, a iudgement to value it, and an hart to imbrace it? Such a vnion hath Nature imprinted in the diuer-

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fitie of creatures concurring to perfection, and especially in morall actions, in whose cariage there is a far greater exactnesse of correspondencie required to approue them honorable, then was requisite to make the iewel beautifull. And this did Cæsar in all his batells; amongst the rest, that at Aleſia is particularlie noted in this manner, *Quod in conspectu imperatoris res gerebatur, neque recte aut turpiter factum celari poterat, utroque & laudis cupiditas & timor ignominie ad virtutem excitabat.* And when Liue would expresse how valiantly an action was caried, hee saith no more but in *conspectu imperatoris res gerebatur*: which is as much to say, that forasmuch as the Romaines were diligent obseruers of euery mans worth, rewarding vertue with honour, and cowardice with reproch; euery man bent his whole indeauour to deserue the good opinion of his Generall, by discharging that dutie which he owed to the Commonwealth, with all loyaltie and faithfulness of spirit.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

THe Romaines had foure formes of the front of their battell: the first was called *Acies recta*, when neither the cornets nor the battell was aduanced one before another, but were all caried in a right line, and made a straight front; and this was their most vsuall manner of im-

battailing. The second forme of the front was called *obliqua*, when as one of the cornets was aduanced neerer vnto the enemy then the rest, to beginne the battell: and this was commonly as Vegetius noteth, the right corner: for the right corner of an Army had great aduantage against the left of the enemies, in regard of their weapons and furniture. But Cæsar did it in this place, because he perceived that the enemy was weakest in that part; following a maxime of great authoritie, that the weakest part of an enemy, is in the beginning to be charged with the strength of an Armie: for, so fauourable are mens iudgements to that which is already happened, that the sequell of euery action, dependeth for the most part vpon the beginning. *Dimidium facti qui bene cepit habet*, saith a Poet: and not without great reason, so forcible continually is the beginning, and so connected to the sequell by the nature of a precedent cause, that the end must needs erre from the common course, when it doth not participate of that qualitie which was in the beginning. Neither can there be any good end without a good beginning: for, although the beginning be oftentimes disastrous & vnluckie, and the end fortunate and happy, yet before it came to that end, there was a fortunate beginning: for, the bad beginning, was not the beginning of a good, but of an euill end. And therefore, that his men might foresee a happy end in a good beginning, it behooued him with the best of his Army to assault the weakest part of the enemy.

The third forme of the front, is called *sinuata*, when both the cornets are aduanced forward, and the battell standeth backward off from the enemy, after the fashion of a halfe moone. Scipio vsed it in Spaine, hauing obserued some daies

daies before, that the enemy continually so disposed of the battell, that his best souldiers were alwaies in the midst; and therefore Scipio put all his old souldiers in the cornets, and brought them out first to charge vpon the weakest part of the enemy, that those might decide the controuersie, before the other that were in the midst could come to fight.

The last forme is called *gibbosa*, or *gibbera Acies*; when the battell is aduanced, and the two cornets lag behind. This forme did Haniball vse in the battell of Cannas; but with this Art, that hee strengthened his two cornets with the best of his souldiers, and placed his weakest in the middelt, that the Romaines following the retreat of the battell, which was easily repeld, might bee inclosed on each side with the two cornets.

CHAP. XX.

The Battell betweene Cæsar and Ariouistus.



He signe of the battell being thereupon giuen, our men charged vpon the enemy very fiercely; and they on the other side, returned so speedily a counterbuffle, that the legions had no time to cast their piles, and in that regard, made haste to be take themselves to their swords: But the Germanes, according to their manner, putting themselves into a Phalanx, receiued the force of their swords. In the battell, there were many legionary souldiers seeme to leape vpon the Phalanx, and to pull up with their hands, the targets that couered it, and so to wound and kill those that were underneath: and so the left Corner of the enemy was ouerthrowne and put to flight.

Now, while the right Corner was thus bused, the left Corner was ouercharged with an vnequall multitude of the Germanes: which young Crassus the Generall of the horse no sooner perceived (hauing more scope and libertie then any of the Commanders that were in the battell) hee sent tertium Aciem, the third battell, to reskew and aide their fellows that were in danger; by means whereof, the fight was renewed, and all the enemy was put to flight, and neuer looked backe, untill they came to the Rhene, which was about five miles from the place where they fought. Where, some few of them saued themselves by swimming: others found some boate, and so escaped. Ariouistus, lighting vpon a little Barke tied to the shore, recovered the other side, & so saued himselfe: the rest, were all slaine by the horsemen. Ariouistus had two wiues: one a Sweuiian, whom he brought with him from home; and the other, of Noronberge, the sister of King Voccion, sent vnto him by her brother into Gallia, and married there: both these perished in that fight. His two daughters likewise being there, one was slaine, and the other taken.

As Cæsar pursued the Germane horsemen, it was his chauce to light vpon Valerius Proculus, as he was drawne up and downe by his Keepers, bound in three chaines: which accident, was as gratefull to him as the victorie it selfe; beeing

Cæsar.

OBSERVATIONS VPON CÆSARS

so fortunate to recover his familiar friend, and a man of sort in the Province, whom the barbarous enemy (contrary to the law of Nations) had cast in prison. Neither would Fortune by the losse of him, abate any thing of so great pleasure and contentment: for, he reported, that in his owne presence, they had three severall times cast lots, whether he should be burned alive; and still escaped by the fortune of the lots: And M. Titius was found in like manner, and brought unto him. The same of this battell being caried beyond the Rhene, the Swenians that were come to the banks of Rhene, returned home againe: whom the inhabitants nere upon that river pursued, finding them terrified and distracted, and slew a great number of them.

Cæsar, having thus ended two great varres in one Sommer, hee brought his Armie into their vointering Campes, some-what sooner then the time of the yeere required: and leaving Labienus to commaund them, himselfe returned into the hither Gallia, to keepe Courts and publique Diets.

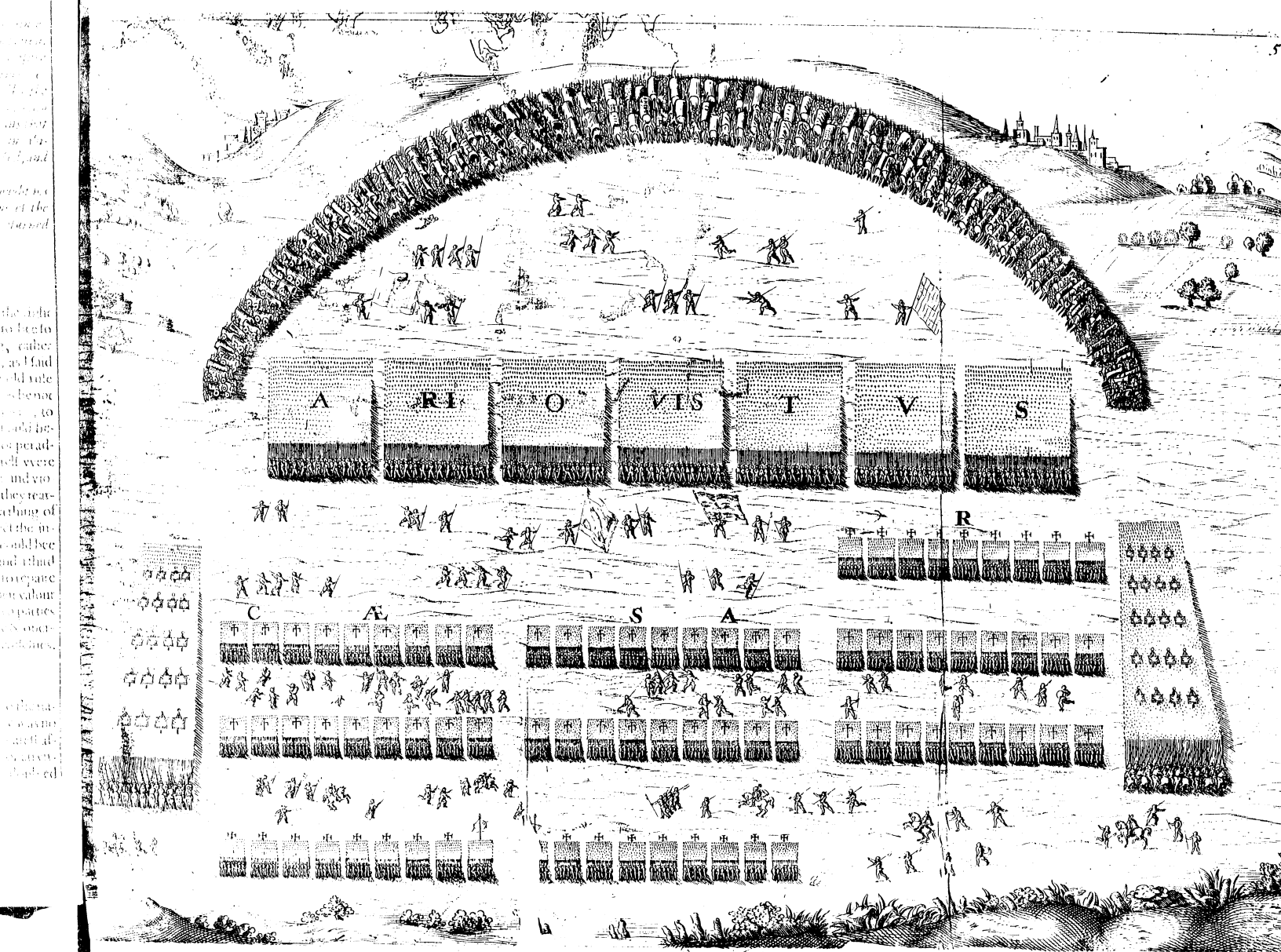
THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

THis Phalanx, here mentioned, can hardly be proued to be the right Macedonian Phalanx; but wee are rather to vnderstand it to bee so rearmed, by reason of the close and compact imbattailing, rather then in any other respect: and it resembled much a *testudo*, as I said of the Heluetian Phalanx. Secondly, I observe, that Cæsar kept the old rule concerning their discipline in fight: for, although the name of *Triaries* be not mentioned in his historie; yet he omitted not the substance: which was, to haue *primam, secundam, & tertiam Aciem*; and that *prima Acies* should beginne the battell, and the second should come fresh and assaile them: or peradventure if the enemy were many and strong, the first and second battell were ioyned together, and so charged vpon the enemy with greater furie and violence; but at all aduentures, the third battell was euer in *subsidio*, as they termed it, to succour any part that should be overcharged: which was a thing of much consequence, and of great wisdom. For, if wee either respect the encouragement of the souldiours, or the casualtie of Fortune, what could bee more added to their discipline in this behalfe, then to haue a second and a third succour, to giue strength to the fainting weakenesse of their men, and to repaire the disadvantage which any accident should cast vpon them? or if their valour were equally ballanced, and victorie stood doubtfull which of the two parties she should honour, these alwaies stept in, being fresh, against wearie & overlaboured spirits, and so drew victorie in despite of casualtie, vnto themselves.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Oncerning vse of lottes, it shall not be amisse to looke into the nature of them; beeing in former times so generally, that there was no Nation, ciuill or barbarous, but were directed in their greatest affaires, by the sentence of lots. As wee may not refuse for an vndoubted

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doubted truth, that which Salomon saith in the 16 of Prouerbs; The lottes are cast into the lap, but the direction thereof belongeth to the Lord: through the knowledge whereof, Iosua was directed to take Achan, the Mariners Ionas, & the Apostles to consecrate Matthias; So, whether the heathen and barbarous people, whose blindness in the way of truth, could direct them no further then to senselesse superstition, & put them in mind of a dutie which they owed; but could not tell them what it was, nor how to be performed: whether these, I say, were perswaded that there was any supernaturall power in their lotteries, which directed the action to the decree of destinie, & as the Gods would haue it, it remaineth doubtfull.

Aristotle, the wisest of the heathen, concerning things naturall, nameth that euent casual, or proceeding from Fortune, of which the reason of man could assigne no cause, or (as he saith) which hath no cause. So that whatsoever happened in any action, besides the intent of the agent and workman, was termed an effect of Fortune, or chance of hab-nab: For, all other effects, which depended vpon a certaintie and definite cause, were necessarily produced; and therefore could not be casual, or subiect to the inconstancie of chance. And because many and sundry such chances daily happened, which like *terra filij* had no Father, and could not be warranted as lawfull children, either to nature, or to reason, by the appearance of an efficient cause, they reduced them all to the power of Fortune; as the principall efficient and soueraigne Motor, of all such vnexpected euents: that is, they made nothing else the Gouvernesse, and directresse of many things. Which afterward grew to such credit amongst men, that it surpassed in dignity all naturall causes, and was deified with celestial honour, as the Poet saith: *Nos te facimus Fortuna deam caloque locamus*. By the prouidence of this blind Goddesse, which held her Deitie by the tenure of mens ignorance, were all casual actions directed, and especially lots; the euent whereof, depended onely vpon her pleasure and decree: neither could their direction be assigned to any other power; for, then their nature had been altered from chance to certaintie, and the euent could not haue bene called *sorts*, but must haue been reputed in the order of necessarie effects, whereof discourse of reason acknowledgeth a certaine foregoing cause. Whereby we see vpon how weak an axletree, the greatest motions of the godlesse world were turned, hauing irregularitie and vncertaintie, for the *intelligentia*, that gouerned their resolutions. All heerein all sorts of men (although in diuers respects) rested as well contented, as if an Oracle had spoken vnto them, and reuealed the mysteries of fatall destinie.

Rome directed the maine course of her government, by the fortune of this mocke destinie: For, although their Consuls & Tribunes were elected by the people, who pleased their owne fancie with the free choice of their Commanders, and suted their obedience with a well liking authoritie: yet the publique affaires, which each Consull was feuerally to manage, was shared out by lots. For, if an enemy were entered into their confines, to depopulate and waste their territories, the lots assigned this Consull for the government of the City; and the other to commaund the legions, and to manage the war.

If forces were to be sent into diuers Prouinces, & against feuerall enemies, neither the Senate nor the people could giue to either Consul his task: but their peculiar charges were authorised by lottes. If any extraordinary action were to be done in the Cittie, as the dedication of a Temple, the sanctifying of the Capitoll after a pollution, *Sors omnia versat*, did all in all. And yet (notwithstanding the weake foundation of this practise in their Theologie and deepest diuinity) we may not thinke but these skilfull Architects of that absolute gouernment, wherein vertue ioyned with true wisdom, to make an vnexampl'd patterne: we may not thinke, I say, but they foresaw the manifold danger, which in the course of common actions could no other way be prevented, but by the vse of lots. For, when things are equally leueled betw een diuers objects, and runne with indifferencie to equall stations, there must be some controlling power, to draw the current towards one Coast, and to appropriate it vnto one channell, that the order of Nature bee not inuerfed, nor a well established gouernment disturbed: So the state of Rome, casting many things with equall charge vpon her two soueraigne Magistrates, which could not be performed but by one of them; what better meanes could there be inuented, to interresse the one in that office, and to discharge the other, then to appoint an Arbitrer, whose decree exceeded humane reason? Of which, it could not bee said why it was so, but that it was so: for, if the wisdom of the Senate had been called to counsell, or the voices of the people calculated to determine of the matter; it might easily haue burst out into ciuill discord, considering the often contentions betwene the Senate and the people, the factions of Clients, and the constant mutabilitie of euerie mans private affections necessarily inclining vnto one, although their worth were equall, & by true reason indiscernable; which might haue made the one proud of that which peraduenture he had not, and cast the other lower then would haue well becomed his vertues: and therefore to cut off these, with many other inconueniences, they inuented lots; which without either reason or will, might decide such controuersies.

By this it appeareth, how little the ancient Law-makers respected the ground and reason of an ordinance, for the commoditie were great, and the vse important to the good of the State: for, as they saw the thing it selfe to be casual, so they saw that casual things are sometimes more necessarie, then demonstrative conclusions: neither ought the nature, and speculative consideration of Lawes and Statutes, to belong to the common people: but the execution and obedience thereof, maketh the Common-weale flourish. And thus endeth the first Commentarie of Cæsar his warre in Gallia.

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THE SECOND COMMENTARIE OF THE WARS IN GALLIA.

THE ARGUMENT.

Like as when a heauy body lieth vpon the skirt of a larger continued quantitie; although it couer but a smal parcel of the whole surface; yet the other quarters are burthened & kept vnder with a proportionable measure of that weight; and through the vnion and continuation which bindeth all the parts into one Totality, feele the same suppression which hath really seized but vpon their fellow part: In like maner the Belgæ, inhabiting the furthest skirt of that triple Continent, seemed to repine at that heauy burthen, which the Romane Empire had laid vpon the Prouince, the Hedi, & other States of that kingdome. And least it might in time be further remoued, and laide directly vpon their shoulders, they thought it expedient whilst they felt it but by participation, to gather their feuerall forces into one head, and try whether they could free their neighbour Nations from so greuous a yoke; or at the least keep it from comming any neerer vnto themselves. And this is the Argument of this second booke; which diuideth it selfe into two parts: the first containing the warres betwene Cæsar and all the States of Belgia vnited together; the second recording the battailes which he made with some of the States thereof in particular, as time and occasion gaue him meanes to effect it.

CHAP. I.

Cæsar hasteth to his Armie, marcheth towards the
Confines of the Belgæ, and taketh in the men of Rheimes.



HE report of this confederacie beeing brought vnto Cæsar, whilst he wintered beyond the Alpes, as well by Letters from Labienus, as by the common hearesay of the world: he leued two new legions in Lumbardie, and sent them by Q. Pedius into Gallia; and assoone as there was any forrage in the fieldes, he himselfe came to the Army. At his arrinall, vnderstanding the Sebones and the rest of

Cæsar.

the Gallies that bordered vpon the Belgæ (to whome hee gaue in charge to learne what was done amongst them) that there was nothing in Belgia but mustering of soldiers, and gathering their forces into one head: he thought it not safe to make any further delay; but hauing made provision of corne, hee drew out his Armie from their wintering camps, and within fifteene daies he came to the borders of the Belgæ. Assoone as he was come thither, which was much sooner then was looked for; the men of Rheimes being the uttermost of the Belgæ, next adioyning to the Celta, thought it best to entertaine a peaceable resolution, and sent Iccius & Antebrogius, two of the chiefe men of their State, vnto Cæsar, to submit themselves and all that they had, to the mercy of the Romane Empire; affirming that they were innocent both of the counsell of the Belgæ, and of their conspiracie against the Romanes. For prooffe whereof they were ready to giue hostages, to receiue them into their townes, & to furnish them with corne or what other thing they stood in need of. That the rest of the Belgæ were all in Armes, and the Germans on the other side of the Rhene had promised to send them succor: yea their madness was so great, that they themselves were not able to hold backe the Sueffones from that attempt, being their brethren & kinsmen in blood, and vsing the same lawes and customes as they did, hauing both one magistrate and one forme of gouernment; but they would needs support the same quarrell which the rest of the Belgæ had undertaken.

OBSERVATION.

Might heere take occasion to speak somewhat of a particular reuolte in a generall cause; and howe a confederate State may in regard of their owne safetie forsake a common quarrell, or whatsoeuer the vniuersall societie hath enacted preiudiciall to their common weale; but that I onely intend to discouer warlike practises, leauing these questions of lawe and policie to men of greater iudgement and better experience. Onely I obserue in the behalfe of the Romaine gouernment, that such cities as yielded to the Empire, and became tributarie to their treasure (howsoeuer they were otherwise combined by confederacie) seldom or neuer repented them of their faile, in regard of the noble patronage which they found in that State, and of the due respect obserued towards them.

CHAP. II.

The power of the Belgæ, and their preparation for this warre.

Cæsar.

Cæsar inquiring of the Embassadors which came from Rheimes what the States were that had taken Armes, and what they were able to doe in matter of Warre: found the Belgæ to be defended from the Germans, who passing ouer the Rhene, time of our mind, droue away the Gallies and seated themselves in their possessions: and that these only of all the Gallies kept the Cimbræ & Teutoni from entering into their

their country: and in that regard they chalenged to themselves great authoritie, and vaunted much in their feats of Armes. Concerning their number, they had these aduertisements: the Bellouaci exceeded all the Belgæ in prowesse, authority, and number of men, and promised 60000. men: and in that regard they demanded the administration of the whole warre. The Sueffones inhabiting a large and fertile country, and hauing 12 walled townes, were set out 50000. The Nervij as many; the Atrebatij 15000. the Ambiani 10000. the Vellodunenses, and Veromandui as many; the Morini 25000. the Menapij 7000. the Caleatani 10000. the Catuaci 19000. the Eburones, Condrusones, and others 40000. Cæsar encouraging the men of Rheimes to persist in their faithfulness to the Romane Empire, propounded vnto them great offers and liberall promises of recompence, and commanded all their senate to come before him, and bring with them their Noble mens Sonnes to be given vp for hostages: which they diligently performed by a day appointed. and hauing receiued two speciall aduertisements from the men of Rheimes, the one concerning the multitude of the enemy; and the other touching the singular opinion which was generally held of their manhood: he provided for the first by perswading Dumnitius the Heduan, that it much imported the whole course of those businesses, to keepe asunder the power of the enemy; and to withhold their forces from making a head, that so he might auoid the danger of encountering so great a power at one instant. Which might easily be brought to passe, if the Hedui would enter with a strong power into the Marches of the Bellouaci, and sacke their Territories with sword and confusion: which Dumnitius promised to performe, and to that purpose he speedily returned into his country. Vpon the second aduertisement, which presented vnto him the great valour and manhood of his enemies, hee resolute not to bee too hastie in giuing them battell, but first to proue by skirmishing with his horsemen what his enemies by their prowesse could doe, and what his owne men durst doe.

OBSERVATION.

His rule of making trial of the worth of an enemy, hath alwaies been obserued by prudent & graue commanders, as the surest principle wheron the true iudgement of the enemy may be grounded. For, if the doctine of the old Philosophers, which teacheth that the worde *non putabam* was neuer heard out of a wise mans mouth, haue any place in the course of humane actions; it ought especially to be regarded in managing these maine points, whereon the State of Kingdomes and Empires dependeth. For, vnlesse we be perswaded that blind Chance directeth the course of this world with an vn certaine confusion, and that no foresight can sway the ballance of our hap into either part of our fortunes; I see no reason why we should not by all means indeuor to ground our knowledge vpon true causes and leuel our proceedings to that certaintie which riseth from the things themselves. And this is the rather to be viged, inasmuch as our leaders are oftentimes deceived when they look no further then to match an enemy with equalitye of number, referring their valour to bee tried in the battell; not considering that the eye of it selfe cannot

a The country about Deauois.
b The country about Soissons.
c The people about Tournai.
d Arras.
e Amiens.
f Vermandois.
g Terwene.
h Liege.
i 296000.
in all.

60000
50000

difcerne the difference betweene two champions of like preſence and outward carriage, vnles it ſee their ſtrength compared together and weighed as it were in the ſcale of triall: which Cæſar omitted not diligently to obſerue, before he would aduenture the hazard of battell. For, beſides his owne ſatiſfaction, it gaue great encouragement to his men, when they ſaw themſelues able to countermatch an enemy, & knew their task to be ſubiect to their ſtrength: Neither did hee obſerue it onely at this inſtant, but throughout the whole courſe of his actions: for we finde that he neuer encountered any enemy, but with ſufficient power, either in number or in valour, to make head againſt them: which equalitie of ſtrength, being firſt laid as a ſure foundation, he vſed his owne induſtrie and ſkill, and the diſcipline wherein his men were trained, as advantages to overſway his aduerſarie: and ſo drew victorie maugre fortune vnto himſelfe, and ſeldome failed in any of his battells.

CHAP. III.

Cæſar paſſeth his Armie ouer the riuer * Axona,
leauing Titurius Sabinus incamped on the
other ſide with ſixe cohorts.

* La diſci.

Cæſar.



AS SOONE as Cæſar vnderſtood, as well by his diſcouersers, as from the men of Rheimes, that all the power of Belge was aſſembled together into one place, and was now making towards him no great diſtance off: he made all the haſte he could to paſſe his Armie ouer the Riuer Axona, which diuided the men of Rheimes from the other Belge. Whereby he brought to paſſe, that no enemy could come on the backe of him to work any diſadvantage: and that corne might be brought vnto him from Rheimes, and other citties without danger. And further, that hee might command the paſſage backe againe, as occaſion ſhould ſerue to his beſt advantage, hee fortified a bridge which he found on the riuer, with a ſtrong garrifon of men, and cauſed Titurius Sabinus a Legate, to incampe himſelfe on the other ſide of the riuer with ſixe cohorts, commanding him to fortifie his campe with a rampier of 12 foote in altitude, and a trench of 18 foote in breadth.

OBSERVATION.

IF it be demanded, why Cæſar did paſſe his Armie ouer the riuer, leauing it on his backe, and did not rather attend the enemy on the other ſide, and ſo take the advantage of hindring him, if hee ſhould attempt to paſſe over: I will ſet downe the reaſons in the ſequell of this warre, as the occurrences ſhal fall out to make them more euident. In the meane time, let vs enter into the particularitie of theſe ſixe cohorts, that we may the better iudge of ſuch troupes which were imploied in the ſeruices of this warre: but that wee may the better coniecture what number of ſouldiers theſe

there ſixe cohorts did containe; it ſeemeth expedient, a little to diſcourſe of the companies and regiments, which the Romans vſed in their Armies.

And firſt we are to vnderſtand, that the greateſt and chiefeſt regiment in a Roman Armie, was termed by the name of Legio: as Varro ſaith, *quod legumitur milites in delectu*: or as Plutarch ſpeaketh, *quod lecti ex omnibus eſſent militibus*: ſo that it taketh the name Legio, of the choiſe & ſelecting of the ſouldiers. Legio is ſaid to be the firſt author & founder of theſe legions, making euery legion to containe 3000. ſouldiers; but ſhortly after they were augmented, as Feſtus recordeth, vnto 4000: and afterward againe from 4000, to 4200, And then it was augmented to 5000: but that proportion continued onely for that time. And againe, when Scipio went into Africke, the legions were increaſed to 6200 footmen, and 300 horſe. And ſhortly after the Macedonian warre, the legions that continued in Macedonie to keepe the Prouince from rebellion, conſiſted of 6000 footmen and 300 horſe. Out of Cæſar it cannot be gathered, that a legion in his time did exceede the number of 5000 men, but oftentimes it was ſhort of that number: for he himſelfe ſaith that in this warre in Gallia his ſouldiers were ſo waſted, that he had ſcarce 7000 men in two legions. And if we examine that place out of the 3. of the ciuill warre, where he ſaith, that in Pompei his Armie were 110 cohorts, which amounted to the number of 55000 men: and being maniſeſt as well by theſe number of cohorts, as by the teſtimony of diuers authors that Pompei his Armie conſiſted of 11 legions; if wee deuide 55000 into 11. parts, we ſhall find a legion to conſiſt of 5000 men. Which number or thereabout, being generally knowne to be the vſual rate of a legion, the Romans alwaies expreſſed the ſtrength of their Armie by the number of legions that were therein: as in this warre it is ſaid, that Cæſar had eight legions: which by this account might ariſe to 40000 men, beſides associates, & ſuch as neceſſarily attended the Armie. Further, we are to vnderſtand, that euery legion had his peculiar name, by which it was knowne and diſtinguiſhed from the reſt: & that it tooke either from their order of multer, or inrolement; as that legion which was firſt inrolled, was called the firſt legion; and that which was ſecond in the choiſe, the ſecond legion; and ſo conſequently of the reſt; and ſo we reade in this hiſtorie, the ſeuenth, the eighth, the ninth, the tenth, the eleuenth and twelfth legion: or otherwiſe from the place of their warfare, and ſo we reade of legiones Germanica, Panonica, Britannica, and ſuch others: and ſome time of their Generall, as *Augusta, Claudia, Vitelliana legiones*, and ſo forth. Or to conclude, from ſome accident of qualitie, as *Rapax, Pictrix, Fulminiſera* & ſuch like. And thus much of the name and number of a legion: which I muſt neceſſarily diſtinguiſh into diuers kindes of ſouldiers, according to the firſt inſtitution of the old Romans, and the continuall obſeruation thereof vnto the decay of a legion was compounded.

Firſt therefore we are to vnderſtand, that after the Conſuls had made a general choiſe and ſworne the ſouldiers, the Tribunes choſe out the youngſt and pooreſt of all the reſt, and called them by the name of Velites. Their place

A legion
what it was.
Lib. 4.
De vita Re-
muli.

Liv. lib. 22.

Tacitus 3.
hiſt.

Feſtus.

in

Hastati,

Principes,

Lib. 6.

Lib. 1. de mil.

Rom.

The use of
this division.The distinction
of their
companies.

Manipuli,

Ordo.

in regard of the other soldiers was both base & dishonorable: not only because they fought a far off, and were lightly armed; but also in regard they were commonly exposed to the enemy, as our forlorne hopes are. Having chosen out a competent number for this kinde, they proceeded to the choise of them which they called Hastati, a degree above the Velites, both in age and wealth, and termed them by the name of Hastati; forasmuch as at their first institution they fought with a kind of sauelin, which the Romanes called Hasta: but before Polybius his time they vfed Piles; notwithstanding their ancient name continued vnto the later time of the Empire. The third choise which they made, was of the strongest and lustiest bodied men, who for the prime of their age were called Principes: the rest that remain'd were named Triarii, as Varro saith; *Quod tertio ordine extremis subsidio deponitur*: These were alwaies the eldest and best experienced men, and were placed in the third diuision of the battell, as the last help and refuge in all extremitie. Polybius saith, that in his time the Velites, Hastati, and Principes, did consist of 1200 men apeece; and the Triarii neuer exceeded the number of 600. although the generall number of a legion were augmented: whereof Lypsius alledged these reasons; First because these Triarii consisted of the best of the soldiers, and so might counteruaile a greater number in good worth and valour. Secondly, it seldom came to buckle with the enemy, but when the controversie grew very doubtfull. Lastly, wee may well coniecture that the voluntaries and extraordinary followers, ranged themselves amongst these Triaries, & so made the third battell equal to either of the former: but howsoever, they neuer exceeded the number of 600. And by this it appeareth, that in Polybius his time the common rate of a legion was 4200.

In this diuision of their men, consisted the ground of that well ordered discipline; for, in that they distinguished them according to their yeeres and ability, they reduced their whole strength into severall classes; and so disposed of these different parts, that in the generall composition of their whole body, euery part might be fitted with place & office, according as his worth was answerable to the same: and so they made not only a number in grosse, but a number distinct by parts and properties; that from euery accident which met with any part of the Army, the iudgment might determine how much or how little it imported the whole bodie: besides the great vse which they made of this distinction in their degrees of honour and preferment; a matter of no small consequence, in the excellencie of their government.

The souldiers, at their inrolement being thus diuided according to their yeeres and abilitie, they then reduced them into smaller companies, to make them fitter for command and fight: and so they diuided the Hastati, Principes, and Triarii, each of them into 10 companies, making of those three sorts of souldiers 30 small regiments, which they called Manipuli: And againe, they subdivided euery manipule into two equal parts, and called them Ordo, which was the least company in a legion; and according to the rate set down by Polybius, contained 60 souldiers. In euery Ordo there was a Centurion, or Captaine, and a Lieutenant, whom they named Optio or Tergiductor. The maniples of the Triarii were much lesser then the maniples of either the Hastati or the Prin-

cipes;

cipes; for as much as their whole band consisted but of 600. men. The Velites were put into no such companies, but were equally distributed amongst the other Maniples; and therefore the Hastati, Principes, and Triarii were called *subsignati milites*, to make a difference betweene them & the Velites, which were not diuided into bands; and so consequently had no ensigne of their own, but were distributed amongst the other companies: so that euery Manipule had 40. Velites attending vpon it. And now I come to the description of a cohort, which the history heere mentioneth.

The worde *Cohors* in latine doth signifie that part of ground which is commonly inclosed before the gate of a house; which from the same word wee call a court: and Varro giueth this reason of the metaphor. As in a farme house, saith he, many out-buildings ioyned together make one inclosure; so a cohort consisteth of severall maniples ioined together in one body. This cohort consisted of three maniples; for euery legion had ten cohorts, which must necessarily comprehend those thirty maniples: but these three maniples were not al of one and the same kind of souldiers, as three maniples of the Hastati, 3 of the Principes, and 3 of the Triarii, as Patricius in his Paralleli seemeth to asseme; for so there would haue remained an odde manipule in euery kind, that could not haue bene brought into any cohort: But a cohort contained a manipule of the Hastati, a manipule of the Principes, and a manipule of the Triarii; and so all the 30. maniples were included into 10. cohorts; and euery cohort was a little legion: forasmuch as it consisted of all those sorts of souldiours that were in a legion. So that making a legion to containe 5000. men; a cohort had 500. and so these 6. cohorts, which he incamped on the other side of the riuer, vnder the command of Tiberius Sabinus, contained 3000 souldiers: but if you make a legion to consist but of 4200 which was the more vsuall rate, there were 2520 souldiers in these sixe cohorts.

By this therefore it may appeare, that a legion consisted of foure sorts of souldiours, which were reduced into ten cohorts, and euery cohort contained 300. maniples; and euery manipule 2 orders: and euery order had his Centurion marching in the head of the troupe; and euery Centurion had his optionem, or Lieutenant, that stood in the taile of the troupe.

When a legion stood ranged in battell ready to confront the enemy, the least body or squadron that it contained was a manipule; wherein the two orders were ioined together, making jointly ten in front, and twelue in file: and so euery five files had their Centurion in front, & Lieutenant in the rereward, to direct them in all aduentures. In the time of the Emperours, their battailions consisted of a cohort, and neuer exceeded that number how great soeuer the Armie were.

Polybius distinguishing a manipule into two centuries or orders, saith, that the Centurion first chosen by the Tribunes, commanded the right order, which was that order which stood on the right hand, knowne by the name of *Primus ordo*: and the Centurion elected in the second course, commanded the left order; and in the absence of either of them, hee that was present of them two, commanded the whole manipule. And so we finde that the Centurion of the

Cohors.
Lib. 3. de re
milit.

40

A legion ran-
ge in battell,The first or-
der.

first

3 De bello
civil.

first place was called *Prior Centuria*: in which sense Cæsar is to be understood, where he saith that all the Centurions of the first cohorte were slaine, *Præter principem priorem*. From whence we gather two specialities: first, the priority betwene the Centurions of the same Maniple: for, a cohorte consisting of 3. Maniples, whereof the first Maniple were *Triarii*, the second *Principes*, and the third *Hastati*; and every Maniple containing two orders; and every order a Centurion: he saith, that al the Centurions of this cohorte were slaine; saving the first or vpper Centurion of the *Principes*. The second thing which I observe, is the title of the first cohorte: for these 10. cohortes, whereof a Legion consisted, were distinguished by degrees of worthinels; and that which was held the worthiest in the censure of the Electors, tooke the priority both of place and name, and was called the first cohorte: the next, the second cohorte; and so consequently vnto the tenth and last.

Primico-
hors.

Neither did the Legions want their degrees of preheminnence, both in imbatailing and in incamping, according either to the senioritic of their inrollment, or the fauor of their Generall, or their owne vertue: And so we reade that in these wars in Gallia, the tenth Legion had the first place in Cæsars Armie. And thus much concerning the diuisions, and seuerall companies of a Legion, and the degrees of honour which they held in the same.

The benefit of
this disci-
pline.

Vpon this description it shal not be amisse, briefly to lay open the most apparent commodities depending vpon this discipline: the excellencie whereof more plainly appeareth, being compared to that order, which Nature hath obserued in the frame of her worthiest creatures: for it is eident, that such workes of Nature come neereſt to perfect excellency, whose materiall substance is most particularly distinguished into parts, and hath every part indued with that propertie, which best agreeth to his peculiar seruice. For, being thus furnished with diuersitie of instruments, and these directed with fitting abilities, the creature must needs expresse many admirable effectes, and discouer the worth of an excellent nature: whereas those other bodies, that are but slenderly laboured, and find lesse fauour in Natures forge, being as abortiues, or barbarously compoed, wanting the diuersitie both of parts and faculties; are no way capable of such excellent vles, nor fit for such distinct seruices, as the former that are directed with so many properties, & inabled with the power of so wel distinguish'd faculties. Which better workes of Nature the Romans imitated in the Architecture of their Army, diuiding it into such necessary & seruiceable parts, as were best fitting al vles & impliments: as first Legions, and legions into cohorts, and cohorts into maniples, and maniples into centuries or orders, and these into files; wherein every man knew his place, and kept the same without exchange or confusion: and thus the vniversal multitude was by order disposed into parts, vntill it came vnto a vnitie. For it cannot be denied, but that these centuries were in themselves so sensible distinguished, that every souldiour carried in his minde the particular Mappe of his whole centurie: for in imbatailing, every centurie was disposed into 5. files, containing twelue in a file; whereof the leaders were alwaies certaine, and neuer changed but by death or some other speciall occasion: and euerie leader

leader knew his follower, and every second knew the third man, and so consequently vnto the last.

Vpon these particularities it plainly appeareth, how easie a matter it was; to reduce their troupes into any order of a march or a battell, to make the front the flanke, or flanke front, when they were broken and disfrankt to rallie them into any forme, when every man knew both his owne and his fellows station. If any companies were to be imployed vpon sudden seruice, the general Idea of the Armie being so deeply imprinted in the mind of the commanders, would not suffer them to erre in taking out such cōuenient troupes, both for number and qualitie, as might best agree with the safety of the Armie, or nature of the action. At all occasions and opportunities, these principles of aduantage offered theſelues, as ready meanes, to put in execution any designe, or stratagem whatsoever: the proiect was no sooner resolved of, but euerie man could readily point out the companies that were fit to execute the intention. And which is more important, in regard of the life and spirit of every such part, their sodalitie was sweetened, or rather strengthened with the mutual acquaintance, and friendship one of another; the captaine marching alwaies in the head of the troupe, the ensigne in the middelt, and the lieutenant in the rereward, and every man accompanied with his neighbour and his friend: which bred a true and vnfaigned courage, both in regard of theſelues, and of their followers. Besides these specialities, the places of title and dignity depending vpon this order, were no smal meanes to cut off all matter of ciuill discorde, and intestine dissension: for, here every man knew his place in the File, and euerie File knew his place in the Centurie, and every Centurie in the Maniple, and every Maniple in the Cohort, and every Cohort in the Legion, and every Legion in the Armie; and so every souldier had his place, according to his vertue; and every place gaue honour to the man, according as their discipline had determined thereof.

The want of this discipline hath dishonoured the martiall government of this age, with bloudshed and murders; whereof France is too true a witness, as well in regard of the French theſelues, as of our English forces that haue bene sent thither to appease their tumults: for, through defect of this order, which alloteth to every man his due place, the controuersie grew betwene Sir William Drurie & Sir Iohn Bowrowes; the issue whereof is too well known to the world: wherein as our commanders in France haue bene negligent, so I may not forget to giue due commendation to the care which is had of this point amongst the English troupes, in the seruice of the States in the vnitied prouinces; where they are very curious in appointing euerie man his place in the File, and every File in the troupe; and find much benefit thereby, besides the honour of reuiuing the Roman discipline.

To conclude this point, I will onely touch in a word the benefite, which the Romans found in their small battailions, & the disadvantage, which we haue in making great squadrons. And first it cannot be denied, but that such troupes stand best appointed for disposition & array of battell, which standing strong to receiue a shocke, bring most men to fight with the enemy; for, the principal things

The benefit of
small battai-
lions: and the
disadvantage
of great squad-
rons.

things which are required in setting of a battel, are so to order the troupes, that the depth in flanke may serue conveniently to withstand the assault, taking vp no more men then may well serue for that purpose; and giuing meanes to the rest to fight with the enemie: and in these two points, were both their defensie and offensive considerations comprehended. But smaller troupes and battalions afford this conueniencie better then great squadrons: which drowne vp manie able men in the depth of their flanks, and neuer suffer them to appeare, but when the breaking of the squadron doth present them to the butchery of the enemie. The Macedonian Phalanx, as I haue noted in the first booke, neuer carried about 16. in flanke, & brought 300 to fight in front. And these little battalions (considering them as they stood in battell) made as great a front or greater, then that of the Phalanx, keeping a depth answerable to the same; besides the 2 and 3 battell, which alwaies were to succour the, which the Phalanx wanted: neither would their thicke and close inbattailing admit any such succour behind them. Now if we compare the aduantages and discommodities, which by place and accident were incident to either of these, we shall find great odds betweene them. These great squadrons are not failable, but in plaine and open places, where they may either stand immouable, or make easy & slow motions without shaking or disordering their body: but the lesser are a teantling for all places, champion or wooddie, leuell or vneuen, or of what site or qualite foueuer. And to conclude, if two or three ranks of these great battalions chance to be broken and disordered, the whole body is as much interested in the disorder, as the said ranks are; and hath lesse meanes to rally it selfe, then any other lesser company: but if any violence chance to rout a Maniple, it proceedeth no further in the Army, then that part which it taketh: Neither can the disranging of any one part, betray the safety of the Armie to disorder & confusion; for as much as their distinction serued to cut off such inconueniences, & yet no waie hindered the generall vniing of their strength into one body. More maie bee said concerning this matter: but I onely point at it, and leaue the due consideration thereof, to the iudgement of our commanders, & returne to our history.

CHAP. IIII.

The Belgæ attempt the surprise of * Bibrax:

Cæsar sendeth succour vnto it.



HERE was a towne called Bibrax, belonging to the state of Rheimes, about eight miles from Cæsars Campe; which the Belgæ thought to haue surpris'd, as they came along to meete with Cæsar; and suddenly assaulted it with such furie, that the townsmen could hardly holde out the first day. The Celsæ and Belgæ vsed one and the same manner, in assaulting a towne: for, hauing beset the whole compasse of the wall with ranks

*A Bray in the
county of Rg-
sell.*

rankes of souldiers, they neuer cease slinging of stones vntill they finde the wall naked of defendants; and then casting themselves into a Testudo, they approche to the gate & undermine the walls. As soone as the night had made an end of the assault, Icticius Rheimes, a man of great birth and authority in his country, who at that time was gouernour of the towne, and had bene before with Cæsar, to treat and conclude a Peace: sent him worde by messengers, that if there came not preste succour, he was not able to hold out any longer. The same day about midnight (vsing the same messengers for guides) he sent both Numidian and Cre-tian Archers, & Slingers of the Iles of Baleares, to relieue the towne: by meanes whereof, the townsmen were put in good hope to make their partie strong, and the enemie made hopeles of winning the towne: and therefore after a smal stay, hauing populated their fields, and burned their villages and out-buildings, they marched with all their power towards Cæsars Campe; and within lesse then two miles of the Armie, they incamped their whole host: which, as was gathered by the smoke and fire, occupied more ground then eight miles in breadth.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

IN the description of their assault, we are to obserue two circumstances: The first is, the manner they vsed in a sudden surprise: The second is, the forme and qualitie of a Testudo. Although Cæsar seemeth to attribute this manner of assaulting a towne, as peculiar, to the Galles; yet we may not thinke but that the Romans vsed it, as often as they had occasion to surprise any citie: but because the Galles knew no other meanes to take a towne but this, therefore he setteth it downe as peculiar vnto them. The Romans called this manner of assault *Corona*; and so we read oftentimes this phrase, *Cingere urbem corona*: forasmuch as the soldiers inclosed the towne with a circle, and so resembled a crowne or garland. Ammianus speaketh of a triple crowne of souldiers, which incompassed a towne: And Iosephus telleth of *Isotapatam*, which the Romans besieged *duplici peditum corona*: and besides these, there was a third circle of horsemen vtmost of al. There is no further matter to be obserued but this; that in surprising a towne, they incircled it round about with thicke continued ranks of men, and where they found the wall weakest, there they entered as they could.

*To take a
towne by sur-
prise.*

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

THE Testudo requireth a larger discourse, and is liuely described in Litiæ, after this manner. In the Amphitheater, where the people do often assemble to see strange fights and publike shewes, were brought in (saith he) 360 lusty young men, who after some motion, & seemely march, cast themselves into a square troupe, and roofing their heades close with their targets, the first ranke which made the front of the Testudo, stood vpright on their feet; the second ranke bowed it selfe somewhat lower; the

*A Testudo
described.
Lib. 44.*

the third and fourth ranks did more incline themselves, and so consequently vnto the last ranke, which kneeled on the ground: and so they made a bodie resembling halfe the side of an house, which they called Testudo. Vnto this Squadron so strongly combined together, came two souldiers running some fittie foot off; and threatening each other with their weapons ran nimbly vp the side of the rooffe; & sometimes making as though they would defend it against an enemy, that would haue entred vpon it; sometimes againe encountering each other in the midst of it, leaped vp and downe as steadily as if they had been vpon firme ground. And which is more strange, the front of a Testudo being applied to the side of a wall, there ascended many armed men vpon the said Testudo, and fought in an equall height with other souldiers, that stood vpon the said wall to defend it. The dissimilitude in the composition was this, that the souldiers that were in front, and in the sides of the square, caried not their Targets ouer their heads, as the other did; and covered their bodies with them: & so no weapons either cast from the wall, or otherwise throwne against it, could any waie hurt them; and whatsoever waight fell vpon the Testudo, it quickly glyded downe by the decliuitie of the rooffe, without any hurt or annoyaunce at all.

Thus far Liue goeth; neither doe I know what to say further of it: the chiefest vse thereof was in a surprise or suddaine attempt against a towne, before the townes men were thoroughly prepared to defend the same. This inuention serueth them to approach the wall with safetie, and so either to vndermine it, or to cline vp: and to that end they oftentimes erected one Testudo vpon another. Tacitus saith, that the souldiers climed vpon the wall, *super iteratam testudinem*, by one Testudo made vpon another; and this was the ancient forme and vse of a Testudo in a suddaine assault or surprise.

Lib. 49

Dio Cassius, in the actes of Antonie, saith, that beeing galled with the Parthian Archers, he commanded his whole Armie to put it selfe into a Testudo: which was so strange a sight to the Parthians, that they thought the Romanes hadde sunke downe for wearines and faintnes; and so forsaking their horse, drew their swordes to haue made execution: and then the Romanes, at a watch worde giuen, rose againe with such a furie, that they put them all to sword and flight. Dio describeth the saide Testudo after this manner: They placed, saith hee, their baggage, their light armed men and their horsemen, in the midst; and those heauie armed footemen that carried long gutter-tiled Targettes, were in the vtmost circles next vnto the Enemy: The reste (which bare large Quall Targettes) were thronged together throughout the whole troupe; and so covered with their Targets both themselves and their fellows, that there was nothing discerned by the Enemy but a rooffe of Targets: which were so tiled together, that men might safely goe vpon them.

Further, wee oftentimes reade, that the Romanes cast themselves into a Testudo, to breake through an Enemy, or to route and disranke a troupe. And this vse the Romanes had of a Testudo in field seruices, and only by the benefit of their Target. It was called a Testudo, in regard of the strength, for that it covered

covered

covered and sheltered, as a shell couereth a fish. And let this suffice concerning a Testudo.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

THardly, we may obserue, how carefully Cæsar provided for the safetie of such succours as he sent vnto Bibrax: for, hee commanded the same messengers to direct them that came from the towne, as the best & surest guides in that iourney; least peradventure through ignorance of the way, they might fall into inconueniences or dangers. A matter of no small consequence in managing a war; but deserueth an extraordinary importunitie, to perswade the necessitie of this diligence: for, a Generall, that hath perfectly discovered the nature of the country, through which he is to march, & knoweth the true distances of places, the qualitie of the waies, the compendiousness of turnings, the nature of the hills, & the course of the riuers, hath all these particularities, as maine aduantages, to giue meanes of so many severall attempts vpon an enemy. And in this point, Haniball had a singular dexteritie, and excelled all the Commanders of his time, in making vse of the way, by which he was to passe. But, he that leadeth an Army, by an vnknowne and vndiscovered way, and marcheth blindfold vpon vncertaine aduentures, is subiect to as many casualties and disadvantages, as the other hath opportunitie of good fortune. Let every man therefore perswade himselfe, that good Discoverers are as the eyes of an Armie, and serue for lights in the darknesse of ignorance, to direct the resolutions of good prouidence, and make the path of safety so manifest, that we need not stumble vpon casualties. Cæsar, in his iourney to Ariouistus, vied the help of Diuitiacus the Heduan, in who amongst all the Galles, he reposed greatest confidence, to discover the way, and acquaint him with the passages: and before he would vndertake his voyage vnto * Britanie, hee vwell enformed himselfe by Marchants and traualers, of the quantitie of the Island, the qualitie of the people, their vse of war, and the opportunitie of their hauens. Neither was he satisfied with their relations, but he sent Caius Volusenus in a ship of war, to see what he could further discover, concerning these points. Suetonius addeth moreouer, that he neuer caried his Army, *per insidiosa itinera*, vnlesse he had first well discovered the places.

Concerning the order, which skillfull Leaders haue obserued in discoveries, we are to knowe that this point consisteth of two partes: the one, in vnderstanding the perfect description of the country; and the second, in obseruing the motions of the enemy. Touching the first, wee find as well by this as other histories, that the Romans vied the inhabitants of the country for Guides, as best acquainted with their native places, that they might not erre in so important a matter; provided alwaies, that their owne scoutes were euer abroad to vnderstand what they could of themselves, that they might not altogether relie vpon a strangers direction. The motions of the Enemy were obserued by the horsemen: and these for the most part were Veterans, well experienced in the matter

H.

The necessity
of good discovery.

* Now England.

The order
which is to be
observed in
discovery.

of

of warre, and so the General received found aduertisements: & yet they were not too forward vpon any new motion, vnlesse they found it confirmed by diuers waies: for, some Elpials may erre, either through passion or affection, as it happened in the Heluctian war. If therefore the vse and benefit, which prudent and wife Commaunders made of this diligence, or the misfortune which the want of this knowledge brought vpon the ignorant, haue any authoritie to perswade a circumspect care heerein, this little that hath been spoken, may be sufficient for this point.

THE FOURTH OBSERVATION.

Slingers with
their arte &
vse.



He souldiers vvhich Cæsar sent to relieue Bibrax, were Archers of Creta and Numidia, & Slingers of the Iles Baleares, which are now called Maiorica, and Minorica: which kinde of weapon, because it seemeth ridiculous to the souldiers of these times, whose conceites are held vp with the furie of these fierie engines; I will in brieft discouer the nature and vse of this weapon.

The Latines, saith Iodore, called this weapon *funda*: quod ex *casundantur lapides*. Plinie attributeth the inuention thereof to the Insulaires, called Baleares. Florus, in his 3 booke and 8 chap. saith, that these Baleares vsed 3 sorts of slings and no other weapon besides: for a boy had neuer any meate giuen him, before hee had first strooke it with a sling. Strabo distinguisheth these three sorts of slings, which the Baleares vsed; and saith, that they had one sling with long raines, which they vsed when they would cast a far off: and another with short raines, which they vsed neere at hand: & the third, with raines of a meane sise, to cast a reasonable distance. Lipsius saith, that in *Columna Antonina* at Rome, he obserued that the Balearcan was made with one sling about his head, another about his belly, and the third in his hand; which might bee their ordinarie manner of carying them. The matter whereof they were made, was threefold: the first was hempe or cotton, the second haire, and the third sinewes: for, of either of these stufes, they commonly made them: the forme and fashion of a sling, resembled a platted rope, somewhat broad in the middelt, with an Oual compasse; and so by little & little, decreasing into two thongs or raines. Their manner of slinging, was to whirle it twice or thrice about their head, and so to cast out the bullet. Virgill speaking of Mezentius, saith;

Ipse ter adducta circum caput egit habena.

But Vegetius preferreth that skill, which cast the bullet with once turning it about the head. In Suidas wee find, that these Baleares did commonly cast a stone of a pound weight: which agreeth to these names in Cæsar, *fudas, librales*. The leaden bullets are mentioned by Salust, in the War with Iugurth; and by Liuius, where he saith, that the Consull provided great store of arrowes, of bullets, and of small stones to becast with slings. This weapon was in request amongst diuers nations, as well in regard of the readines, & easy reiterating of the blowe, as also for that the bullet fledde very farre, with great violence: the distance

which

which they could easily reach with their sling, is expressed in this verse,

Fundum Varro vocat, quem possis mittere funda.

Which Vegetius interpreteth to be 600 foote: their violence was such, as the same author affirmeth in his first booke & 16 chap. that neither helmet, gaberdine, nor corselet could beare out the blowe; but hee that was hit with a sling, was slaine *sine inuidia sanguinis*, as he saith in the same place. Lucrece, Ouid, and Lucan; 3 of the Latine Poets, say, that a bullet skilfully cast out of a sling, went with such violence, that it melted as it flew: whereof Seneca giueth this reason: Motion, saith he, doth extenuate the ayre, and that extenuation or subtiltie doth inflame: and so a bullet cast out of a sling, melteth as it flieth. But howsoever; Diodorus Siculus affirmeth, that these Balearcan slingers, brake both target, head-piece, or any other armour whatsoever.

There are also two other sorts of slings, the one mentioned by Liuius, and the other by Vegetius. That in Liuius is called *Cestrophendo*, which cast a short arrow with a long thick head: the other in Vegetius, is called *subulalus*: which was a sling made of a corde and a staffe. But let this suffice for slings & slingers, which were reckoned amongst their light-armed souldiers, and vsed chieflie in assaulting, and defending townes & fortresses, where the heauie armed souldiers could not come to buckle: and present the place of our Hargebushers, which in their proper nature, are *leuis armaturæ milites*, although more terrible then those of ancient times.

Lib. 2.

Lib. 2. naturæ
questions.

CHAP. V.

Cæsar confronted the Belgæ in forme of battell, but without any blowe giuen: the Belgæ attempt the passing of the riuer Axona; but in vaine, and to their losse: they consuit of breaking vp the vvarre.



CÆSAR at the first resolved not to giue the battell, as well in regard of their multitude, as the generall fame & opinion conceiued of their valour: notwithstanding hee daily made triall by light skirmishes with his horsemen, what the enemy could do, & what his owne men durst do. And whē he found that his owne men were nothing inferior to the Belgæ, hee chose a conuenient place before his camp, and put his Army in battell: the banke where he was incamped rising somewhat from a plaine leuell, was no larger then would suffice the front of the battell; the two sides were steep, and the front rose aslope by little & little, until it came again to a plaine, where the legions were imbrated. And least the enemy abounding in multitude, should cumuēt his men & charge the in the flank as they were fighting, he drew an ouerthwart ditch behind, his Army from one side of the hill to the other, 600 paces in length; the ends whereof

Cæsar.

H 2.

hee

hee fortified with bulwarkes, and placed therein store of engines: and leauing in his Campe the two legions which he had last inrolled in Lombardie, that they might be ready to be drawne forth when there should need any succour, he imbar-tailed his other sixe legions in the front of the hill, before his Campe. The Belga also bringing forth their power, confronted the Romans in order of battell. There lay, betwene both the Armies a small Marish: ouer which the enemy expected that Cæsar should haue passed; and Cæsar on the other side, attended to see if the Belga would come ouer, that his men might haue charged them in that trouble-some passage. In the mean time the Cavalry on both sides, encountered between the two battells, and after long expectation on either side, neither party aduenturing to passe ouer; Cæsar hauing got the better in the skirmish betwene the horse-men, thought it sufficient for that time, both for the encouraging of his owne me, & the contesting of so great an Army; and therefore hee conuailed all his men againe into their Campe. From that place the enemy immediately tooke his way to the Riuer Axona, which lay behind the Romans Campe; and there finding fords, they attempted to passe ouer part of their forces; to the end they might either take the fortresse which Q. Titurius kept, or to breake downe the bridge, or to spoile the territories of the State of Rheimes; & cut off the Romans from prouision of corne. Cæsar, hauing aduertisement thereof from Titurius, transported ouer the riuer by the bridge all his horsemen and light armed Numidians, with his Slingers and Archers, and marched with them himselfe. The conflict was hot in that place: the Romans charging their enemies as they were troubled in the water, slew a great number of them; the rest like desperate persons, aduenturing to pass ouer upon the dead carcases of their fellows, were beaten backe by force of weapons: and the horsemen incompassed such as had first got ouer the water, and slew euerman of them.

When the Belga perceived themselves frustrated of their hopes, of winning Bibrax, of passing the Riuer, and of drawing the Romans into places of disadvantage, and that their owne prouisions began to faile them: they called a counsell of warre, wherein they resolved, that it was best for the State in generall, and for euery man in particular, to breake up their Camp, & to returne home vnto their own houses; and in whose confines or territories soeuer, the Romans should first enter, to depopulate & waste them in hostile manner, that thither they should haue from all parts, and there to giue them battell; to the end they might rather try the matter in their own country, then abroad in a strange & vknowne place; & haue their own household prouision alwaies at hand to maintaine them. And this the rather was concluded, for as much as they had intelligence, that Diuitriacus with a great power of the Hedui, approached neere to the borders of the Bel-louages; who, in that regard, made haste homeward to defend their country.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

FIRST we may obserue the Art, which he vied to counteruaile the strength of so great a multitude, by choosing out so convenient a place, which was no broader in front then would suffice the front of his battell; and hauing both the sides of the hill so steepe, that the

enemie

enemie could not ascend nor clime vp, but to their owne overthrow; he made the back part of the hill (strong by Art, & so placed his souldiers as it were in the gate of a fortresse, where they might either issue out, or retire at their pleasure. Whereby it appeareth, how much he preferred securitie and safetie before the vaine opinion of foole-hardy resolution; which fauoureth of Barbarisme rather then of true wisdom: for hee euer thought it great gaine, to loose nothing; and the day brought alwaies good fortune, that deliuered vp the Army safe vnto the euening: attending, vntill aduantage had laid sure principles of victory: and yet Cæsar was neuer thought a coward.

And now it appeareth, what vfe hee made by passing his Armie ouer the riuer, and attending the enemie on the further side, rather then on the side of the state of Rheimes: for, by that meanes he brought to passe, that whatsoeuer the enemie should attempt in any part or quarter of the land, his forces were ready to trouble their proceedings; as it happened in their attempt of Bibrax: and yet notwithstanding, hee lost not the opportunitie of making slaughter of them, as they passed ouer the riuer. For, by the benefit of the bridge which he had fortified, he transported what forces hee would, to make head against them, as they passed ouer; and so hee tooke what aduantage either side of the riuer could afford him.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



And heere the Reader may not marvel, if when the hills are in labor, they bring forth but a mouse; for how soon is the courage of this huge Army abated? or what did it attempt worthy such a multitude? or answerable to the report which was bruted of their valour? but being hastily caried together by the violence of passion, were as quickly dispersed vpon the sight of an enemie: which is no strange effect of a sordaine humour. For, as in Nature all violent motions are of short continuance, & the durabilitie, or lasting qualitie of all actions, proceedeth from a slow and temperate progression; so the resolutions of the minde that are caried with an vtemperate violence, and fauour so much of heat and passion, do vanish away even with the smoake thereof; & bring forth nothing but leasurable repentance: and therefore it were no ill counsell for men of such natures, to qualifie their hasty resolutions, with a mistrustfull lingering; that when their iudgement is well informed of the cause, they may proceed to a speedie execution.

But that which most bewraileth their indiscreet intemperance, in the hope pursuit of this enterprize, is, that before they had scarce scene the enemie, or hadde opportunity to contest him in open field, their victual began to faile them: for their minds were so caried away with the conceit of warre, that they had no leisure to prouide such necessities, as are the strength and sinewe of the warre. It was sufficient for euery particular man, to be knowne for a souldier in so honorable an action, referring other matters to the care of the State. The States

in like manner thought it enough to furnish out fortie or fiftie thousand men apeece, to discharge their oath, and to save their hostages, committing other requisites to the generall care of the confederacie: which, being directed by as vnskilfull gouernors, neuer looked further then the present multitude; which seemed sufficient to ouerthrow the Romaine Empire. And thus each man relied vpon an others care, and satisfied himselfe with the present garbe; So many men of all sorts and qualiries, so many helmets and plumed crests, such strife and emulation, what state should seeme in greatest forwardness; were motives sufficient to induce euery man to go, without further inquiry, how they should goe. And herein the care of a Generall ought especially to bee scene, considering the weakenesse of particular iudgements, that hauing the liues of so many men depending altogether vpon his providence, and engaged in the defence of their state & country, he do not faile in these maine points of discipline, which are the pillars of all warlike designs. To conclude this point, let vs learne by their errour, so to carrie a matter (especially of that consequence) that we make it not much worke by ill handling it, then it was before we first tooke it to our charge; as it heere happened to the Belgæ. For their tumultuous armies sorted to no other end, then to giue Cæsar iust occasion to make warre vpon them, with such assurance of victorie, that he made small account of that which was to follow, in regard of that which had already happened: considering that he should not in all likelihood, meete with the like strength againe, in the continuance of that warre. And this was not onely *granius bellum successori tradere*, as it often falleth out in the course of a long continued warre; but to draw a dangerous warre vpon their heads, that otherwise might haue liued in peace.

CHAP. VI.

The Belgæ brake vp their Campe; and as they
returne home, are chased and slaughtered
by the Romaines.



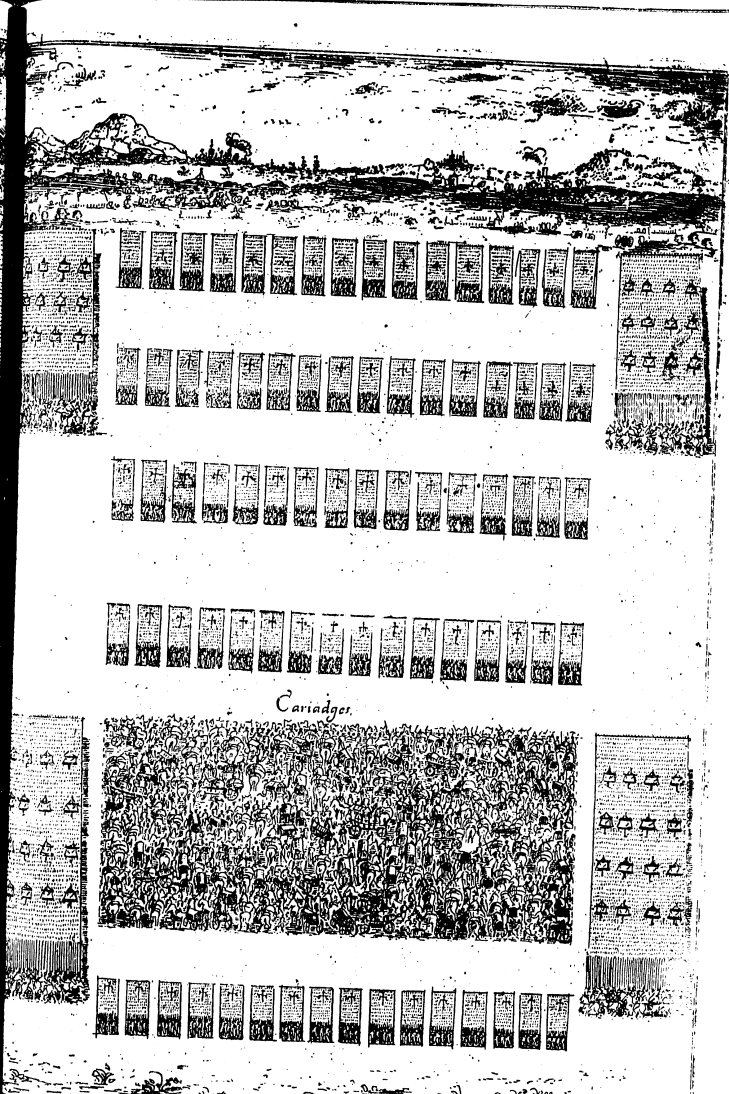
THIS generall resolution beeing entertained by the consent of the whole Councell of warre; they departed out of their Campe with a great noise and tumult, without any order (as it seemed) or gouernment, euerie man presing to bee foremost on his iourney; in such a turbulent manner, that they seemed all to run away. Whereof Cæsar hauing notice by his spies, and mistrusting some practise, not as yet perceiuing the reason of their departure, he kept his Army within his Campe. In the dawning of the day, vpon certaine intelligence of their departure, he sent first his horsemen to slay the rereward, commaunding Labienus to follow after with three legions: these ouertaking the Belgæ, and chasing them many miles, slew a great number of them. And while the rereward slaid, and valiantly received the charge of the Romaines, the vaniquard beeing out of danger, and vnder no gouernment,

as soone

Cæsar.



CAESAR'S march where in every Legion had his Cariadges in



CAESAR'S march where the Enemy was neerer at hand

as soon as they heard the alarm behind them, brake out of their ranks & betook themselves to flight; & so the Romaines slew them as long as the sunne gaue them light to pursue them: and then sounding a retreat, they returned to their Campe.

OBSERVATION.

IT hath beene an old rule amongst souldiers, that A great and negligent error committed by an enemy, is to be suspected as a pretence to trecherie. Wee read of Fulvius a Legate in the Romaine Armie, lying in Tuscanie, the Consul being gon to Rome to performe some publike dutie; the Tuscans tooke occasion by his absence to trie whether they could draw the Romaines into any inconvenience; and placing an ambuscado neere vnto their campe, sent certaine souldiers, attired like shepheards, with droues of cattell to passe in view of the Romaine Army: who handled the matter so, that they came euen to the rampier of the campe. Whereat the Legate wondering as at a thing void of reason, kept himselfe quiet vntill he had discouered their treacherie, and so made frustrate their intent. In like manner, Cæsar not perswaded that men should bee so heedless, to carry a retreat in that disorderly and tumultuous manner, would not dis campe his men to take the opportunity of that aduantage, vntill hee had found that to be true, which in all reason was vnlikely. And thus 29:000. Belgæ were chased and slaughtered by three legions of the Romaines, for want of gouernment and order in their departure.

CHAP. VII.

Cæsar followeth after the Belgæ into the Countrey of the Sueffones; and there besiegeth *Nouiodunum.

HE next day after their departure, before they could recover themselves of their feare and flight; or had time to put themselves againe in breath: Cæsar, as it were continuing still the chase and victorie, ledde his Armie into the countrey of the *Sueffones, the next borders vnto the men of Rheimes: and after a long iourney came vnto Nouiodunum a towne of good importance, which hee attempted to take by surprise, as hee passed along by it. For, hee vnderstoode, that it was altogether vnfurnished of defensie provision, hauing no forces within to defende it: but in regard of the breadth of the ditch and height of the wall, hee was for that time disappointed of his purpose: and therefore hauing fortified his campe, hee began to make preparatiõ for a siege. The night following, the whole multitude of the Sueffones, that had escaped by flight, were receiued into the towne: howbeit when the Vineæ were with great expedition brought vnto the wall, the mount raised, & the towers built; the Gallies being amazed at the highnes of the workes, such as they had neuer

*Noyon.

Cæsar.

*Soyssons.

newer scene nor heard of before, and the speede which was made in the dispatch thereof, sent ambassadours to Cæsar, to treat of giuing up the towne; and by the mediation of the men of Rheimes obtained their suite.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

IN this relation, we may obserue the industrious art, which the Romans vsed in assaulling, and taking holdes and townes; wherein we find three sorts of engines described, Vinca, Agger, and Turres.

Vinca is thus described by Vegetius: a little strong-built house or houell, made of light wood, that it might be remoued with greatest ease; the roofoe was supported with diuers pillars of a foote square, whereof the forme of most were 8. foot high, and the hindmost 6. and betwene euery one of these pillars, there was 5 foot distance; it was alwaies made with a double roofoe; the first or lower roofoe was of thick planks, and the upper roofoe of hurdles, to breake the force of a waight without further shaking or disioyning the building: the sides were likewise walled with hurdles, the better to defend the souldiers that were vnder it: the whole length was about 16 foote, and the breadth 7: the vpper roofoe was commonly couered with greene or raw hides, to keepe it from burning. Many of these houels were ioyned together in ranke, when they went about to vndermine a wal: the higher end was put next vnto the wal, that all the waights which were thrown vpon it might easily tumble down, without any great hurt to the engine: the foure sides and groundfils, had in euery corner a wheele, & by them they were driuen to any place as occasion serued: the chiefeft vse of them was to couer and defend the souldiers, as they vndermined or ouerthrew a wall. This engine was called Vinca, which signifith a Vine, for it sheltered such as were vnder the roofoe thereof, as a Vine couereth the place where it groweth.

Agger, which we call a mount, is described in diuers histories to be a hill or eleuation made of earth & other substance, which by little and little was raised forward, vntill it approached neere vnto the place, against which it was built; that vpon this mount they might erect fortresses and turrets, and so fight with an aduantage of height. The matter of this mount, was earth and stones, fagots, and timber. Iosephus saith, that at the siege of Ierusalem, the Romans cut downe all the trees within 11 mile compasse, for matter and stufte to make a mount. The sides of this Agger were of Timber, to keepe in the loose matter; the forepart which was towards the place of seruice, was open without any timber work: for on that part they stil raised it & brought it neerer the wals. That which was built at Massilia was 80 foot high, and that at Auaricum 80. foote high and 30. foot broad. Iosephus and Egeſippus writ, that there was a fortresse in Iudæa, 300. cubites high: which Sulla purposing to win by assault, raised a mount 200. cubites high; and vpon it he built a castle of stone 50. cubites high, and 50. cubites broad; and vpon the said castell hee erected a turret of 60 cubites in height, & so took the fortresse. The Romans oftentimes raised these mounis in the mouth of a haue, and commonly to ouer-toppe a towne, that so they might fight, with much aduantage.

Amongst

* Lib 4.
A Vinca or
vine defence-
bed.

Agger or
mount.

Amongst other engines, in vse amongst the Romans, their moueable Turrets were verie famous: for, they were built in some safe place out of danger; & with wheels put vnder them, were driuent to the walles of the towne. These turrets were of two sorts, either great or little: the lesser sort are described, by Vitruuius, to be sixtie cubites high, and the square side seauenteene cubites: the breadth at the top, was a fift part of the breadth at the base; and so they stood sure without any danger of falling. The corner pillars, were at the base nine inches square, and 6 inches at the top: there were commonly 10 stories in these little turrets, and windowes in euery storie. The greater sort of towers were 120 cubites high, and the square side was 24 cubites: the breadth at the top was a fift part of the base; and in euery one of these, were commonly 200 stories. There was not one & the same distance kept between the stories; for the lowest commonlie was 7 cubites, and 12 inches high: the highest storie 5 cubites, and the rest 4 cubites, and a third. In euery one of these stories, were souldiers and engines, ladders and casting bridges, by which they got vpon the wall and entered the towne. The forepart of these turrets were couered with yron, and wet coverings, to saue them from fire. The souldiers that remoued the tower to and fro, were alwaies within the square thereof, and so they stood out of danger. The new water-woke by Broken-wharfe in London, much resembleth one of these towers.

Towers or
Turrets de-
scribed.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

VPON the building of these mightie engines, it was no maruell if the Sueſſones submitted themselves to such powerfull industrie. For, whatsoever is strange and vnusuall, doth much affright the spirits of an enemie, and breed a motion of distrust and diffidence, when as they find themselves ignorant of such warlike practices: for, noueltie alwaies breedeth wonder; in as much as the true reasons and causes beeing vnknowne, we apprehend it, as diuers from the vsuall course of things, and so stand gazing at the strangenesse thereof: and wonder, as it addeth worth to the noueltie; so it inferreth diffidence, and so consequently feare, the viter enemie of martiall valour.

CHAP. VIII.

Cæsar carieth his Armie to the Territories of the Bellouaci, Ambiani and the Neruij.

CÆSAR, taking for pledges the chiefeſt of their Cittie, vpon the deliuerie of all their Armes, receined the Sueſſones to mercy: and from thence led his Army against the Bellouaci; who, hauing conuained both themselves and their goods into the towne, called Bratipantium, and vnderstanding that Cæsar was come within fiew mile of the place, all the elder sort came forth to meete him, signifying their submission.

Cæsar.

The Bellouaci
citizens to
mercie.

mission, by their lamentable demeanour. For these, Diniatius became a mediator: who, after the Belgæ had broken up their campe, had dismissed his Heduan forces and was returned to Cæsar. The Hedui, saith he, have alwaies found in the Bellouaci, a faithfull and friendly disposition to their State: and if they had not beene betrayed by their nobilitie (who made them belieue, that the Hedui were brought in bondage by the Romaines, & suffered all villanie & despite at their hands) they had neuer withdrawn themselves from the Hedui, nor consented to conspire against the Romaines. The authors of this counsell, perceiving inio what great misery they had brought: their country, were fled into Britanie: wherefore, not only the Bellouaci, but the Hedui also in their behalfe, besought him to use his clemencie towards them. Cæsar, in regard of the Hedui and Diniatius, promised to receiue them to mercy; but forasmuch as the State was very great and populous, he demanded six hundred hostages: which, beeing deliuered, and their armour brought out of the towne, he marched frō thence into the coast of the Ambiani: who, without further lingering, gaue both themselves & all that they had into his power. Vpon these bordered the Nervi; of whom Cæsar found this much by inquirie, that there was no recourse of Marchants vnto them, neither did they suffer any wine, or what thing else might tend to riot, to bee brought into their country: for, they were perswaded, that by such things their courage was much abated, and their vertue weakened. Further, he learned, that these Nervi were a sauage people, and of great valour; often accusing the rest of the Belgæ, for yielding their necks to the Romaine yoke, & only affirming, that they would neither send Embassadors, nor take peace vpon any condition.

The Ambiani
yielded
themselves.

The Nervi,
* Saluener
Namours.

Cæsar, hauing marched 3 daies iourney in their country, hee understood that the riuier * Sabis was not past ten miles from his campe; and that on the further side of this riuier, all the Nervi were assembled together, and there attended the coming of the Romaines. With them were ioyned the Atrebatij, and Veromandui, whom they had perswaded to abide the same fortune of war with them. Besides, they expected a power from the Aduatci: the women, and such as were vnmeet for the field, they bestowed in a place vnaccessible for any Armie, by reason of fens and bogs, and marishes. Vpon this intelligence, Cæsar sent his discouersers and Centurions before, to chuse out a fit place to incampe in.

Now, whereas many of the surrendered Belgæ, and other Gallies, were continually in the Romaine Army, certaine of these (as it was afterward known by the captiues) obseruing the order which the Romaines used in marching, came by night to the Nervi, and told them, that between euery legion went a great sort of cariages; and that it was no matter of difficulty, as soone as the first legion was come into the camp, & the other legions yet a great way off, to set vpon them vpon a suddaine, before they were disburdened of their cariages, and so to overthrow them: which legion beeing cut off, and their stuffe taken, the rest would haue small courage to stand against them. It much swayed this aduice, that, forasmuch as the Nervi were not able to make any power of horse, that they might the better resist the caualry of their borderers, whensoever they made any rode into their marches: their manner was to cut young trees halfe asunder, and bowing the tops down to the ground, plashed the boughes in breadth, and with thornes and briars planted between them, they made them so thick, that it was

impossible to see through them, so hard it was to enter or passe through them; so that, when by this occasion, the passage of the Romaine Army must needs be hindered, the Nervi thought the foresaid counsell not to be neglected.

The place which the Romaines chose to incampe in, was a hill, of like leuell from the top to the bottome. at the foot whereof ran the riuier Sabis: & with the like leuell, on the other side, rose another hill directly against this, to the quantity of 200 paces; the bottome whereof was plaine and open, and the vpper part so thick with wood, that it could not easily be looked into. Within these woods the Nervians kept themselves close: and in the open ground, by the riuier side, were onely scene a few troupes of horse, and the riuier in that place, was about three foote deepe.

Cæsar, sending his horsemen before, followed after with all his power; but the manner of his march differed frō the report which was brought to the Nervi: for, inasmuch as the enemy was at hand, Cæsar (as his custome was) led six legions alwaies in a readines, without burthen or cariage of any thing, but their Armes: after them he placed the impediments of the whole Armie. And the two legions which were last inrolled, were a rereward to the Army, & guarded the stuffe.

OBSERVATION.



His trecherous practise of the surrendered Belgæ, hath fortunately discovered the manner of Cæsars march, as well in safe passages, as in dangerous and suspected places: which is a point of no small consequence in martiall discipline, being subiect to so many inconueniences, & capable of the greatest art that may be shewed in managing a war. Concerning the discreet cariage of a march, by this circumstance it may be gathered, that Cæsar principally respected safety: and secondly conueniencie. If the place afforded a secure passage, and gaue no suspicion of hostilitie, he was content in regard of conueniency, to suffer euery legion to haue the ouersight of their particular cariages, & to insert them among the troupes, that euery man vie or publike discipline: But if he were in danger of any suddaine attempt, or stood in hazard to be impeached by an enemy, he then omitted conuenient disposition, in regard of particular vie, as disaduantageous to their safety; & carried his legions in that readines, that if they chanced to be engaged by an enemy, they might without any alteration of their march, or incumbrance of their cariages receiue the charge, in that forme of battell, as was best approoued by their militarie rules, and the ancient practise of their fortunate progenitors.

The old Romans obserued likewise the same respects: for, in vn safe & suspected places, they carried their troupes *agmine quadrato*, which as Liuius seemeth to note, was free frō all cariage & impediments, which might hinder the in any sodaine alarm. Neither doth that of * Hirtius any way contradict this interpretation, where he saith, that Cæsar so disposed his troupes against the Bellouaci, that 3 legions marched in front, and after them came all the cariages, to which the 10 legion serued as a rereward; & so they marched, *pene agmine quadrato*. * Seneca in like maner noteith the safety of *agmē quadratū*, where he saith, that where an enemy is expected, wee ought to march *agmine quadrato*, readie to fight.

The manner of
the Romaine
march.

The two re-
spect which
Cæsar had in
ordering a
march.
1 Safety.
2 Conueniency

Agmen qua-
dratum.

* Lib. 8. de
bel. Gall.

* 60. Epistle.

light, the most material consequence of these places all adged, is, that as oft as they suspected any onset or charge, their order in a march little or nothing differed from their usuall manner of imbatailing; and therefore it was called *agmen quadratū*, or a square march, inasmuch as it kept the same disposition of parts, as were obserued in *quadrata Acie*. For that triple forme of imbatailing which the Romans generally obserued in their fights, hauing respect to the distances between each battell, contained almost an equall dimension of front and file: & so it made *Acie quadratā*; and when it marched, *Agmen quadratum*.

Lib. 6.

Polybius expresseth the same in effect, as often as the place required circumspection; but altereth it somewhat in regard of the cariages: for he saith, that in time of danger, especially where the country was plaine and champaigne, and gaue space and free scope to cleere themselves, vpon any accident, the Romans marched in a triple battell, of equall distance one behind another, euery battell hauing his seuerall cariages in front. And if they were by chance attacked by an enemy, they turned themselues according to the opportunity of the place, either to the right or left hand: and so placing their cariages on the one side of their Armie, they stood imbatailed, ready to receiue the charge.

Agmē longū

The contrary forme of marching, where the place afforded more securitie, and gaue scope to conueniencie, they named *agmen longum*; when almost euery maniple or order, had their seuerall cariages attending vpon them, and strove to keep that way which they found most easie, both for themselves, & their impediments. Which order of march, as it was more commodious then the former, in regard of particularity, so was it vn safe and dangerous, where the Enemy was expected: and therefore Cæsar much blamed Sabinus and Cotta, for marching, whē they were deluded by Ambiorix, *longissimo agmine*; as though they had receiued their aduertisements from a friend, & not from an enemy.

Lib. 5. de bel. Gallico.

The use that may be made of this, in our modern wars

And albeit our moderne wars are far different, in qualitie, from them of ancient times; yet in this point of discipline, they cannot haue a more perfect direction, then that which the Romans obserued, as the two poles of their motions, Safety and Conueniencie: whereof the first dependeth chiefly vpon the prouident disposition of the Leaders; and the other will easily follow on, as the commoditie of euery particular shall giue occasion.

Concerning safety in place of danger, what better course can be taken then that manner of imbatailing, which shall be thought most conuenient, if an enemy were present to confront them? for, a well ordered march, must either carie the perfect forme of a battell, or containe the distinct principles and elements thereof, that with little alteration it may receiue that perfection of strength, which the fittest disposition can afford it. First therefore, a prudent and circumspect Leader, that desireth to frame a strong and orderly march, is diligentlie to obserue the nature and vse of each weapon in his Army, how they may be placed for greatest vse and aduantage, both in respect of their different and concurring qualities, as also in regard of the place wherein they are managed: and this knowledge will consequentlie inferre the best and exactest disposition of imbatailing, as the said forces are capable of; which, if it may be obserued in a march, is no way to be altered. But, if this exactnes of imbatailing will not admit

mit conuenient carriage of such necessarie adiuncts, as pertain to an Army; the inconuenience is to be releued, with as little alteration from that rule, as in a wary iudgement shall be found expedient: that albeit the forme bee somewhat changed; yet the principles and ground wherein their strength and safety consisteth, may still be retained.

Neither can anie man well descend to more particular precepts in this point: he may exemplifie the practices of manie great and experienced commanders; what sort of weapon marched in front, and what in the rereward, in what part of the Armie the Munition marched, and where the rest of the carriage was bestowed, according as their seuerall iudgements thought most expedient, in the particular nature of their occurrences. But the issue of all will fall out thus; that he that obserued this rule before prescribed, did seldom miscarry through an vn safe march. Let a good Martiallitt well know their proper vse in that diuersity of weapons in his Army: how they are seruiceable or disadvantageous, in this or that place, against such or such an Enemy: and he will speedily order his battell, dispose of his march, and bestow his cariages, as shall best fall out both for his safety, and conueniency.

Cæsar's custome was, to send his Cavalrie and light armed footmen, before the body of his Armie, both to discover and impeach an Enemy; for these troupes were nimble in motion and fit for such seruices: but if the danger were greater in the rereward then in the front, the horsemen marched in the tayle of the Army, and gaue securitie where there was most cause of feare. But if it happened that they were found vnfit to make good the seruice in that place, as oftentimes it fell out, and especially in Africa against the Numidians: hee then remoued them, as he best found it conuenient, and brought his legionarie soldiers, which were the sinewes and strength of his forces, and marched continually in the bulke of the Armie, to make good that which his horsemen could not perform. And thus he altered the antique prescription, and vniformitie of custome, according as he found himselfe best able to disaduantage an Enemy, or make waie to victorie.

CHAP. IX.

The Romans begin to fortifie their campe: but are interrupted by the Neruij. Cæsar maketh haste to prepare his forces to battell.



The Roman horsemen, with the singers and archers, passed ouer the riuer, and discomtred the Cavalry of the Enemy: who at first retired backe to their companies in the wood, & from thence sallied out againe vpon them: but the Romans durst not pursue them further then the plaine and open ground: in the meane time the first legions that were in front, hauing their

Cæsar.

their work measured out unto them, began to fortifie their camp. But as soon as the Æruij perceived their former carriages to be come in sight, which was the time appointed amongst them to give the charge, as they stood imbattailed within the thicket, so they rushed out with all their forces, and assaulted the Roman horsemen; which being easily beaten backe, the Æruij ranne downe to the river, with such an incredible swiftnesse, that they seemed at the same instant of time to be in the woods at the river & charging the legions on the other side: For with the same violence, having passed the river, they ran up the hill to the Roman Camp, where the souldiers were busied in their intrenchment. Cæsar had all parts to place at one instant: the flagge to be hung out, by which they gaue the souldiers warning to take Arms, the battell to be proclaimed by sound of trumpet, the souldiers to be recalled from their worke, and such as were gone far off to get turf & matter for the rampier, to be sent for; the battell to be ordered, his men to be encouraged, and the signe of battell to be given: the most of which were cut off by shortnesse of time, and the sudden assault of the Enemy.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

AS the Romans excelled all other nations in many good customes; so especially in their camp-discipline, they strove to be singular: for, it seemed rather an Academie, or a Citie of civil government, then a camp of souldiers; to careful were they both for the safety, & skilful experience of their men at Arms. For, touching the first, they never suffered their souldiers to lodge one night without a campe; wherein they were inclosed with ditch and rampier, as in a walled towne: neither was it any new inuention or late found out custom in their State, but in vse amongst the auncient Romans, and in the time of their kings; their manner of incamping was included within these circumstances.

The Centurions, that went before to chooſe out a conuenient place, hauing found a fit situation for their camp, first assigned the standing for the Emperors pavilion, which was commonly in the most eminent place of the camp; from whence he might easily overview all the other parts, or any allarum or *signum pugnae*, might from thence bee discovered to all quarters. This pavilion was known by the name of *Prætorium*, for as much as amongst the ancient Romans the Generall of their Army was called *Prætor*: in this place where the *Prætorium* was to be erected, they fluck vp a white ensign, and from it they measured euery way 100. foot, & so they made a square containing 200. foot in euery side; the Aica, or content whereof, was almost an acre of ground: the forme of the *Prætorium* was round & high, being as eminent among the other tents, as a Temple is amongst the private buildings of a Citie: and therefore Iolepus compareth it to a Church. In this *Prætorium* was their Tribunal or chair of the estate, and the place of diuination, which they called *Augurale*, with other appendices of maiestie and authority.

The Generals tent being thus placed, they considered which side of the

The description of the Roman camp with all the parts belonging vnto it.

The Centurions made choice of the place.

The *Prætorium*.

The lodging of the legion.

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Principia.

The tentes of the Tribunes.

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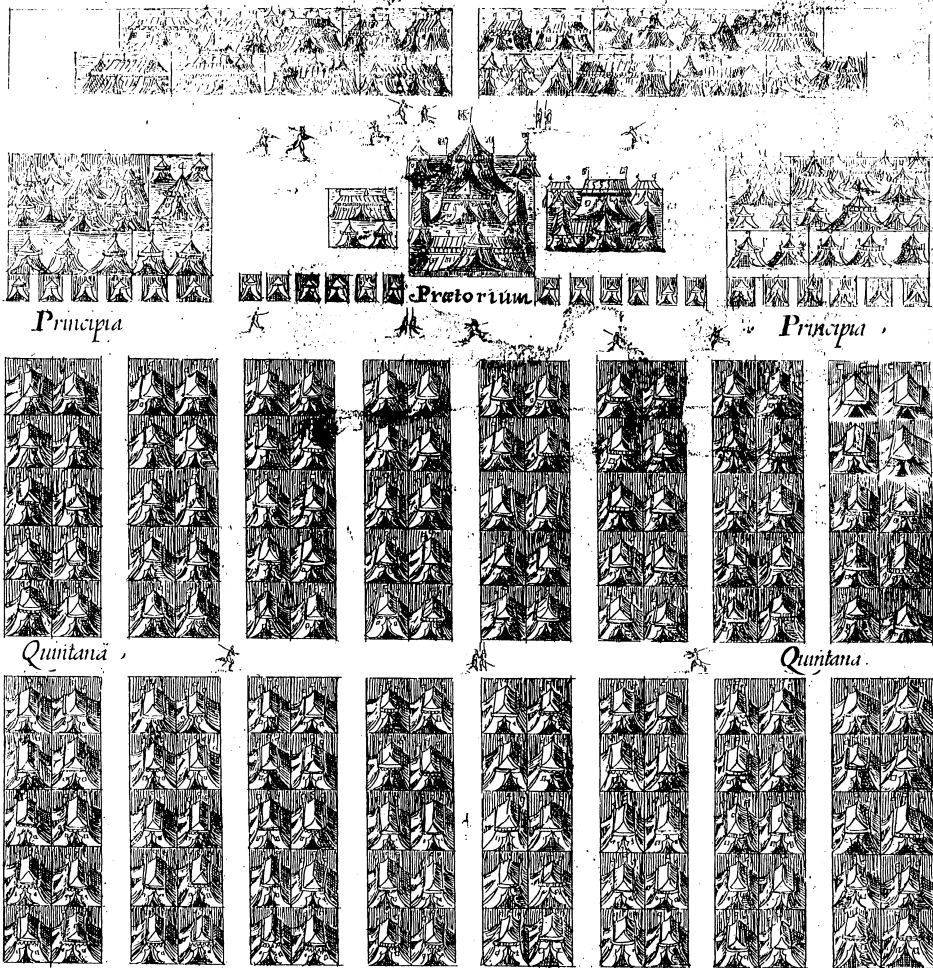
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Porta Praetoria THE ROMAINE CAMPE



Porta Decumana

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The lodging
of the legion.

The Tent

paulion laie most commodious for forrage and water, and on that side they lodged the legions, every legion diuided one from another by a streete or lane of 50. foot in breadth; and according to the degree of honour, that every legion had in the Armie, so were they lodged in the campe, either in the midst which was counted most honorable, or towards the sides, which was of meaner reputation. And againe, according to the place of euery cohort in his legion, so was it lodged neerer the paulion of the Emperour, towards the heart of the camp; and so consequently euery maniple tooke place in the cohort, distinguishing their preheminance, by lodging them either toward the middle or to the outsideward; according as they distinguished the place of their legions: there went a street of sitie in breadth ouerthwart the midst of all the legions, which was called *Quintana*; for that it diuided the fift cohort of euery legion from the sixt.

Quintana.

Betweene the tents of the first maniples in euery legion and the *Prætorium*, there went a waie of 100. foote in breadth throughout the whole camp, which was called *Principia*; in this place the Tribunes sate to heare matters of iustice: the souldiers exercised themselues at their weapons, and the leaders and chiefe commanders frequented it as a publick place of meeting; and it was held for a reuerent and sacred place, and so kept with a correspondent decency. On either side the Emperours paulion, in a direct line to make euen & straight the vpper side of the *Principia*, the Tribunes had their Tents pitched, euery Tribune confronting the head of the legion wherof hee was Tribune: about them, towards the head of the campe, were the Legates and Treasurer: the vpper part of the camp was strengthened with some select cohorts and troupes of horse, according to the number of legions that were in the Armie.

Principia.

The tentes of
the Tribunes.

Polybius describing the manner of incamping, which the Romans vsed in his time, when as they had commonly but two legions in their Armie, with as manie associates, placeth the *Ablesti* and *extraordinarij*, which were select bandes & companies, in the vpper part of the camp; and the associates on the outside of the legions.

The ditch and the rampier, that compassed the whole camp about, was 200 foote distant from any tent: wherof Polybius giueth these reasons; first, that the souldiers marching into the camp in battell array, might there dissolve themselves into maniples, centuries and decuries, without tumult or confusion: for, order was the thing which they principally respected, as the life and strength of their martiall body. And again, if occasion were offered to fallie out vpon an Enemie, they might very conueniently in that spacious roome, put themselves into companies and troupes: and if they were assaulted in the night, the darts and fire workes, which the Enemie should cast into their campe, would little indamage them, by reason of the distance betweene the rampier and the tents.

The space be-
weene the
tents and the
rampier.

Their tents were all of skins and hides, held vp with props, and fastened with ropes: there were 11. souldiers, as Vegetius saith, in euery tent, and that societie was called *Contubernium*, of whom the chiefeest was named *Decanus*, or *Caput Contubernij*.

Contubernij

The ditch &
rampier.

The ditch and the rampire were made by the legions, every man having his part measured out, and every Centurion overseeing his Centurie; the approbation of the whole work belonged to the Tribunes. Their manner of intrenching was this: the soldiers being girt with their swords & daggers, digged the ditch about the camp, which was alwaies 8. foot in breadth at the least, and as much in depth, casting the earth thereof inward; but if the enemy were not far off, the ditch was alwaies 11. or 15. or 18. foot in latitude, & altitude; according to the discretion of the General: but what scantling focuer was kept, the ditch was made *directè lateribus*, that is, as broad in the bottom as at the top. The rampier from the brim of the ditch, was three foote in height, and sometimes foure, made after the manner of a wall, with green turles cut all to one measure, halfe a foot in thicknesse, a foot in breadth, and a foote and a halfe in length. But if the place, wherein they were incamped, would afford no such turles; they then strengthened the loose earth, which was cast out of the ditch, with boughes & fagots, that it might be strong and well fastened. The rampier they properly called *Agger*: the outside whereof, which hung over the ditch, they vied to stick with thicke and sharp stakes, fastned deep in the mound, that they might be firm; and these for the most part were forked stakes: which made the rampier very strong, and not to be assaulted but with great difficulty. Varro saith, that the front of the rampier thus stuck with stakes, was called *vallum*, a *varicando*, for that no man could stride or get over it.

Agger.

Fallum.

Prætoriana.

Porta Decur-
mana.Porta præm-
cipales.
Leua.
Dextra.Castra.
Æstiva.

Hiberna

The campe had foure gates: the first was called *prætoriana porta*, which was alwaies behind the Emperours tent: and this gate did vually looke either toward the east, or to the Enemy, or that waie that the Army was to march. The gate on the other side of the camp opposit to this, was called *Porta Decumana à decimis cohortibus*; for the tenth or last Cohort of every legion, was lodged to confront this gate: by this gate the soldiers went out to fetch their wood, their water, and their torrage, and this waie their offendours were carried to execution. The other two gates were called *Portæ principales*, forasmuch as they stood opposit to either end of that so much respected place, which they called *principia*, only distinguished by these titles, *leua*, *principalis*, and *dextra*: all these gates were shut with doores, & in standing Camps fortified with Turrets, vpon which were planted Engines of defence, as Balistas, Catapultæ, Tolonones and such like.

The Romans had their summer Camps, which they tearmed *Æstiva*, and their winter Camps, which they called *Hiberna*, or *Hibernacula*: their summer camps were in like manner differenced, according to the time, which they continued in them. For, if they remained in a place but a night or two, they called them *Castra* or *Mansiones*; but if they continued in them any long time, they called them *Æstivas* or *Sedes*: And these were more absolute, as well in regard of their tents, as of their fortificatio, then the former, wherein they staid but one night. The other which they called *Hiberna*, had great labor & cost bestowed vpon them, that they might the better defend them from the winter season. Of these we read, that the tents were either thatched with straw, or roofed with boards, & that they had their armory, hospital, & other publike houses.

These

These camps haue bin the beginning of many famous towns, especially when they continued long in a place, as oftentimes they did, vpon the banks of Euphrates, Danow, and the Rhene. The order which they alwaies obserued in laying out their Camps, was so vniforme, and well known to the Romans, that when the Centurions had limited out euery part, and marked it with different ensignes and colours, the Souldiers entered into it, as into a known and familiar Citie: wherein every societie or small conubernie, knewe the place of his lodging: and which is more, euery particular man could assigne the proper station of euery company, throughout the whole Armie.

The vse and commoditie of this incamping, I briefly touched in my first booke: But if I were worthy any waie to commend the excellencie thereof to our moderne Souldiers, or able by perswasion to reestablish the vse of incamping in our warres; I would spare no paines to archieue to great a good, and vaunt more in the conquest of negligence, than if my selfe had compassed a new found out meanes: and yet reason would deeme it a matter of small difficultie, to gaine a point of such worth, in the opinion of our men, especially when my discourse shall present securitie to our forces, and honour to our leaders, maiestie to our Armies, & terror to our enemies, wonderment to strangers, and victorie to our nation. But loth hath such interest in this age, that it commendeth vaine glory and soole-hardinesse, contempt of vertue, and derision of god discipline, to repugne the designs of honour, and so far to ouer-maister reason, that it suffereth not former harmes to beare witness against error, nor correct the ill achievements of ill directions: and therefore ceasing to vrge this point any further, I will leaue it to the carefull respect of the wile.

The commodi-
ty of this
incamping.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



He fury of the Enemy, and their sodain assault, so disturbed the ceremonies which the Romans discipline obserued, to make the Soldiers truly apprehend the waight and importance of that action, which might cast vpon their state either soveraignty or bondage; that they were all for the most part omitted; notwithstanding they are here noted vnder these titles; the first was *vexillum proponendū*, *quod erat insigne cum ad Arma concurrere oporteret*: for when the General had determined to fight, he caused a skarlet coate or red flag to be hung out vpon the top of his tent, that by it the Soldiers might be warned, to prepare themselves for the battell; and this was the first warning they had: which by a silent aspect presented blood and execution to their eyes, as the onely meanes to worke out their owne safety, and purchase eternal honour. The second was *Signum tubæ dandum*: this warning was a noie of manie trumpets, which they tearmed by the name of *claficum a calando*, which signifieth calling: for after the eye was filled with *species* suitable to the matter intended; they then hastened to possesse the care, and by the sence of hearing to stir vp warlike motions, & fill them with resolute thoughts, that no diffident or base conceites might take hold of their mindes. The third

The ceremonies
which
they used in
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tion to bat-
tell.

was, *militēs cohortandi*; for it was thought convenient to confirme this valor, with motives of reason, which is the strength and perfection of all such motions. The vie and benefit wherof I somwhat enlarged in the Heluetian war; and could afford much more labour to demonstrate the commodity of this part, if my speech might carrie credit in the opinion of our souldiers, or bee thought worthe regard to men so much addicted to their owne fashions. The last was *signum dandum*; which, as some think, was nothing but a word, by which they might distinguish & know themselves from their enemies. Hirtius in the war of Africke saith, that Cæsar gaue the word *Felicitie*; Brutus and Cassius gaue *Libertie*; others haue giuen *Virtus*, *Deus nobiscum*, *Triumphus Imperatoris*, & such like words, as might be ominous to a good successe: Besides these particularities, the manner of their deliuerie gaue a great grace to the matter. And that was distinguished by times, and cues: whereof Cæsar now complaineth; that all these were to be done at one instant of time: for without all controuersie, there is no matter of such consequence in it selfe, but may be much graced with ceremonies & complements, which like officers or attendants adde much respect and maiestie to the action; which otherwise being but barely presented, appeareth far meaner and of lesse regarde.

CHAP. X.

The battell betweene Cæsar and the Neruij.

Cæsar.

IN these difficulties, two things were a help to the Romans; the one was the knowledge & experience of the soldiers: for by reason of their practice in former battels, they could as well prescribe onto themselves, what was to be done, as any other commander could teach them. The other was, that notwithstanding Cæsar had giuen commandment to euery Legate, not to leaue the worke or forsake the legions, vntill the fortifications were perfited; yet when they sawe extremitie of danger, they attended no countermand from Cæsar: but ordered all things as it seemed best to their owne discretion. Cæsar hauing commanded such things as he thought necessary, ranne hastily to incourage his souldiers, and by fortune came to the tenth legion; where he used no further speech, then that they should remember their ancient valour, and valiantly withstand the brunt of their enemies. And for as much as the enemy was no further off, then a weapon might be cast to encounter them, he gaue them the signe of battell: and hastening from thence to another quarter, he found them already closed and at the encounter. For the time was so short & the enemy so violent, that they wanted leisure to put on their head peeces, or to vncape their targets: & what part they lighted into from their work, or what ensigne they first met withall, there they staid; least in seeking out their owne

And therefore I rather take it to be something els than a word.

owne companies, they should lose that time as was to be spent in fighting. The Army being imbattailed rather according to the nature of the place, the declivity of the hill, & the breuity of time, then according to the rules of art; as the legions encountered the Enemy in diuers places at once, the perfect view of the battell being hindred by those thicke hedges before spoken of, there could no succors be placed any where; neither could any man see what was needfull to be done: & therefore in so great vncertainty of things, there happened diuers casualties of fortune.

The soldiers of the 9. & 10. legion, as they stood in the left part of the Army, casting their pikes, with the aduantage of the hill, did driue the Attrebatij, breathless with running & wounded in the encounter, down into the riuer; as they passed ouer the water, slew many of them with their swords: Neither did they stick to follow after them ouer the riuer, & aduance into a place of disaduantage, where the battell being renewed againe by the Enemy, they put them to flight the second time. In like manner two other legions, the 11. & the 8. hauing put the Veromandui from the upper ground, fought with them upon the banks of the riuer; and so the front & the left part of the camp was well neere left naked. For in the right corner were the 12. & the 7. legions, where as all the Neruij, under the conduct of Boduognatus, were heaped together; & som of them began to assault the legions: on the open side, & other som to possess themselves of the highest part of the camp.

At the same time the Roman horsemen, & the light armed footmen that were intermingled amongst them, & were at first al put to flight by the Enemy, as they were entering into the camp, met with their enemies in the face, & so were driuen to sue out another waie. In like manner, the pages & souldiers boies, that stood the Decumane port & top of the hill, had seen the tenth legion follow their enemies in pursuit ouer the riuer, and were gone out to gather pillage, when they looked behind them, and saw the enemy in their camp: & betook them to their heels as fast as they could. Which accident so terrified the horsemen of the Treniri (who for their prowesse were reputed singular amongst the Galls, and were sent thither by their State, to aid the Romanes) first when they perceived the Roman camp to be possessed, by a great multitude of the Enemy, the legions to be overcharged & almost inclosed about, the horsemen, lingers, and Numidians to be dispersed and fled, that without anie further expectation they took their waie homeward, & reported to their State, that the Romans were utterly ouerthrown.

Cæsar departing from the tenth legion, to the right corner, found his men exceedingly overcharged, the ensignes crowded together into one place, & the soldiers of the 12. legion so thick thronged on a heap, that they hindred one another; all the Centurions of the fourth cohort being slain, the ensign bearer kild and the ensign taken, and the Centurions of the other cohorts either slain, or sore wounded; amongst who Pub. Sextus Baculus, the Primipile of that legion, a valiant man, so grievously wounded, that he could scarce stand upon his feet: the rest not very forward, but many of the hindmost turning taile & forsaking the field, the Enemy on the other side, giuing no respite in front, although he fought against the hill nor yet sparing the open side, and the matter brought to a narrow issue, without any means or succor, to relieue th: he took a target from one of the hindmost soldiers

(for he himself was come thither without one) & pressing to the front of the battell, called the Centurions by name, and encouraging the rest, commanded the ensignes to be aduanced toward the enemy, and the Maniples to bee enlarged, that they might with greater facilitie and readinesse vse their swords.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

The place
and office of a
primipile.

THis Publius Sextus Baculus was the chiefeſt Centurion of the 12. legion, beeing the first Centurion of that Maniple of the Triarij, that was of the first Cohort in that legion; for that place was the greatest dignitie that could happen to a Centurion; and therefore he was called by the name of *Centurio primipili*, or simply *Primipilus*, and sometimes *Primipilus*, or *Primus Centurio*. By him were commonly published, the mandates and edicts of the Emperour, and Tribunes: and therefore the rest of the Centurions, at all times had an eie vnto him; and the rather for that the eagle, which was the peculiar ensigne of euery legion, was committed to his charge and carried in his Maniple: Neither was this dignitie, without speciall commoditie, as may be gathered out of diuers authours. We read further, that it was no disparagement for a Tribune, after his Tribunalicke was expired, to be a Primipile in a legion; notwithstanding, there was a lawe made, I know not vpon what occasion, that no Tribune should afterward be Primipile. But let this suffice concerning the office and title of P. S. Baculus.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

The Target
described.

And heere I may not omit to giue the Target aniehonour I may: and therefore I will take occasion to describe it in Cæsar's hand, as in the place of greatest dignitie, and much honouring the excellency thereof. Polybius maketh the Target to containe two foot and an halfe in breadth, ouerthwart the conuex surface thereof; and the length foure foot, of what form or fashion soeuer they were of: for the Romans had two sorts of Targets amongst their legionaries; the first carried the proportion of that figure, which the Geometricians call Oval, a figure of an vnequal latitude, broadest in the midst, and narrow at both the ends like vnto an egge, described in *Plano*: the other sort vpon was called *Scutum imbricatum*. The matter whereof a target was made, was a double board, one fastened vpon another, with linc and Bulls glewe; and couered with an Ox-hide, or some other stiffe leather; the vpper and lower part of the target were bound about with a plate of iron, to keepe it from cleauings; and in the middelt there was a bosse of iron or brasie, which they called *umbo*. Romulus brought them in first among the Romanes, taking the vse of them from the Sabines. The wood whereof they were made, was for the most part either willow, alder or figtree: whereof Plinie giueth this reason, for as much

as

as these trees are colde and waterish, and therefore any blow or thrust that was made vpon the wood, was presently contracted and shut vp againe. But for as much as the Target was of such reputation amongst the Roman Armes, and challenged such interest in the greatest of their Empire, let vs enter a little into the consideration of the vse and commoditie thereof; which cannot be better vnderstood, then by that conference, which Polybius hath made betweene the weapons of the Romans and the Macedonians; and therefore I haue thought it good to insert it in these discourses. And thus it followeth.

Of the difference of the Roman and Macedonian WEAPONS.

IPromised in my first booke that I would make a comparison, betweene the weapons of the Romans, and Macedonians. And that I would likewise write of the disposition of either of their Armies; how they do differ one from another: and in what regarde, the one, or the other, were either inferior, or superiour: which promise I will now with diligence endeavour to perform. And for as much as the Armies of the Macedonians haue giuen so good testimonies of themselves by their actions, by ouercomming the Armes as well of those of Asia, as of Greece; and that the battailes of the Romans haue conquered, as well those of Africa, as all the eastern countries of Europ: It shall not be amisse, but very profitable, to search out the difference of either; especially seeing that these our times haue not once, but many times seene triall, both of their battailes & forces; that knowing the reason why the Romans do ouercome, and in their battaile: carry away the better, wee doe not as vaine men were wont to do, attribute the same to fortune, and esteem them without reason happy victors; but rather looking into the true causes, we giue the their due praises, according to the direction of reason, and sound iudgement. Concerning the battailes between Hanniball and the Romans; and concerning the Romans their losse; there is no need that I speak much. For their losses were neither to bee imputed to the defect of their Armes, or disposition of their Armies; but to the dexter tie and industrie of Hanniball: but wee haue entreated thereof when wee made mention of the battels themselves; and the end it selfe of that warre, doth especially confirme this our opinion: for when they had gotten a Captaine equall with Hanniball, euen consequentie withall his victories vanished. And hee had no sooner overcome the Romans, but by and by, reiecting his owne weapons, he trayned his Armie to their weapons: and so taking them vp in the beginning, hee continued them on vnto the end.

And Pyrrhus in his war against the Romans, did vse both their weapons and order, and made as it were a medlie both of the cohort, and phalanx: but notwithstanding, it serued him not to get the victory; but alwaies the enemy by some meanes or other, made the same doubtful: concerning whom it were not vnfit,

that

that I should say something, least in being altogether silent, it might seeme to preiudice this mine opinion. But notwithstanding I wil hasten to my purposed comparison.

Now touching the phalanx, if it haue the disposition, and forces proper to it, nothing is able to oppose it selfe against it, or to sustaine the violence thereof; as may easily be by many documents be approved. For when an armed man doth stand firme in the space of three foote in so thicke an arraie of battell, and the length of their pikes being according to the first basis, or scantling sixtene foote; but according to the true and right conueniency of them, 14. cubits, out of which are taken foure allowed for the space betweene the left hand, which supporteth the same, and the butte end thereof, whiles hee stands in a readinesse to attend the incounter: being thus ordered, I saie, it is manifest that the length of tenne cubites dooth extend it selfe before the bodie of euery armed man, where with both his hands he doth aduance it ready to charge the Enemy. By which meanes it followeth, that some of the pikes doe not onely extend themselves before the second, third, and fourth ranke, but some before the formost, if the phalanx haue his proper and due thicknesse, according to his naturall disposition, both on the sides and behinde: as Homer maketh mention when he saith, that one target doth enclose and fortifie another: one head-piece is ioined to another, that they may stand vnited and close together.

These circumstances being rightly and truly set downe, it must follow, that the pikes of euery former ranke in the phalanx, doe extend themselves two cubites before each other, which proportion of difference they haue betweene themselves: by which may evidently be seene the assault, and impression of the whole phalanx, what it is, and what force it hath, consisting of 16. ranks in depth, or thicknesse; the excessse of which number of ranks aboue fise. For as much as they cannot commodiously couch their pikes, without the disturbance of the former, the points of them not being long enough to enlarge themselves beyond the formost ranks, they grow vterly vnprofitable, & cannot man by man, make any impression, or assault: but serue only, by laying their pikes vpon the shoulders of those which stand before them, to sustaine and hold vp the swaies and giuing backe of the former ranks, which stand before them to this end, that the front may stand firme and sure: and with the thicknesse of their pikes they doe repell all those darts, which passing ouer the heads of those that stand before, would annoy those ranks which are more backward.

And farther by moving forward, with the force of their bodies, they doe lo presse vpon the former, that they doe make a most violent impression. For it is impossible that the formost ranks should giue back.

This therefore being the generall and particular disposition of the phalanx: we must now speake on the contrarie part, touching the properties & differences, as well of the Arms, as of the whole disposition of the Roman battell. For euery Roman soldier for himselfe, and his weapon, is allowed three foot 10 stand in, and in the incounter, are moued man, by man, euery one couering himselfe with his target; and mutually mouing whensoever there is occasion offered.

But

But those which vse their swords, do fight in a more thin and distinct order; so that it is manifest, that they haue three foot more allowed them to stand in both from shoulder to shoulder, and from backe to belly, that they may vse their weapons with the better commodity. And hence it cometh to pass, that one Roman souldier taketh vp as much ground, as two of those which are to encounter him of the Macedonian Phalanx: so that one Roman is as it were to oppose himselfe against ten pikes, which pikes the saide one souldier can neither by any agility come to offend, or else at handy blowes otherwife annoy: And those which are behinde him, are not only vnable to repell their force, but also with conueniency to vse their owne weapons. Whereby it may easily be gathered, that it is impossible, that any battaile being assaulted, by the front of a phalanx, should be able to sustaine the violence thereof, if it haue his due and proper composition.

What then is the cause that the Romans doe ouercome, and that those that doe vse the phalanx are voyde of the hope of victory? Euen from hence, that the Roman Armies haue infinite commodities, both of places, and of times, to fight in. But the phalanx hath only one time, one place, and one kinde, where to it may profitably apply it selfe: so that if it were of necessitie, that their enemy should incounter them at that instant, especially with their whole forces, it were questionlesse not only, not without danger, but in all probability likewise, that the phalanx should euer carry away the better. But if that may bee avoided, which is easily done: shall not that disposition then, be vterly vnprofitable, and free from all terror? And it is farther euident, that the phalanx must necessarily haue plaine and champion places, with out any hinderances, or impediments; as ditches, vneuen places, vallies, little hills and riuers: for all these may hinder and disioine it. And it is almost impossible to haue a Plain of the capacity of 20. *stadia*, much lesse more, where there shall bee found none of these impediments. But suppose there bee found such places, as are proper for the phalanx: If the Enemy refuse to come vnto them, and in the mean time, spoile, and sack the Cities, and country round about what commodity, or profit shall arise by any Army so ordered? for, if it remaine in such places, as hath been before spoken of; it can neither relieue their friends, nor preserve themselves. For the conuoyes which they expect from their friends, are easily cut off by the Enemy, whiles they remain in those open places.

And if it happen at any time, that they leaue them vpon any enterprize, they are then exposed to the Enemy. But suppose, that the Roman Army should find the phalanx in such places, yet would it not adueneure it self in grofs at one instant; but would by little and little retire it selfe: as doth plainly appeare by their vusual practice. For there must not be a coniecture of these things by my words only, but especially by that which they do. For they doe not so equally frame their battell, that they doe assault the Enemy altogether, making as it were but one front: but part make a stand, and part charge the Enemy, that if at any time the Phalanx doe presse them, that come to assault them and be repelled; the force of their order is dissolved. For whether they pursue those that retire, or fly from those that doo assault them, these doe disioyne themselves

themselves from part of their Army; by which means there is a gap opened to their Enemies, standing and attending their opportunity: so that now they need not anie more to charge them in the front, where the force of the phalanx consisteth; but to assault where the breach is made, both behinde, and vpon the sides. But if at any time the Romane Army may keepe his due propriety, and disposition, the phalanx by the disadvantage of the place, being not able to do the like: doth it not then manifestly demonstrate the difference to be great betwene the goodnesse of their disposition, and the disposition of the phalanx?

To this may be added the necessities imposed vpon an Army, which is, to march through places of all natures, to encamp themselves, to possesse places of advantage, to besiege, & to be besieged; and also contrary to expectation sometimes to come in view of the Enemy. For, all these occasions necessarily accompany an Army; and oftentimes are the speciall causes of victory, to which the Macedonian phalanx is no way fit, or conuenient: forasmuch, as neither in their generall order, nor in their particular disposition, without a conuenient place, they are able to effect any thing of moment; but the Roman Army is apt for all these purposes. For, euery souldiour amongst them, being once armed and ready to fight, refuseth no place, time nor occasions; keeping alwaies the same order, whether he fight together with the whole body of the Army, or particularly by himselfe, man, to man.

And hence it happeneth, that as the commodity of their disposition is aduantageous: so the end doth answere the expectation.

These things I thought to peak of at large, because manie of the Grecians are of an opinion, that the Macedonians are not to be overcome. And againe, many wondered, how the Macedonian phalanx should be put to the worlde by the Roman Army, considering the nature of their weapons.

This farre goeth Polybius, in comparing the weapons and imbatailing of the Romans, with the use of Arms amongst the Macedonians: wherein we see the Pike truly and exactly ordered, according as the wise Grecians could best proportion it with that forme of battell, which might give most advantage to the use thereof: so that if our Squadrons of Pikes impenetrate with the perfect manner of a phalanx, (as wee see they doe not) they fall so much short of that strength, which the wisdom of the Grecians and the experience of other nations, imparted vnto it. But suppose we could allowe it that disposition, in the course of our warres, which the nature of the weapon doth require; yet forasmuch as by the authority of Polybius, the sayd manner of imbatailing is tied to such dangerous circumstances of one time, one place, and one kind of fight: I hold it not so profitable a weapon, as the practice of our times doth seem to make it, especially in woddy countries, such as Ireland is: where the use is cut off by such inconueniences, as are noted to hinder the managing thereof. And doubtles, if our commanders did but consider of the incongruity of the Pike and Ireland, they would not proportion so great a number of them in euery companie, as there is; for, commonly half the companie are Pikes, which is as much to saie in the practice of our wars, that halfe the Army hath neither

offensive

offensive nor defensive weapons, but only against a troupe of horse. For, they seldom or neuer come to the push of pike, with the foot companies, where they may charge and offend the enemy; and for defence, if the enemy thinke it not safe to buckle with them at hand, but make him more advantage, to play vpon them asse off with shot; it affordeth small safety to shake a long pike at them, and stand faire in the meane time, to entertaine a volley of shot, with the body of their battailion. As I make no question, but the pike in some seruises is profitable, as behind a rampier, or at a breach; so I assure my self, there are weapons, if they were put to triall, that would counteruaile the pike, euen in those seruises, wherein it is thought most profitable.

Concerning the Target, we see it take the hand, in the judgement of Polybius, of all other weapons whatsoever, as well in regard of the diuers and sundry sorts of imballing, as the qualitie of the place wherefoeuer: for, their vie was as effectuall in small bodies and centuries, as in grosse troupes and great companies; in thicke and spacious imballing, as in thicke thronged Testudines.

Neither could the nature of the place make the vnſuerceable ; for, whether it were plaine or couert, leuell or vnequall, narrow or large. If there were anie commodity to fight, the target was as neceſſarie to defend, as the ſword to offend : beſides the conueniencie, which accompanieth the target in any neceſſitie impoſed vpon an Armie, whether it be to march through places of all natures, to make a faſt march, or a ſpeedy retraite, to incamp themſelues, to poſſeſſe places of aduantage, to beſiege and to be beſieged, as Polybius ſaith, with many other occaſions which neceſſarily accompanie an Armie. The vſe of this weapon hath been to much neglected in theſe later ages, but may be happily renewed againe in our Nation, if the induſtry of ſuch as haue laboured to preſent it vnder theſe times, in the beſt faſhion, ſhall find any fauour in the opinion of our Commanders. Concerning which Target, I muſt needs ſay this much, that the light target will proue the target of ſeruiſe, whenſoeuer they ſhall happen to be put in execution : for, thoſe which are made prooſe, are to heaue and vnderſie (although it be ſomewhat qualified with ſuch helps as are annexed to the vſe thereof) that they ouercharge a man, with an vnſupportable burthen, and hinder his agilitie and execution in fight, with a waight diſproportionable to his ſtrength. For, our offenſiue weapons, as namely, the Harquebuſiers, and Muſketiers, are ſtronger in the offenſiue part, then any armes of defence, which may be made manageable & fit for ſeruiſe. Neither did the Romans regard the prooſe of their target further, then was thought fit for the readie vſe of them in time of battaile, as it appeareth in manie places, both in the Ciuill wars, and in theſe Commentaries : for, a Romaine Pie hath oftentimes darted through the Target, and the bodie of the man that bare it, and ſlaſtened the both to the ground : which is more then a Muſket can well do : for the bullet commonly reſteth in the bodie. And although it may be ſaid, that this was not common, but rather the effect of an extraordinary arme ; yet it ſerueth to proue, that their targets were not prooſe to their offenſiue weapons, whē they were well deliuered, & with good direction. For, I make no doubt, but in their

battles there were oftentimes some hinderances, which would not suffer so violent an effect, as this which I speake off: for, in a volley of shotte, wee must not thinke, that all the bullets flie with the same force, & fall with the like hurt; but as Armour of good proofe, will hardly hold out some of them; so slender Armes, and of no proofe, will make good resistance against others. And, to conclude; in a battell or encounter at hand, a man shall meet with more occasions, futing the nature and commoditie of this light Target, then such as wil advantage the heauie Target of proofe, or counteruaile the surplus of waight, which it carrieth with it.

Some men will vrge, that there is vse of this Target of proofe; in some places and in some seruices: which I deny not to those, that desire to be secured from the extremitie of peril. But this falleth out in some places, & in some particular seruices; and hindereth not, but that the vniuersall benefit of this weapon consisteth in the multitude of light Targetiers, who are to manage the most important occasions of a warre.

This much I am further to note, concerning the sword of the Targetiers, that according to the practice of the Romaines, it must alwaies hang on the right side; for, carrying the Target vpon the left arme, it cannot bee that the sword should hang on the left side, but with great trouble and annoiance. And if any man say, that if it hang on the right side, it must be very short; otherwise, it will neuer be readily drawne out: I say, that the sword of the Targetiers, in regard of the vse of that weapon, ought to be of a very short scantling, when as the Targetier is to commaund the point of his sword within the compasse of his Target, as such as looke into the true vse of this weapon, will easily discover. But let this suffice, concerning the vse of the Pike and the Target.

CHAP. XI.

The Battell continueth, and in the end
Cæsar ouercometh.

Cæsar.



At the presence of their Generall, the souldiers conceined some better hopes; and gathering strength and courage againe, when as euery man beslirred himselfe in the fight of the Emperour, the brant of the enemy was a little staied. Cæsar, perceiuing likewise the seventh legion, which stood next vnto him, to be sore overlaid by the enemy, commanded the Tribunes by little and little, to ioine the two legions together, and so by ioyning back to back, to make two contrary fronts; & being thus secured one by another from feare of being circumsued, they began to make resistance with greater courage. In the mean time, the two legions that were in the reuerward to guard the cariages, hearing of the battell, doubled their pace, and were descried by the enemy vpon the toppes of the hill. And Titus Labienus, hauing won the Campe of the Nervij, and beholding from the higher ground

ground what was done on the other side of the riuer, sent the tenth legion to help their fellows: who, vnderstanding by the horsemen and Lackies that fledde, in what case the matter stood, and in what danger the Campe, the legions, and the Generall was, made all the haste they possibly could. At whose coming, there happened such an alteration and change of things, that euen such as were sunke downe, through extreame grieue of their wounds, or leaned vpon their Targets, beganne againe to fight afresh; and the Pages and the boies, perceiuing the enemy amazed, ranne vpon them vnarmed, not fearing their weapons.

The horsemen also, striving with extraordinary valour, to wipe away the dishonour of their former flight, thrust themselves in all places before the legionary souldiers. Howbeit, the Enemy in the utmost perill of their lines, shewed such manhood, that as fast as the foremost of the were overthrowne, the next in place beslirred their carcasses, and fought vpon their bodies: and these being likewise overthrowne, and their bodies heaped one vpon another, they that remained, possessed themselves of that Mount of dead carcasses, as a place of aduantage, and from thence threw their weapons, and intercepting the piles, returned them againe to the Romans.

By which it may be gathered, that there was great reason to deeme them men of haughtie courage, that durst passe ouer so broad a Riuer, climbe vp such high rocks, & aduenture to fight in a place of such inequality. The battell being thus ended, and the Nation and name of the Nervij being well neere swallowed vp with destruction, the elder sort, with the women and children, that before the battell, were conuained into Ilands and Bogs; when they heard thereof, sent Embassadors to Cæsar, and yielded themselves to his mercy; and in laying open the misery of their State, affirmed, that of six hundred Senatours, they had now left but three; and of sixtie thousand fighting men, there was scarce five hundred that were able to beare Armes. Cæsar, that his clemencie might appeare to a distressed people, preserved them with great care, granting vnto them the free possession of their townes and country, & straightly commanding their borderers, not to offer them any wrong or iniurie at all.

OBSERVATION.



And thus endeth the relation of that great and dangerous battell, which Ramus complaineth of as a confused narration: much differing from the direct & methodicall stile, of his other Commentaries. But if that rule hold good, which learned Rhetoricians haue obserued in their Oratory; that An vnperfect thing, ought not to be told in a perfect manner: then by Ramus leaue, if any such confusion do appeare, it both fauoureth of eloquence, & well fitteth the turbulent cartiage of the action, wherein order and skill gaue place to Fortune, & prouidence was swallowed vp with peraduenture. For, that which Hirtius faith of the ouerthrow hee gaue to Pharnaces, may as well be said of this; that he got the victorie, plurimū adiuuante deorum benignitate, qui cū omnibus belli casibus intersunt, tum præcipue ijs quibus nihil ratione potuit administrari.

K 2

For

Lib. de Militia. l. u. Cæ.

For, so it fell out in this battell, and the danger proceeded from the same cause, that brought him to that push in the battell with Pharnaces: for, he well understood that the Neruij attended his coming on the other side the river Sabis: Neither was he ignorant how to fortifie his Campe in the face of an enemy, without feare or danger, as we haue scene in his warre with Ariouistus: when he marched to the place where he purpoled to incampe himselfe with three battels, and caused two of them to stand ready in Armes to receiue any charge, which the Enemy should offer to giue, that the third battell in the meane time might fortifie the Campe. Which course would easily haue frustrated this stratagem of the Neruij, and made the hazard lesse dangerous: but hee little expected any such resolution, so contrarie to the rules of Militarie discipline, that an enemy should not stick to passe ouer so broad a riuer, to cline vp such steep and high Rocks, to aduenture battell in a place so disadvantageous, and to hazard their fortune vpon such inequalities. And therefore, hee little mistrusted any such vnlike attempt, wherein the enemy had plotted his own overthrow, if the legions had beene ready to receiue them.

Which may teach a Generall, that which Cæsar had not yet learned, that a Leader cannot be too secure in his most assured courses, nor too carefull in his best aduised directions; considering that the greatest means may easily be preuented, and the safest course weakened with an vnrespected circumstance: so powrefull are weak occurrences in the maine course of the waightiest actions; and so infinite are the waies, whereby either wisdom or fortune may work. Neither did this warne him, to provide for that which an enemy might doe, how vnlike hee might seeme vnto him: as appeareth by that accident in the battell with Pharnaces. Which practice, of attempting a thing against reason and the arte of warre, hath found good successe in our moderne warres, as appeareth by the French histories: notwithstanding, it is to be handled sparingly, as no way fauouring of circumspect and good direction, forasmuch as *Temeritas non semper felix*, as Fabius the great answered Scipio.

The chiefest helps which the Romaines found, were first the advantage of the place; whereof I spake in the Heluetian warre. Secondlie, the experience, which theouldiours had got in the former battailes, which much directed them in this turbulent assault; wherein they caried themselves, as men acquainted with such casualties: lastly, the valour and vndanted iudgement of the Generall, which ouerthrew the perill of the battaile, and brought it to so fortunate an end. Wherein we may obserue, that as in a temperate course, when the issue of the battaile rested vpon his directions, hee wholly intended warinesse and circumspection: so in the hazard and perill of good hap, hee confronted extremitie of danger with extremitie of valour, and ouer-topt furie, with a higher resolution.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

The Aduatici betake themselves to a strong hold,
and are taken by Cæsar.

THE Aduatici before mentioned, coming with all their power to aide the Neruij, and vnderstanding by the way, of their overthrow, returned home againe; and forsaking all the rest of their Townes, and Castles, conuained themselves and their wealth into one strong and well fortified towne, which was compassed about with mighty rocks and sleepe downefalls, sauing in one place of two hundred foote in breadth; where there was an entry by a gentle and easie ascent: which passage they had fortified, with a double wall of a large altitude, and had placed mighty great stones & sharp beames vpon the walles, ready for an assault. This people descended from the Cimbri and Teutoni; who, in their iourney into Italie, had left such carriages on this side of the Rhene, as they could not conveniently take along with them, in the custodie of these forces: who, after the death of their fellows, being many yeeres disquieted by their neighbours, sometimes invading other States, and sometimes defending themselves, at length procured a peace, and chose this place to settle themselves in.

At the first coming of the Romaine Armie, they sallied out of the towne, & made many light skirmishes with them: but after that Cæsar had drawn a rampier about the towne, of twelve foote in height, fiftene miles in compass, & had fortified it with Castles very thick about the towne, they kept themselves within the wall. And, as they beheld the Vines framed, the Mount raised, & a towne in building as farre off, at first they beganne to laugh at it; and with scoffing speeches from the wall, began to aske, with what hands, & with what strength, especially by men of that stature (for the Romaines were but little men in respect of the Galles) a towne of that huge massie weight should be brought vnto the walles? But, when they saw it remooued, and approaching neere vnto the towne (as men astonished at the strange and vnaccustomed sight thereof) they sent Embassadors to Cæsar, to intreat a peace, with this message: They believed that the Romaines did not make war, without the speciall assistance of the Gods, that could with such facility transport engines of that height, and bring thē to encounter at hand, against the strongest part of their towne: and therefore, they submitted both themselves, & all that they had, to Cæsars mercy; desiring one thing of his meeke clemencie, that hee would not take away their Armes; forasmuch as all their neighbours were enemies vnto them, and enuied at their valour; neither were they able to defend themselves, if they should deliuer vp their Armour: so that they had rather suffer any inconuenience by the people of Rome, then to be butcherly murdered by them, whom in former time they had held subiect to their command.

Cæsar.
* Either Dwayne or Bosdunke, in Brabant.

To this Cæsar answered; that he would iane the Cittie rather of his owne custome, then for any desert of theirs, so that they yielded before the Ram touched the wall: but no condition of remedy should be accepted, without present deliuerie of their Armes; for, he would doe by them as he had done by the Neruij, and giue commaundement to their neighbours, that they should offer no wrong to such, as had commended their safety to the people of Rome. This answer being returned to the City, they seemed contented to doe whatsoeuer he commaunded them: and thereupon, casting a great part of their Armour ouer the wall, into the ditch, inasmuch as they fild it almost to the toppe of the rampier; and yet (as afterward was knowne) concealing the third part, they set open the gates, & for that day caried themselves peaceably. Toward night, Cæsar commaunded the gates to be shut, and the souldiours to be drawne out of the towne. But the Aduatici, hauing consulted together before (forasmuch as they believed, that vpon their submission, the Romaines would either set no watch at all, or at the least, keepe it verie carelesse) partly wth such Armour as they had retained, and partly wth targets, made of barke, or wrought of wicker, which vpon the suddenie they had couered ouer with Leath. er. about the third watch, where the ascent to our fortifications was easiest, they issued suddainely out of the towne with all their power: but signification thereof being giuen by fires, as Cæsar had commaunded, the Romaines hastened speedily to that place. The Enemy fought verie desperately, as men in the last hope of their welfare, encountering the Romaines in a place of disadvantage: at length, with the slaughter of foure thousand, the rest were drunen backe into the towne. The next day, when Cæsar came to breake open the gates, and found no man at defence, he sent in the souldiers, and sold all the people and spoile of the towne: the number of persons in the towne, amounted to fiftie three thousand bondslauens.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

IN the surprise, attempted by the Belgæ vpon Bibract, I set down the manner, which both the Gallies and the Romaines vied in their suddaine surprising of a towne: whereof if they failed (the place importing any advantage in the course of war) they then prepared for the siege, in that manner, as Cæsar hath described in this place. They inuiroined the towne about with a ditch and a rampier, and fortified the said rampier, with many Castles and Fortresses, erected in a convenient distance one from another; and so they kept the towne from any forraigne succour or reliefe: & withall, secured themselves from sallies, or other stratagemis, which the townsmen might practice against them. And this manner of siege was called *circumvallatio*; the particula description whereof, I referre vnto the historie of Alesia, where I will handle it, according to the particulars there set downe by Cæsar.

THE

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



He Ram, which Cæsar here mentioneth, was of greatest note amongst all the Romaine Engines, and held that place which the Canon hath in our warres. Vitruuius doth attribute the inuention thereof to the Carthaginians, who at the taking of Cadiz, wanting a fit instrument to raze and ouerthrowe a Cattle, they tooke a long beame or timber tree, and bearing it vpon their armes and shoulders, with the one end thereof, they first brake downe the vppermost ranke of stones: and so descending by degrees, they ouerthrew the whole towre. The Romaines had two sorts of Rams, the one was rude and plaine: the other, artificall & compound: the first, is that which the Carthaginians vsed at Cadiz, and is purtraiued in the column of Traian at Rome.

The compound Ramme is thus described by Iosephus; A Ramme, saith he, is a mightie great beame, like vnto the mast of a ship, and is strengthened at one end, with a head of iron, fashioned like vnto a Ramme: and thereof it tooke the name. This Ram is hauged by the middest with roapes vnto another beame, which lieth crosse a couple of pillars: and hanging thus equally balanced, it is by force of men thrust forward, and recoiled backward; and so beateh vpon the wall with his iron head: neither is there any towre so throng, or wall so broad, that is able to stand before it.

The length of this Ram was of a large scantling; for, Ptolearch affirmeth, that Anthonie in the Parthian war, had a Ramme foure score toote long. And Vitruuius saith, that the length of a Ramme was vsually one hundred and fixe, and sometimes one hundred and twentie; and this length gaue great strength and force to the engine. It was managed at one time with a whole Centurie or order of souldiers: and their forces being spent, they were seconded with another Centurie; and so the ramme plaied continually vpon the wall, without intermission. Iosephus saith, that Titus, at the siege of Ierusalem, had a ramme for euery legion: it was oftentimes couered with a Vine, that the men that managed it might bee in more safetie. It appeareth by this place, that if a towne had continued out vntill the ramme had touched the wall, they could not presume of any acceptation of rendry; forasmuch as by their obstinacie, they had brought in perrill the liues of their enemies, and were subdued by force of Armes, which affordeth such mercie as the Victor pleaseh.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.



He Aduatici, as it seemeth, were not ignorant of the small securitie which one State can giue vnto another, that commendeth their safetie to be protected by it: for, as Archiras the Pythagorian saith, A bodie, a familie, and an Armie, are then well gouerned, when they containe within themselves the causes of their safetie; So wee must not looke for anie securitie in a State, when their safetie dependeth vpon a forraigne protection.

Aries, or the Ramme.

Cales.

Aries simplex.

Aries compoſita.

Circumvallatio.

In the French Commentaries.

protection. For, the old saying is, that *Aequo muras, neque amicus quisquam teget, quem propria arma non texere*. Although in this case the matter was well qualified, by the maiestie of the Romaine Empire, and the late victories in the continent of Gallia; whereof the Hedui with their associates, were very gainefull witnesses: but amongst kingdoms, that are better suted with equalitie of strength and authoritie, there is small hope of safetie to be looked for, vnlesse the happy gouernment of both doe mutually depend vpon the safetie of either Nation. For, that which Polybius obserued in Antigonus, king of Macedonia, taketh place for the most part amongst all Princes; that Kings by nature esteeme no man, either as a friend or an enemy, but as the calculation of profit shall find them answerable to their projects. And contrariwise, it cutteth off many occasions of practices and attempts, when it is knowne that a State is of it selfe able and ready to resist the designs of forraigne enemies, according to that of Manlius *Ostendite modo bellum, pacem habebitis: videant vos paratos ad vim, ius ipsi remittent*.

THE FOURTH OBSERVATION.

To give notice of an Ambuscade.



He manner of signifying any motion or attempt by fire, was of great vte in the night season, where the fortification was of so large an extension: for, fire in the night doth appeare far greater then in deede it is; forasmuch as that part of the aire, which is next vnto the fire, as it is illuminated with the light thereof, in a reasonable distance, cannot be discerned from the fire it selfe, and so it seemeth much greater then it is in substance. And contrariwise, in the day time it sheweth lesse then it is; for, the cleare brightnesse of the aire, doth much obscure that light, which proceedeth from a more grosse and materiall body: and therefore their custome was to vte fire in the night, and smoake in the day, suting the transparent middle with a contrarie qualitie; that so it might more manifestly appeare to the beholder.

THE FIFT OBSERVATION.

Lib. 25.

The punishments which the Romans laid vpon a conquered Nation.



And albeit after the victorie, the Romans inflicted diuers degrees of punishment, according to the malice which they found in an enemy; yet as Flavius Lucanus saith in Liuius, there was no Nation more exorable, nor readier to shew mercie, then the Romans were. The punishments which we find them to haue vsed towards a conquered Nation were these; either they punished them by death, or sold them for bondslaves, *sub corona*, or dismissed them *sub iugum*; or merced them, in taking away their territories; or made them tributarie States.

Of the first we find a manifest example, in the third of these Commentaries; where Caesar hauing ouerthrowne the Veneti by sea, in as much as they had retained his Embassadors by force, contrarie to the law of Nations, hee put all the Senate to the sword, and sold the rest *sub corona*.

Festus

Festus saith, that an enemy was said to be sold *sub corona*, inasmuch as the captiues stood crowned in the Market-place, where they were sette out to sale: as Cato saith, in his booke *De re militari*, *ut populus sua opera posius ob rem bene gestam coronatus, supplicatum eat; quam re male gesta coronatus vaneat*. And Gellius affirmeth the same thing, but addeth also another reason, forasmuch as the souldiers that kept them while they were in selling, incircled them round about, to keep them together; and this round-about-standing, was called *corona*. Festus saith, that oftentimes they vsed a speare; and therefore they were said to be sold *sub hasta*: forasmuch as amongst the Greeks, by the speare or pike, was signified the power of Armes, and maiestie of Empires.

When they dismissed them *sub iugum*, their order was to erect three trees like a paire of gallows, vnder which they caused all the captiues to passe, as a signe of bondage: for, they had so conquered them by force of Armes, that they laid vpon their neck the yoke of thraldome.

Liuius saith, that Quintius the Dictator, dismissed the *Aequos sub iugum*; & this *iugum* was made of three speares, whereof two were stuck vp right in the ground, and the third was tied ouerthwart them. The souldiers that passed *sub iugum*, were vngirt, and their weapons taken from them, as Festus saith.

Sometimes againe, they tooke away their lands and territories, and either sold it for mony, & brought it into the Treasurie, or diuided the land amongst the Romaine people, or let it out to farme rent: of all which, Liuius hath many pregnant examples.

CHAP. XIII.

Crassus taketh in all the maritime Citties that lie to the Ocean: the legions are caried into their wintering Campes.



HE same time Pub. Crassus, whom he had sent with one legion to the maritime Citties that lay to the Ocean, aduersified him, that all those States had yielded themselves to the people of Rome. The warres beeing thus ended, and all Gallia being settled in peace, there went such a fame of this vvarre among other barbarous people, that from Nations beyond the Rhene, there came Embassadors to Caesar, offering both hostages and obedience to whatsoeuer he commanded them. But Caesar willed them to repaire vnto him againe in the beginning of the next Sommer, forasmuch as he then hasted into Lumbardie, after hee had placed his legions in their wintering Campes. For these things, vpon the sight of Caesars Letters, a generall supplication was proclaimed in Rome for fiftene daies together: which honour before that time had happened to no man. And thus endeth the second Commentarie.

Caesar.

Of this supplication I will speake in the latter end of the 4. booke.

OBSERVATIONS VPON THE THIRD BOOKE OF CÆSAR HIS COMMENTARIES.

THE ARGUMENT.

CÆSAR, taking his journey into Italie, sent Sergius Galba with the twelfth legion, and part of the horsemen unto the Nantuates, Veragri & Seduni: whose territories are extended from the river Rhone, and the lake Lemanus, unto the tops of the highest Alpes. The end of this voyage was chiefly to cleere the Alpes of thieues & robbers, that liued by the spoile of Passengers, that traualled betwene Italie and Gallia. Galba, hauing order if he found it expedient, to winter in those parts, after some fortunate encounters, and the taking of some Castles and holds, he concluded a peace, and resolved to place two cohorts of his legion amongst the Nantuates; and himselfe to winter with the other cohorts, in a towne of the Veragri, named Oïtodurus. This towne beeing sited in a narrow valley, and incircled about with mighty high hills, was diuided by a riuer into two parts, whereof he gaue one part to the Galles, and the other he chose for his wintering Campe, and fortified it about with a ditch & a rampier. After he had spent many daies of wintering, and giuen order, that corne should be brought thither for prouision, he had intelligence vpon a sudden, that the Galles in the night time, had all left that part of the towne that was allotted vnto them; and that the hills which hung ouer the valley, vvherein the towne stood, were possessed with great multitudes of the Seduni, and Veragri. The reasons of this suddaine commotion, were chiefly the paucitie of the Romaine forces,

CHAP. I.

Sergius Galba, beeing sent to cleere the passage of the Alpes, was besieged by the Seduni and Veragri.

Cæsar.

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forces, not making a copious legion; forasmuch as two cohorts wintered amongst the Nantuates: besides many particulars, that were wanting vpon necessary occasions. And to make them more contemptible in regard of themselves, the place afforded such aduantage, that they were perswaded by reason of the steep declinitie of the hill, that the Romaines would not indure the brunt of the first assault: besides this, it grieved them exceedingly to haue their children taken from them, vnder the title of hostages; and the Alpes, vvhich Nature had exempted from habitation, and placed as bounds betwene two large kingdomes, to be seized vpon by the Romaine legions, and vnto their Prouince.

Vpon these aduertisements, Galba, not hauing as yet finished the fortification of his Campe, nor made prouision of Corne and forrage for the winter season, in that he little feared any motion of warre, being secured of their amitie, and obedience, both by hostages and rendry: hee presently called a Councell of warre, to determine what course was best to be taken. In which Councell, the mindes of many were so amazed, with the terror of so vnexpected a danger, when they beheld the hills pestered with armed souldiers, the passages taken and intercepted by the Enemy, & no hope left of any succour or reliefe, that they could thinke of no other way for their safetie, then leauing behind them their baggage & impediments, to sallie out of their Campe, and so to saue themselves by the same way they came thither: notwithstanding the greater part concluded, to reserve that resolution to the last push; and in the meane time, to attend the fortune of the euent, and defend the Campe.

OBSERVATION.

WHich aduise, although at this time sorted to small effect; yet it better suited the valour of the Romaines, and saoured more of tempered magnanimitie, then that former hazard, which argued the weakenesse of their minds, by their ouer-hastie and too forward resolution. For, as it imported greater danger, and discovered a more desperate spirit, to breake through the thickest troopes of their enemies; and so by strong hand to saue themselves by the helpe of some other fortune; so it manifested a greater aduantage of their spirit, referring extremitie of the mind. But such as beheld the danger with a lesse troubled eye, and qualified the terror of death with the life of their spirit, referring extremitie of helpe to extremitie of perill, and in the meane time attended what chances of aduantage might happen vnto them, vpon any enterprise the enemy should attempt; they say, so gaue greater scope to Fortune, & enlarged the bounds of changing accidents.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

The enemy setteth vpon the wintering Camp:
Galba ouertthroweth them.

Cæsar.

THE Councell being dismissed, they had scarce time to put in execution such things, as were agreed vpon for their defence: but the enemy, at a watch-word giuen, assaulted the Campe on all sides, with stones and darts, & other casting weapons. The Romans, at first, when their strength was fresh, valiantly resisted the brunt of the charge; neither did they spend in vaine any weapon which they cast fro the rampier; but what part sooner of their Camp seemed to be in greatest danger, & want of help, thither they came with succour and reliefe; but herein they were ouer-matched: for, the enemy being spent and wearied with fight, whensoever any of them gaue place and forsooke the battell, there were alwaies fresh combatants to supply it. But the Romans, by reason of their small number, had no such helpe: for, their extremitie in that point was such, that no man was permitted neither for wearinesse nor wounds, to forsake his station, or abandon his charge. And hauing thus fought continually the space of six houres, when both strength and weapons wanted, the enemy persisting with greater furie to fill the ditch, and breake downe the rampire, and their hopes relying vpon the last expectation, P. Sex. Baculus, the Primipile of that legion, whom we said to bee so sore wounded in the Nerutian battell, and Caius Volusenus, Tribune of the souldiers, a man of singular courage and wisdom, ran speedily to Galba and told him, that the onely way of safety was to breake out vpon the enemy, and to try the last refuge in that extremitie. Wherevpon, they called the Centurions, and by them admonished the souldiers to surcease awhile from fighting, and onely to recuine such weapons as were cast into the Campe; and so to rest themselves a little & recover their strength: and then at a watch-word, to sallie out of their Campe, and lay their safetie vpon their vertue. Which the souldiers, executed with such alacritie and courage of spirit, that breaking out at all the gates of the Camp, they gaue no leiuure to the enemy to consider what was done, nor to satisfie his iudgement touching so v unexpected a noueltie. And thus Fortune beeing suddenly changed, they slew more then the third part of thirtie thousand, and put the rest to flight, not suffering them to stay vpon the hills neere about them.

OBSERVATION.

The force of
courage, turn-
ing the fer-
uour of a bat-
tall.

WHICH strange alteration, liuely describeth the force of noueltie, & the effectual power of v unexpected aduentures: for, in the first course of their proceeding, wherein the Romaines defended the Campe, & the Gallies charged it by assault, the victory held constant with the Gallies, & threatened death & mortality to the Ro-
mans.

mans. Neither had they any meanes to recouer hope of better successe, but by trying another way; which so much the more amazed the Galls, in that they had vehemently apprehended an opinion of victory, by a set fight continuing the space of 6. houres, without any likelihood of contrariety, or alteration. Which practice, of frustrating a desigine intended, by an indirect and contrary answer, serued the Romans oftentimes to great advantage; as besides this present ex- ample, in this Commentary we shall afterward read, how Titurius Sabinus de- feated the Vnellos, with the same stratagem; and ouertrow them by eruption & sallying out, when they expected nothing but a defensiu resistance from the rampier. From whence a Commander may learn, to auoid two contrarie in- conueniencies, according as the qualitie of the war shall offer occasion: first (if other things be answerable, which a iudicious eye wil easily discouer) that a sally made out at diuers ports of a hold, wil much mitigate the heat of a charge, and controule the fury of an Enemy. And on the other side, he that besiegeth a- ny place, what aduantage sooner he hath of the defendant, may much better as- sure himself of good fortune, if he appoint certain troupes in readines to receiue the charge of any eruption, that the rest that are busily employed in the assault may prouide to answer it, without disorder or confusion. Which order, if the Galls had taken, they had not in likelihood so often been deceived.

CHAP. III.

*Galba returneth into the Prouince: the Vnelli
giue occasion of a newe warre.*

THE Enemy being thus defeated, Galba was unwilling to trie fortune any further; and the rather for that he wanted both corn & forrage: and therefore hauing burned the towne, the next day he returned towards the Prouince, and without let or resistance brought the legion safe into the Aquitaines; and from thence to the * Allobroges, and there he wintered.

After these things were dispatched: Cæsar supposing for many reasons, that al Gallia was now in peace, and that there was no further feare of any new war, the Belgæ being ouertrowen, the Germans thrust out, and the Seduni amongst the Alps subdued & vanquished, in the beginning of the winter, as he went into Illy- ricum, hauing a great desire to see those nations: there grewe a sudden tumult and dissension in Gallia vpon this occasion. Pub. Crassus wintering with the sa- uenth legion in Aniou neare vnto the Ocean, and finding scarcity of corn in those parts: he sent out the Prefect of the horsemen, and Tribunes, into the next cities to demand corn, and other prouisions for his legion: of whom Titus Terrasidius was sent vnto the * Veneti, Marcus Trebius to the * Curiosilitæ, Q. Pelanius, & Titus Silius to the * Veneti. These Veneti were of greatest authoritie amongst all the maritime nations in that coast, by reason of their great store of ship-
ping.

Cæsar.

* Sanoins.

* Le Porche
* Cornouille.
in Bretaine.
Vannes.

ping, with which they did trafficke in Britanie, and exceeded all their neighbour States in skil and experience of sea-faring matters: hauing the most part of such, as vsed those seas, tributaries to their State: These Veneti first aduentured to retaine Silius & Velanius, hoping thereby to recouer their hostages which they had giuen to Crassus. The finittimate Cities induced by their authority & exaple, for the same reason, laide hold vpon Trebius & Terastidius; and sending speedy ambassages one vnto another, coniuired by their princes and chiefeſt magistrates, to approve their fact by common consent, and to attend all the same euent of fortunes; soliciting also other cities and States, rather to maintaine that libertie, which they had receiued of their Ancestors, then to indure the seruile bondage of a stranger.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

The weakneſſe of our iudgement in reuerd of the knowledge of future times

THe circumstance in this history, which noteth the sudden breaking out of warres, when the course of things made promise of peace: sheweth first, what small assurance our reason hath of her discourse in calculating the nature of *After chances*; which so seldome answer the iudgement we giue vpon their beginnings, that when we speak of happiness, we find nothing but misery: and contrariwise, it goeth often well with that part, which our Art hath condemned to ill fortune. And therefore I do not maruell, if when almost all nations are at odds, and in our best conceits, threaten destruction one to another, there happen a sudden motion of peace: or if peace be in speech, soothing the world with pleasing tranquillitie, & through the vncertaintie of our weak probabilities, promise much rest after many troubles; there follow greater wars in the end, then the former time can truly speak of. Which being well vnderstood, may humble the spirits of our haughty politicians, that think to comprehend the conclusions of future times, vnder the premises of their weak projects, and predestinate succeeding ages, according to the course of the present motion: when an accident so little thought of, shall break the maine stream of our iudgement, and falsifie the Oracles which our vnderstanding hath vtered. And it may learne them with all, how much it importeth a wise commander, to prevent an euill that may crosse his designe, (how vnlkely fouer it be to happen) by handling it in such manner, as though it were necessarily to confront the same. For then a thing is well done, when it hath in it selfe both the causes of his being; and the direct meanes to resist the repugnance of a contrary nature: and so hap what will, it hath great possibility to continue the same.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

THis practice of the Veneti may instruct a circumspect Prince in cases of this nature, to haue a more watchfull eye ouer that Province or city, which shall be found most potent and mighty amongst the rest, then

of

of any other interioir State of the same nature and condition: for, as example of it selfe is of great authoritie, making improbabilities seem full of reason, especially when the intention shall sympathize with our will; so when it shall happen to be strengthened with powerful meanes, and graced with the Aids of superiour personages: it must needs be very effectual to stir vp mens minds to approve that with a strong affection, which their own single iudgement did not way allow of. And therefore equality bringeth this aduantage to a Prince, which difference cannot afford, that albeit example doe set on foote any rebellious motion, yet no supereminencie shall authorise the same.

The Authority of exaple

CHAP. III.

Cæsar hauing aduertisement of these new troubles; hasteth into Gallia, and prepareth for the WARRE.



ALl the maritime States being by this meanes drawn into the same conspiracy, they sent a common ambassage vnto Crassus; that if he would haue his men againe, he must deliver up the hostages, which he had taken from them. Whereof Cæsar being certified by Crassus, in as much as hee was then a great way distant from from his Army, he commanded Gallies and ships of warre to be built vpon the riuer *Loier*, which runneth into the Ocean; and that Gallie-men, Mariners, and Ship-masters should be mustered in the Province: which being speedily dispatched, as soone as the time of the year would permit him, he came into Gallia. The Veneti and the rest of the confederacie, vnderstanding of Cæsars arrivall, and considering how hainous a fact they had committed, in detaining the Ambassadors & casting them into yrons, whose name is held sacred & inuiolable amongst all nations: prepared accordingly to answer ere so eminent a danger, & especially such necessities, as pertained to shipping & sea-fights.

Cæsar.

* Ligeris.

THE OBSERVATION.

From hence I may take occasion, briefly to touch the reuerent opinion, which all nations, how barbarous fouer, haue generally conceived of the qualitie & condition of Ambassadors: and what the grounds are of this vniuersall received custome, which in all ages, and times hath held Authentically. And first we are to vnderstand, that all mankind (as inducted with the same nature and properties) are so linked together in the strict alliance of humane societie; that, albeit their turbulent and disagreeing passions (which in themselves are vnnatural, as proceeding from corruption

The grounds of that reuerent opinion which is held of Ambassadors.

(ruption and defect) drive them into extreame discord, & disunion of spirit, and breake the bonds of ciuil conuersation, which otherwise we do naturally affect: yet without a necessary entercourse and trafficke of societie, we are not able to keepe on foote the very discorde it selfe, in teames of reason and orderly proceeding, but all parts will be blended with disordered confusion & go to wrack, for want of these mutuall offices performed by messengers: so streight are the bonds of Nature, and so powerfull are the laws which the enacteth. And therefore if it were for no other end, which might sort to the benefit of either partie, (as there are many good vles thereof) yet to holde vp the quarrell and keepe it fro falling, making war, according to the grounds of reason, the entercourse of messengers is not to be interrupted, nor their persons to be touched with hateful violence: but that which the common reason of nations hath made a lawe, ought as religiously to be obserued, as an Oracle of our owne beliefe. Secondly, for as much as the end of warre is, or at the least should be, peace: which by treatie of mutuall messengers is principally to be confirmed, to the end that no people may seem so barbarous, as to maintaine a warre, which onely intendeth blood, and propoeth as the chiefeft object, the death and mortalitye of mankind, no way respecting peace and ciuill government: such as refuse the entercourse of messengers, as the means of amity and concord, are iustly condemned in the iudgement of all nations, as vnworthy of humane societie. Last of all, it is an iniury of great dishonour, and delectueth the reward of extreame infamy, to reuenge the master his quarrell vpon a seruant, and punish Ambassadors for the faults of their State: considering that their chiefeft duty consisteth in the faithfull relation of such mandates, as they haue received: which may as well tend to the aduancement and honour of that Citie, to which they are sent; as to the dishonour and ruine of the same, whereof the messengers take no notice. And therefore whether we desire war or peace; the free libertie, and holy order of Ambassadors, is reuerently to be respected and defended from brutish and vnnaturall violence.

CHAP. V.

The proceedings of either partie, in the enterance of this Warre.

Cæsar.



He Veneti conceived great hope of their enterprize, by reason of the strength of their situation: for as much as all the passages by land were broken and cut off, with arms and creekes of the seas; and on the other side, navigation and entrance by sea was so troublesome and dangerous, in that the Romans were altogether vnacquainted with the chanelles and belues of the coast. Neither did they thinke that the Roman Armie could long continue there without corne, which was not to bee had in those quarters. And

if

if it happened, that the course of things were carried contrarie to this probable expectation; yet they themselves were strong in shipping; whereas the Roman had none at all: Neither had they knowledge of the flats and shallows, Ports and Islands of that coast, where they were to fight. And to conclude, they should find the vse of Navigation in that narrow sea, to be farre different from that, which they were accustomed vnto, in the vast and open Ocean. In this resolution, they fortified their townes, stored them with provision, & brought all their shipping to Vannes; against whom, Cæsar (as it was reported) would begin to make war, as consorts and partakers in this quarrell. Notwithstanding, these difficulties, many mooues stirred vp Cæsar to undertake this war: as namely, the violent detaining of the Roman knights: their rebellion, after they had yielded themselves by rentry, and given hostages of their loialtie: the conspiracie of so many Cities, which being now neglected, might afterward incite other nations and States to inclining to noueltie & alteration, and of their own nature, were quick & ready liberty, and hated the seruile condition of bondage: bee prevented all further surrections of the other States, with the presence of the Roman forces: and sent Titus Labienus with the Cavalrie, vnto the Treuiri, that bordered vpon the Rhene to him he gaue in charge, to visit the men of Rhemes & the rest of the Belgæ, to keep them in obedience. and to hinder such forces, as might peraduenture of the Gales. He commanded likewise Pub. Crassus, with 12. legionarie cohorts, and a great part of the horse to go into Aquitaine, lest there might come any aide from those nations. He sent also Q. Titurius Sabinus with three legions, vnto the Lexouij. Curio solita, Vnellis, to disappoynt any practice which rebellious minds might intend. And making D. Brutus chiefe Admirall of the nauie he gaue him in charge, to make towards Vannes, with what speed he could: and hee himself marched thitherward with the rest of the foot forces.

*endriguer.
*sienex.
Nantes.
Auenche.
Lecondoul.
Cures in Brit-
taine Britaine.

*Trieri.

THE OBSERVATION.

*I*N the first booke, I obserued the authority which the Roman Leaders had to undertake a war, without further acquainting the Senat with the consequence thereof: in this place, let vs obserue the care and circumspection, which the Generalls had, not to undertake a troublesome and dangerous warre vpon a humor; any other slender motion; but diligently weighing the circumstances thereof, and measuring the perill & hazard of the warre, with the good and consequence of the effect; informed their iudgements of the importance of that action: and so tried whether the benefit would answer their labor. And thus we find the reasons particularly deuiered, that moued Cæsar first to undertake the Heluetian warre: and then the causes, which drew him on to the quarrell with Ariouistus: then followeth th

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necesf.

necessity of that warre with the Belgæ; and now the motives which induced him to this with the maritime Cities of Britaine: and so consequently of his passage into Germany, or what other enterprize he attempted: which he laeth downe as the grounds and occasions of those wars, & could not be auoided but with the losse and dishonour of the Roman Empire.

Further, let vs obserue the meanes he vsed to preuent the inclination of the Gallies, & to keep them in subiection and peaceable obedience, by sending his men into diuers quarters of that Continent; & so settling the wauering disposition of the further skirts, with the weight of his Army, and the preience of his legionary soldiers, which hee sent ready to stifle all motions of rebellion in the beginning, that they might not breake out to the preiudice and diminution of the Roman Empire, and the good successe of his proceedings: besides the advantage, which he gained in the opinion of the Enemy; whom he so little feared concerning the vphor of that quarrel, that he had disperfed the greatest part of his Army vpon other seruices, the rest being sufficient to end that war.

CHAP. VI.

The manner of their shipping, and their Sea-fight.

Caesar.



He site of almost all these Cities was such, that being built in points and promontories, they could not at full sea, which happened alwaies twice in 12. houres, be approached by foot-forces, nor yet with shipping neither; for, againe in an ebbe, the vessells were laid on the ground, and so left as a prey to the Enemy. And if the Romans went about to shut out the sea, with mounts which they raised equall to the walls of the towne, and were at the point of entering & taking it: yet the townsmen hauing such store of shipping, would easily conuey both themselves & their carriages, into the next towns, and there helpe themselves with the like advantage of place. And thus they deluded Caesar the greatest part of the sommer: for the Roman fleet by reason of continuall windeas and soule weather, durst not aduenture to put out of the riuer Loier into so vast a sea, wherein the hauens and roades were fewe, and farre distant one from another, & the tides great. The shipping of the Gallies was thus built and rigged: the keele was somewhat flatter then the Romans shipping, the better to beare the ebbs, and shallowes of that coast: the fore-deck was altogether erect and perpendicular: the poupe was made to beare the hugeness of the billowes, and the force of the tempest. And in a word, they were altogether built for strength: for the ribbes and seats were made of beams of a foot square, fastned with yron pinnes of an inch thicke: in steade of cables, they used chaines of yron; and raw hides and skins for sailes, either for want of linnen or ignorant

of

of the use thereof, or because sailes of linnen would hardly serue to carrie ships of that burthen.

The meeting and conflict of the Roman navy, with this kind of ships was such: that they only excelled them in celerity and speedy nimbleness with force of oars; but in all other things, either concerning the nature of the place, or the daungers of the soule weather, were far inferiour vnto them: for the strength of them was such that they could neither hurt them with their beak-heads, nor cast a weapon to any purpose into them, by reason of their altitude, and high built bulkes. And if anie gust chanced in the meane time to rise, that forced them to commit themselves to the mercy of the weather, their shipping would better beare the rage of the sea; and with greater safety shelter it selfe amongst flats and shallowes, without feare of rocks or any such hazard: of all which chaunces the Roman navy stood continually in danger.

OBSERVATION.



And here, let it not seem impertinent to the argument which we handle, considering the generall vse which we Insulaires haue of navigation, briefly to set down the most eminent causes of the flowing and ebbing of the sea, as farre forth as shall seem necessary to the knowledge of a souldier: which, albeit may fall short of the true reasons of this great secret; yet for as much as they stand for true principles of regularitie, and well approued rules in our Art of navigation, let vs take them for no lesse then they effect, and giue them that credit in our imagination, which tract of time hath gained to those forged circles in the heauens: that albeit their chiefest essence consisteth in conceit and supposal; yet for as much as they serue to direct our knowledge to a certainty, in that variety and seeming inconstancy of motion, we esteeme of them as they effect, and not as they are.

Considering then the globe of the world, as it maketh a right spheare (for in that position, the Naturalists chiefly vnderstand celestiall influence to haue operation in this liquid element of the water) it is diuided by the Horizon and Meridian into foure quarters: the first quarter is that, betwene the east horizon and the noone meridian, which they call a flowing quarter: the second fro the noone meridian, to the west horizon; which they make an ebbing quarter: the third, from the west horizon to the midnight meridian; which they likewise call a flowing quarter; and again, from the midnight meridian to the east horizon, the second ebbing quarter: And so they make two flowing quarters, and two ebbing quarters of the whole circuit of heauen. The instruments of these sensible qualities, and contrary effectes, are the sunne and the moone, as they are caried through these distinct parts of the heauen. And although experience hath noted the moon to be of greatest power in watie motions; yet wee may not omit to acknowledge the force, which the sunne yeeldeth in this miracle of nature.

First therefore we are to vnderstand, that when the moon or the sunne begin

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to

The causes of the ebbing & flowing of the Sea.

to appeare above the right horizon, & enter into that part of the heauen which I tearmed the first flowing quarter, that then the sea beginneth to swell: and as they mount vp to their meridian altitude; so it increaseth vntill it come to a high flood. And again, as those lights passing the meridian, decline to the west, and run the circuit of the ebbing quarter: so the water decreaseth & returneth again from whence it came. Again, as they set vnder the west horizon, & enter into the second flowing quarter; so the sea beginneth again to flowe, and still increaseth vntill they come to the point of the night meridian: and then again, it refloweth, according as the sun & moon are carried in the other ebbing quarter from the night meridian, to the west horizon.

Spring-tides.

And hence it happeneth that in conjunction or new of the moon, when the sun & the moon are carried both together in the same flowing, & ebbing quarters; that then the tides and ebs are very great: and likewise in opposition or full of the moon, when these lights are carried in opposite quarters, which we haue described to bee of the same nature, either ebbing or flowing; that then in like manner the tides are great: forasmuch as both these Planets, through the symbolizing quarters wherein they are carried, do ioyne their forces to make perfect this work of Nature in the ebbing and flowing of the Sea. And contrariwise, in a quadrate aspect (as the Astronomers call it) or quarter age of the moone, when as the moon is carried in a flowing quarter; and at the same instant, the sun doth happen to be in an ebbing or decreasing quarter, as the course of Nature dooth necessarily require: then are the tides lessened, as daily experience doth witness.

And for as much as both the right horizon and the meridian also, diuide euery diurnall circle, which either the sun or the moon maketh in their revolutions, into equal parts; it followeth that euery tide is continually measured with the quantity of 6. houres: and therefore that which Cæsar here saith, must needs be true, that in the space of 12. houres, there are alwaies 2. high tides. And least any man should imagine, that euery inland City, standing vpon an ebbing and flowing river, may take the computation of the tide according to this rule: let him vnderstand, that this which I haue deliuered, is to be conceiued principally of the sea it self; and secondarily of such ports and hauens, as stand either neer or vpon the sea: but where a riuer shall run many miles from the sea, and make many winding Meanders, before it come to the place of calculation; it must needs lose much of this time before mentioned. And thus much I thought convenient to insert in these discourses touching the ebbing & flowing of the sea, as not impertinent to marittall knowledge.

The manner
of their ship-
ping.

Concerning the shipping of the Romans, whereof posteritie hath only received the bare names, and some fewe circumstances touching the manner of their Equipage, the Critiques of these times haue laboured to set forth a fleet, answerable to that, which the terms and title mentioned in history seeme to report: but yet the gaine of their voyage doth not answere their charge. For, many men rest vn-satisfied, first touching the names themselves, whereof we find these kinds.

Names

Names

Longas.
Onerarias.
Actuarias.
Triremes.
Quadrirèmes.
Quinquerèmes.

The first we may vnderstand to be Gallies or ships of seruice: the second, ships of burthen: the third, ships that were driuen forward with force of oares, and the rest founding according to their Names; for, I dare not intitle them with a more particular description. Now whether these Names *Longas* and *Actuarias*, were a seuerall sort of shipping by themselves; or the generall Names of the *Quadrirèmes*, *Triremes*, and *Quinquerèmes*, for as much as euery kinde of these might be called both *Longas* and *Actuarias*, as it yet remaineth in controuersie: so it is not much materiall to that which wee seeke after. But that which most troubleth our sea Critiques, is, in what sense they may vnderstand these vocabularies, *Triremes*, *Quadrirèmes*, & *Quinquerèmes*, whether they were so tearmed in regard of the number of rowers, or water-men that haied continually at an oare, as the custome of the Gallies is at this daie; or otherwise, because a *Trireme* had three orders of oares on either side, a *Quadrirème* foure, and a *Quinquerème* fiue: whereof they tooke their distinction of Names.

Such as hold, that a *Trireme* had on each side three ranks of oares, and so consequently, of a *Quadrirème* and *Quinquerème*; allege this place of Liuius, to make good their opinion. In the warres between Rome and Carthage, Lælius meeting with Aldrubal in the Straights of Gibraltar, each of them had a *Quinquerème*, & seauen or eight *Triremes* a peece: the current in that place was so great that it gaue no place to Art, but carried the vessels according to the fall of the Billow: in which vncertainty, the *Triremes* of the Carthaginians closed with the *Quinquerème* of Lælius: which either because shee was *ponderet tenacior*, as Liuius saith; or otherwise, for that *pluribus remorum ordinibus scindentibus vertices facilius regetur*; in regard of the pluritie of banks of oares, which resisted the billow and steamed the current, shee sunke two of the *Triremes*, and so got the victorie. From hence they proue, that a *Quinquerème* had *plures remorum ordines*, then a *Trireme* had; and therefore it tooke the name from the pluralitie of banks of oares, and not from the number of men that rowed at an oare.

Lib. 27

But the contrarie opinion doth interpret *Ordo remorum*, to bee a couple of oares one answering another, on each side of the vessell, which wee call a paire of oares: So that a *Quinquerème* being far greater and longer then a *Trireme*, had more paires of oares then a *Trireme* had, & those oares were handled with fiue men at one oare, according to the vse of our Gallies at this daie.

But to leaue this, and come to their manner of sea-fights, wee must vnderstand that the Romans, wanting the vse of Artillerie and managing their ships of warre with force of oares, failed not to make vse of their Art, in their conflicts and encounters by sea: for, all their shippes of seruice, which we tearme

The manner
of sea-fights.

men of warre, carried a strong beake-head of yron, which they called *rostrum*, with which they ranne one against another, with as great violence and furie, as their oares could carrie them. And herein Art gaue great aduantage; for, he that could best skill to turne his ship, with greatest celerity, and to frustrate an offer; or with speedy & strong agitation follow an aduantage: commonly got the victory.

In the battell which D. Brutus had with the Maffilians, we reade that two Triremes charging the Admirall wherein Brutus was, one at the one side, and the other at the other; Brutus and his Mariners so cunningly handled the matter, that when they should come to the hurt, they speedily in a trice of time, wound themselves from betweene them, and the two Triremes met with such a carriere one against another, that one brake her beake-head, and the other split with the blowe.

For this skill & fortune withall, Euphranor the Rhodian was of great fame in Cæsar's time; although his end found too true the saying of the Historian, that Whom Fortune honoureth with many good haps, she oftentimes reuereth to a harder destiny, as other sea-men besides Euphranor, can truly witness.

This first brunt being ended: when they came to grapple and boording one of another, then the art & practises of their land seruices came in vse: for, they erected turrets vpon their decks, and from them they fought with engines and casting-weapons, as slings, arrowes, and pikes: and when they entered, they fought with sword and target. Neither did the legionary souldier find any difference when he came to the point, betweene their fight at sea and that at land: sauing that they could not be martialled in troups and bands, in regard wherof the sea seruice was counted more base, and dishonourable; and the rather, in as much as it decided the controuersie, by slings and casting-weapons: which kinde of fight was of lesse honour, then buckling at handy-blows.

CHAP. VII.

The Battell continueth: and Cæsar ouercommeth,



HE manner of their fights being this, as I haue described, neither Brutus, nor any Tribune or Centurion in his navy, knew what to do or what course of fight to take: for, the shipping of the Gallies was so strong, that the beake-head of their Quinqueres could performe no seruice vpon them: & although they should raise turrets according to their vse, yet they would not equall in height the poupe of the Enemies shipping; so that therein also the Gallies had aduantage: neither had they any meanes, whereby they might foile so great a nanie, which amounted to the number of 230. ships of war. One thing,

*Lib. 2. de bel-
lo ciuili.*

Cæsar.

thing there was amongst their prouisions which stood them in great stead: for, the Romans had provided great sharp hooks or sickles, which they put vpon great & long poles: these they fastned to the tackling which held the main yard to the mast; and then haling away their ship, with force of Oares, they cut the said tackling & the main yard fell down. Wherby the Gallies, whose only hope consisted in sayling and yare turning of their ships, lost at one instant, both their sailes & the vse of their shipping. And then the controuersie fell within the compass of valour, wherein the Romans exceeded the Gallies; and the rather, inasmuch as they fought in the sight of Cæsar and the whole Army, no valiant act could bee smothered in secret; for, all the hilles and cliffs, which afforded neere prospect into the sea, were covered with the Roman Armie.

Their maine yardes being cut downe, and the Romans in denouring with great fury to boord them, failed not to take many of their ships: which the Gallies perceiving, & finding no remedy nor hope of resistance, began all to fly, & turning their ships to a forewind, were vpon a sudden so becalmed, that they were able to make no way at all. Which fell out so fitly for the Romans, that of so great a navy, very few through the helpe of the euening escaped to land, after they had fought the space of 8. houres: with which buttell, ended the war with the Venetians, & the rest of the maritime nations. For, all sort of people both young & old, in whom there was either courage, counsell, or dignity, were present at this battell, and all their shipping was taken & lost; so that such as remained, knew not whither to go, nor how to defend their towns any longer: and therefore yielded themselves to Cæsar, in whom he used the greater severity, that he might thereby teach all other barbarous people, not to violate the lawe of nations: for, he slew all the Senat with the sword, and solde the people for bondslaves.

THE OBSERVATION.

IN this battell I chiefly obserue the good fortune, which vually attendeth vpon industry: for amongst other prouisions, which the diligence of the Romans had furnished out to the vse of this war, they had made ready these hookes, not for this intent wherein they were imploied; but at all occasions and chances, that might happen, as seruiceable complements rather then principal instruments: & yet it so fell out, that they proued the only means, to overthrow the Gallies. Which proueth true the saying of Cæsar, that industrie commaundeth fortune and buyeth good successe, with extraordinary labour: for industrie in action is as importunitie in speech, which forceth an assent beyond the strength of reason, and striveth through continuall pursuit, to make good the motiues, by often inculcations; and at length findeth that disposition, which will easily admit whatsoeuer is required: In like manner, diligence and labour some industrie, by circumspect and heedfull carriage, seldom faile either by hap or cunning, to make good that part wherein the maine point of the matter dependeth. For, euery action is intangled with many infinite adherents, which are so interrelled in the matter, that it succeedeth according as it is carried.

*The force of
industry.*

carried answerable to their natures. Of these adherents, some of them are by wildome foreseen; and directed to that course which may fortunate the action: the rest being vnnknown, continue without either direction or prevention, & are all vnder the regiment of fortune; for as much as they are beyond the compass of our wisest reach, and in the waie either to assist or disadvantage: Of these, industrie hath greatest authority; in as much as she armeth her selfe for all chances, whereby she is sayd to command fortune.

CHAP. VIII.

*Sabinus ouerthroweth the * Vnelli, with the manner thereof.*

* La Perche

Cæsar.

* Rhone.
* Earenx.

While these things happened in the state of Vannes, L. Titurius Sabinus entred with his forces into the confines of the Vnelli, ouer whom Viridoux was made chiefe Commander, hauing drawne the * Aulerci and the * Eburonices with a great number of vagabondes and theues into the same conspiracie: Sabinus incū-

ping himselfe in a conuenient place, kept his souldiers within the rampier. But, Viridoux, being lodged within lesse then two miles of Sabinus his camp, brought out his forces daily, and putting them in battell gaue him opportunitie to fight if he would: which Sabinus refused in such sort, that he began not onely to be suspected by the Enemy of cowardice, but to be taunted with the reprocheful speeches of his own souldiers; which opinion of feare being once settled in the minds of the Enemy, he used all meanes to increase it, and carried it so well, that the Enemy durst approche the very rampier of the camp. The colour that he pretended was, that he thought it not the part of a Legate, in the absence of the General, to fight with an Enemy of that strength, but upon some good opportunitie, or in a place of advantage. In this generall perswasion of feare, Sabinus chose out a subtil witted Gall, whom he perswaded with great rewards, and further promises, to flie to the Enemy, and there to carrie himself, according to the instructions, which he should giue him. This Gall, comming as a reuolter to the Enemy, laid open vnto the feare of the Romans; the extremity that Cæsar was drine into by the Vnelli; & that the night before, Sabinus was about to withdraw his forces secretly out of his camp, & to make all the haste he could to relieue Cæsar. Vpon which aduertisement, they alcried out with one consent, that this opportunity was not to be omitted; but setting apart al other deuises, to go & assault the Roman campe. Many circumstances perswaded the Gals to this resolution; as first the lingering & doubt which Sabinus had made, whe he was offered battell; secondly, the intelligence which this fugitive had brought; thirdly, the want of victuals wherein they had bin negligent & vnadvisedly carelesse; fourthly, the hope they conceiued of the war of Vannes; and lastly for that men willingly belieue that which they would haue com to pass. The force of these motives was so strong, that they would not suffer Viridoux

doix, nor the rest of the Captaines, to dismishe the Councell, vntill they had permitted them to take Armes, and goe to the Romaine Camp. Which being granted, they gathered rubbish and sagors to fill vp the ditch; & with cheerful hartes, as though the victorie were already gotten, they marched to the place where Sabinus was incamped; which was the top of a hill, rising gently from a leuell, the quantity of one thousand pases. Hither the Galls hasted with all expedition: & to the intent the Romaines might not haue so much time, as to put on their Armour, the Galls for haste ranne themselves out of breath.

Sabinus, encouraging his souldiers, gaue the signe of battell; and sallying out at two severall gates of his Campe, it fell out that through the oportunitie of the place, the wearinesse and vnexperience of the Enemy, the valour of the Romaine souldier, and their exercise in former battels, that the Galls could not indure the brunt of the first incounter, but presently tooke themselves to flight, of whom, very few escaped. And so it happened, that at one time, Sabinus had newes of the ouerthrow at Sea, and Cæsar of Sabinus victory by Land. Vpon these victories, all the Citties and States yielded themselves to Titurius: for, as the Galls are prompt to undertake a warre; so are they weak in suffering, and impatient of the consequents and calamities thereof.

OBSERVATION.

THis practice of a counterfeit feare, was often put in vse by the Romaine Leaders, as well to disappoint the expectation of an enemy, as to draw them into an inconuenience, and so to defeat them of their greatest helps in time of battell. Cæsar, comming to succour the Campe of Cicero, made such vse of this Art, that he put to rout a great Army of the Galls, with a handfull of men: which I will referre vnto the place, where it is particularly set downe by Cæsar.

The chiefeft thing in this place, which brought them to their ouerthrow, was disappointment: for, it is a thing hardly to be digested in busines of smal consequence, to be frustrated of a settled expectation, when the mind shal dispose herselfe to one onely intent, and in the vp-shot meet with a counterbuffe to crosse her purposes, and so defeat her of that hope which the strength of her reason hath entertained: how much more then in things of such importance, when we shall proceed in a course of victorie, and humour our conceits with that wee wish and would haue to happen; and in the end, meet either with bondage or death, must our best wits bee appalled: hauing neither repit nor meanes, to thinke how the euill may be best prevented. Which the wise Romans well vnderstood, & counted it no dishonour to be reproched with shamefull cowardice, by such as knew not the secrets of wisdom; while they in the meane time foresawe their good fortunes, throwded vnder the cloak of a pretended distrust.

Let these examples instruct a Leader, so to take the opportunitie of any such fortune, that in the execution, he omit not the chiefeft points of order and discipline, as well for the better effecting of the designe, as for his own safety and the

The vse
which the
Romans
made of a
counterfeit
feare.
Lib. 5.

the securitie of his Armie. For, order is as the sinewes and strength of martiall discipline, vniing the particular members into the firme composition of a well proportioned bodie: and so it maketh it more powerfull then any number of disunited parts, how able or infinite focuer.

I might heere alleadg infinite examples to confirme this truth: but let the battell of Drux serue for all; wherein the Protestants, overcharging the Catholick Armie, followed the reitrait so hard, that they quickly became Maistres of the field: and then neglecting martiall discipline, fell in confusedly with the broken multitude, to make the victorie more glorious by slaughter and mortallitie. The Duke of Guise, all this while, bouged not a foot; but in vnexampled patience, kept his regiment close together, and would not suffer them to rescue their Generall that was taken, vntill the regiment of the Prince of Condie was likewise dispersed and broken: and then perceiuing no difference of order, betweene the victor Protestant, and the vanquished Catholick, hee dissolved that terrible cloud that had hung so long in suspence; and so changed the fortune of the day, that he tooke the chiefeft of their Princes prisoners, with little or no losse of his owne men: so powerfull is order in the deeds of Armes, and of such consequence in obtaining victorie. And thus wee haue first seene the inconueniences, which a counterfet feare well dissembled, may cast vpon a credulous and vnadvised enemy, when pretence and appearance hath brought them into an error, which their owne credulitie doth afterward auouch: and secondly, what strength and safetie consisteth in order; and how powerfull it is to throw downe, and to set vp.

CHAP. IX.

The proceedings of Crassus in Aquitanie.

Cæsar.



*I*n the same instant of time, it happened also, that Pub. Crassus comming into Aquitania (which both in regard of the large extension of the Country, as also for the multitude of the inhabitants, was named the third part of Gallia) and considering that he was to make war in those parts, where L. Valerius Preconius the Legate was slaine, and the Army overthrowne: and where Lucius Manlius was faine to flee, with the losse of his cariages; he thought that his affaires required no meane diligence: and therefore, hauing made prouision of Corne, & mustered many Auxiliarie forces, and sent for many valiant and prudent men from Tolouse and Narbone, hee carried his Armie into the confines of the Sontiates; which was no sooner knowne, but they leuied great forces both of horse and foote, and with their horse, charged vpon the Romaines in their march: vvhich being easilie repelled, as they followued the reitrait, the infanterie of the Gallies, shewued it selfe in a Valley as it lay in Ambush. These, setting vpon the Romaines, renewed the battaile, and there the fight continued but a long time; the

Sontii

*Euocati.

Sontiates being animated with the former victories, saw all the hope of Aquitanie relye vpon their vertue: and the Romans on the other side, desired to shew what they were able to doe of themselves, without their grand Captaine, and vnder the conduction of a young souldier. At length, the enemy, overwaged with prowesse, and wearied with wounds, betooke themselves to fight; of whom the Romans slew a great number: and then marched directlie to the towne of the Sontiates, and laid siege vnto it: the siege grew hot on both sides, the Romans approached the walles, with vines, turrets and mounts. The townsmen defended themselves, sometime by salying out, sometimes by undermining the mounts and fortifications, wherein the Aquitani are very skilfull. But, when they perceined the industrie of the Romans to exceed all that they were able to do, they intreated Crassus to accept their rendry: which beeing granted, and all the Army intending the deliuey of their Armes, Adcantuanus their chiefe Magistrate, fledde out in the meane time at another port of the Cittie, with sixe hundred denoted companions, whom they called Solduri; but as they attempted to escape, the souldiers that kept that part of the fortification, as they signified his enuasion by a clamour and shout, the rest betooke themselves to Armes, & so repelled him againe into the towne; where he desired to be taken in the number of the submissie multitude. Crassus, hauing taken hostages of them, went into the confines of the Vocontij.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



These skilfull and experienced men, which Crassus sent for out of all the Citties in Aquitaine, were those, whom the Romans called Euocati: such as were free from warfare, & exempted by their lawes from giuing their names in musters, either by reason of their yeetes, or the magistracie which they had borne, or for some other causes, which gaue them that priuiledge: & in that regard, were sent for by Letters, inreating their assistance in the cariage of that war, as men well acquainted with the nature of such businesses. Their places were nothing inferiour to the Centurions, for aduise and direction, although they had no part in commaund or authoritie.

Euocati.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



In this fight, we may further obserue, their maner of defence against Mounts, and Cavalieros; which we find chiefly to be Mines. Iosephus, in the Iewish warre, saith, that The Romaines hauing raised an exceeding high mount, the Iewes vndermined the same with such Art, that as they digged vnderneath, they supported the Mount with huge props & planks, that it might not shrinke: and watching a time of greatest aduantage, they set all the timber-work, which vnderpropped the mount, on fire,

M 2.

which

which taking fire, with the help of Bramstone and Pitch, the Mount fell vpon a suddaine, to the great terrour and amazement of the Romans.

Lib. 7. de bel-
to Gall.

At the siege of *Auaricum*, we find how the Galles by vndermining, did take the earth from the Mount, as fast as it was caried vnto it by the Romans; and so kept it from rising, and made it vnesse Quall. But if it were for the most part made of wood, or other combustible matter, they fought then by all meanes to burne it; as it happened at the siege of *Massilia*: and oftentimes, when both burning & vndermining failed, they confronted it, with another Mount within the walles, to disappoint the disadvantage by equall contesting of it; and so made it vnprofitable.

Concerning Mines, this much may I say, without prejudice to that Art, that the chiefest points to be respected are these: First, the true distance to a designed place; which is best got by instrument, and helpe of Geometrie, where other marks of certaintie are wanting. Secondly, the direction of the Mine, that we may not erre in our course which the Compasse affordeth. Thirdly, the strengthening of the Mine with timber-work, if need require. Lastly, the countermining and crosse-meeting. All which parts haue very many circumstances, & require a larger discourse, then may be thought pertinent for this place.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

THe strange contraſt betweene these Soldurij, and their Chieftaine, may well deserue a place amongst these obseruations, especially, considering the obligatorie conditions, which either party stood bound to obserue: for, the Captaine was to make his Soldurij partakers of all his happines in this life; in regard whereof, they were to take part of whatsoeuer ill chance or disaster should happen to befall him. If death, which is the last end of all sensuall miserie, took hold of their head, these deuoted, were tied voluntarily to follow him the selfe same way: neither in any memorie was there euer man found, that refused to die, if he to whom he was deuoted, chanced to be slaine. Which bloody league of amitie, as it was repugnant to the course of Nature, multiplying particular destinie to a generall calamitie: so was it dangerous in a well ordered State, if the Ring-leader were either ambitious, or sought to practice any thing contrarie to good government: for, he himselfe would presume much vpon the assistance of his Soldurij; and they, on the other side, must needs with well to his attempts, that were so interested in his life and death.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

The Galles raise new forces against *Craſſus*.



He barbarous Galles were much troubled, that a towne of that strength should so soon be taken; and therefore they sent Embassadors into all quarters, conuired one with another, confirmed their covenants with mutuall hostages, and leuied what power they were able to make: sending for aide out of Spaine, and from other States that bordered vpon Aquitaine. At the coming of these forces, they began to make warre, with a great power, and with many souldiers of great fame: for, they appointed such Leaders as had seene the experience of Sertorius his warres, and were great in the opinion of men, for their skill and knowledge in the Arte Militarie. These, according to the custome of the people of Rome, beganne to take places of aduantage, to fortifie their Campe, and to intercept the Romaines from free passage of conuoiets, and necessarie intercourses. Which when *Craſſus* perceived, & considering withall, that his owne forces were so few, that he could not well dismember them on any service or aduantage, and that the enemy went out at his pleasure, kept the passages, and left notwithstanding, a sufficient garrison in his Campe; by which means, their corne and provision would in time grow scarce, and the enemy waxed euery day stronger: he thought it his best course not to linger any longer, but presently to giue them battell.

The matter being referred to a Councell of warre, when he vnderstood that all men were of the same opinion, he appointed the next day to giue them battell; & in the dawning, putting his men in a double battaile, & placing the Auxiliarie forces in the middlest, he attended to see what the enemy would doe. The Galles, although they were perswaded, that they might aduenture battell, both in regard of their multitude and ancient prowesse of warre, as also in respect of the paucitie of the Romans; yet they thought it better to block up the passages, and so cut off all carriages, and conuoiets of corne; and so the victory would follow without bloodshed: and if the Romans for want of Corne, should offer to make a retreat, they would then set vpon them as they marched, wearied with travell, & heauilie laden with their burthens. This resolution being approoued by the whole Councell of the Galles, when the Romaines imbattailed their forces, they kept their men within their Campe.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



His Sertorius had followed the faction of Marius and Cinna, and when Sylla had ouerthrowne both the elder & younger Marius, he fled into Spaine, and there maintained the quarrell on foote against Pompey and Metellus, and ouerthrow them in many battels: but in

Cæsar.

Sertorius.

the end was treacherously slaine by Perpanna at a banquet. He was a man of great spirit, and of admirable dispatch; & vnder him were these Captaines brought vp, which Cæsar commendeth for their skill in Armes.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



N histories, propounding to our consideration the deedes and monuments of former ages, we may obserue two especial means, which the great Commanders of the world haue enterned to archieue victorie, and ouermaster their enemies: the first, by cunning and wise cariage of a matter, before it come to triall by blowes: the second by forceable meanes and waging of battaile; the one proceeding from wisdom and the better faculties of the soule; and the other depending vpon the strength and abilitie of the bodie.

Concerning the first, it hath euer bene held more honourable, as better suiting the worth of the spirit, and the diuine essence of our nature, so to direct the course of an action, that the aduerser part may be weakened by wit, and preuented in the projects of their better fortunes, by anticipation of meanes and occasions, and so through aduantages taken from their owne proceedings, to be driuen to that exigent, which may determine of the controuersie before they come to blowes, and conclude the matter by rearmes of Arte, taken from the directions of good prouidence. For, to speake a truth, the action of battell, as it is the last part in that facultie; so it is the worst in regard of Christian dutie, and better fitteth the progeny of Lamech his second wife (which the Diuines doe note to be borne to the ruine and destruction of mankind) then the children of grace; whose ioy consisteth in peace and loue.

Cæsar, in the first of the Ciuill warres, respected the same thing, but from other grounds: for, hauing shutt vp Afranius and Petreius in a place of disadvantage, and might haue cut them off without further trouble; yet, so much as he foresaw the victorie comming towards him without blow or wound, he thus answered his Captaines that were earnest vpon the enemy: *Cur etiam secundo praelio aliquos ex suis amitteret? cur vulnerari pateretur optimi de se meritos milites? cur denique fortunâ periclitaretur?* And this course did these Gallies take, which vnder Sertorius had learned the Romaine Art, and the Romaine industrie; and were now become so expert, that they had almost beaten the Romaines at their owne weapon.

This first meanes is principally to be embraced, as the safest way in these vncertaine and casuall euents: for, that which resteth vpon corporall strength, & maketh execution the meanes to a conclusion, is very terrible euen to the better partie, full of hazard and of little certaintie. For, it were a miracle of Fortune neuer heard of yet, so to carrie a battaile vpon what aduantage or meanes whatsoever, that the victor Arme should buy so great a fortune without bloodshed or losse of men; and erect a Trophie to Honour, at the sole cost of the Enemy, without losse or expence of his owne treasure.

And

Two meanes
to archieue
victorie and
to ouermaster
their enemies.

Tubalcaine
by war, and
Naamah by
the flood.

And for the vncertainie in a battaile, who knoweth not what infinite changes and changes may happen in euerie small moment of time, to turne the fortune of the day to this or that partie, and make both sides vncoustant in their affections, by presenting them interchangeably with hope and feare, ioy & sorrow; and therefore Cæsar thought it not best to tempt the weywardnesse of Fortune, when by other meanes he might obtaine his desires.

This, I say, is chiefly to be embraced, if our means will afford vs that happinesse: but howsoeuer, I hold it wisdom so to entertaine this course of victorie, that we omitte not the chiefest helps of furtherance, when it commeth to blowes, but to thinke of this conquest by Arte and wit, as necessarie, if our meanes will serue vs to compass it; and of the other, as necessarie whether we will or no: for, the historie maketh it plaine, that when Brutus found himselfe destitute of meanes, to vndertake that course of victorie, which proceedeth from prouidence and discreet cariage; hee then betooke himselfe necessarie to the later, and by the helpe of battell, fought to free himselfe from those disadvantages, into which the Gallies had brought him.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.



O obserue further, out of this place, that what course soeuer be taken, a discreet Leader will not easilie forgoe an aduantage without great assurance of a better fortune: nor change the certaintie of a benefit, vpon probabilities of other hopes, vntill it haue paid him the interest of his expectation, and wrought that effect which it promised to performe. For, so hee might forgoe his fortune, by presuming too much vpon the fauour of future chances, which are often seene to crosse our purposes, rather then to further the way which is taken.

Not to forgoe
an aduantage

THE FOURTH OBSERVATION.



Further, I obserue, this double battell to be answerable to the paucity of the Roman forces: for, their vsuall manner was, to make a triple battell, that the first might haue a second, and a third helpe: but where their number would not afford that commoditie, they then made two battells that there might be the succour of a second supply. But they neuer fought with one single battell, for ought that may bee gathered by their histories.

THE

THE FIFT OBSERVATION.

*The place
where suspected
forces
are best be-
stowed in
battell.*



He last thing which I obserue, is the place, where Crassus bestowed the Auxiliarie forces, in the disposition of his troupes to battaile; which is heere said to bee, in *mediam Aciem*: for, as their Armies were diuided into three battels; so euery battell was diuided into three parts; the two cornets, and the battell, wherein these Auxiliarie forces were in this seruice bestowed: of these he afterward saith, that Inasmuch as he durst not put any confidence in them, hee commanded them to serue the Romans in time of battell, with stones and weapons; and to cary earth and turfe to the Mount. The reason why suspected troupes are placed in the battell, rather then in either of the cornets, is, for that the battaile hath not such scope to fling out, or take aduantage of place to doe mischief, as the cornets haue: for, whereouer there haue been set battels fought, the strength of their Armie consisted alwaies in the cornets, as the two principall instruments of the battell: and as long as these stood sound, the victorie went alwaies certain on that part; for, the cornets kept the enemy, both from incompassing about the body of their Armie, and had the aduantage also of charging vpon the open side of their aduersarie.

At the battell of Cannas, Hanniball put the weakest of his forces in the battell, and aduancing them towards the enemy, left the two cornets behind: so that, when the enemy came to charge vpon the battell, they easily beate them backe, and as they followed, the retrait fell in between the two cornets, wherein the strength of the Armie consisted; & being by them incompassed on each side, were defeated and ouerthrowne. And thus we see the aduantage which a Generall hath, when his two cornets stand firme, although the battell shrink in the encounter. Hanniball, in the battell hee had with Scipio in Africk, placed the Strangers in the front, and in the rereward; according peraduenture as hee found their number, and the vse of their Armes: which are circumstances to be considered in this case, and depend rather vpon the iudgement of a Generall, then of any prescription that can be given in this matter.

CHAP. XI.

Crassus taketh the Camp of the Galles: and
with their ouerthrow endeth that
VVarre.

Cæsar.



CRASSVS, vnderstanding their drift, and finding his men willing to set vpon their Campe, incouraged his souldiers; & to the contentment of all men, went directly to the place where they were lodged: & as some began to fil vp the ditch, and others with casting weapons to beate the Galles from the rampier, he commanded the Auxiliarie forces, of whom
he

hee had no great assurance, to bring stones and weapons to the souldiers that fought, and to carie earth & turfe to the Mount; that so they might make a shew of fighting. And on the other side, as the enemy beganne valiantly to make resistance, and to cast their weapon from the higher ground, to the great hurt of the Romaine souldier; the horsemen in the meane time, riding about the Campe of the Galles, brought word to Crassus, that the rampier at the Decumane port, was not fortified with such diligence, as they found it in other places, but would admit an easie entrance. Crassus dealt earnestly with the Commanders of the horse, to incourage their men with great promises and rewards; and instructed them what he would haue done: they, according to their instructions, took foure cohorts that were left in the Campe, and carying them a further way about, that they might not be discovered by the enemy, while all mens eyes and minds were intent vpon the fight, they speedily came to the place of the fortifications, which the horsemen had found to be weak; which beeing easilie broken downe, they had entered the Campe before the Enemy could well tell what was done. And then a great clamour and shout beeing heard about that place, the Romaine legions renewing their force, as it falleth out alwaies in hope of victorie, beganne to charge them afresh with great furie. The Galles, beeing circumented on each side, and despairing of their safetie, casting themselves ouer the rampier, sought by flight to escape the danger. But forasmuch as the Country was open & champaine, the horsemen pursued them with that execution, that of fiftie thousand, there scarce remained the fourth part.

OBSERVATION.



From this place Brancatio taketh occasion to dispute, how an Enemy that is strongly incamped, & for some aduantage will not remoue, may be dislodged, whether he will or no. A point of great consequence, in matter of warre; and therefore deserveth due consideration. Concerning which, he laieth this downe for a maxime, that All forts and strong holds are taken by the foot; & that camps and lodgings are taken by the head. By which is meant, that hee who purpose to winne a fortesse well manned and provided, must first get the foot, and take hold of the ditch, and then seise himselfe vpon the rampier, and so get the place: for, he saith, that mounts and eminent eleuations, are of little vse against fortresses or sconces, vnlesse they ouer-top them: which may be easilie preuented, by raising the parapet of the fortesse in front, and the curraine in flanke, according as the enemy shall cary his mounts aloft; and so they shall neuer come to ouer-toppe the holds. But all Camps and lodgings are taken by the head: that is, by mounts and eleuations, which by the aduantage of their height, command the champaine: for, hee holdeth it impossible, to raise a mount within the Campe in so short a time, to contest that, which the enemy shall make without.

This foundation being laid, he proceedeth to discover a way, how to raise a mount, maugre the enemy, which shall dislodge them by force of Artillerie, or murder

*Lib. 3.
Avertisse-
ment
to second.*

*Lib. de bello
Gallico.*

murder them all within their trenches. And this he taketh from Cæsar, at the siege of Gergobia. The substance of the matter consisteth in a double ditch, running like vnto the line which the Geometricians call *Helicall*. By this double ditch, he maketh his approach to any place of most advantage, where hee may, in a night, raise a mount high enough for the ordinance to play vpon any quarter of the Campe. The censure of this practice, I referre to our iudicious souldiers, which may, if it please them, take a better view of the particularities of this stratagem in Brancatio himselfe. This much I dare affirme, in the behalfe of these works, that they were of high esteeme amongst the Romans, who daily experience and exigents of hazard had taught to find out the readiest meanes, both for securitie and victorie. And if our souldiers could be brought to taste the commoditie of these works, either by perswasion or impulsion, it were the best part of their warlike practices: but our men had rather flie vpon desperate aduentures, and seeke victorie in the iawes of death, then to cleare all hazard, with paines and diligence.

CHAP. XII.

Cæsar vndertaketh the warre with the *Menapij and Morini.*

*Cæsar.
* Terrouine,
* Clene and
Gneldres.*



*A*t the same time also, although the Sommer was almost at an end, yet so far as much as all Gallia was in peace, and the * *Morini* onely, with the * *Menapij* stood out in Armes, and had neuer either sent Embassadour, or otherwise treated of Peace: Cæsar, thinking that warre might quickly be ended, ledde his Armie into their Country. At his coming, hee found them to carie the warres farre otherwise, then the rest of the Gallies had done: for, vnderstanding that the greatest Nations of Gallia, which had waged battell with the Romans, were beaten and ouerthrowne: and hauing vvhole continents of woods and bogs in their territories, they conuied both themselves and their goods into those quarters. Cæsar, coming to the beginning of the woods, began to fortifie his Campe, not discovering any enemy neere about him: but as his men were dispersed in their charges, they suddenly sallied out of the woods, and assaulted the Romans; but being speedily driuen in againe, with the losse of manie of them, as the Romans followed them farre into the woods, had some few of their men slaine.

The time that remained, Cæsar resolved to spend in cutting down the woods: and, least the souldiers might be taken vnawares, while they were busied in that worke, he caused them to place all the trees which they cut downe, on either side of the Armie, that they might serue for a defence, against sudden assaults. A great quantitie of ground was thus rid within a few daies, so that their goods & cattell was taken by the Romans: but they themselves were fledde into thicker woods.

vvhods. At which time there happened such a continuall raine, as forced them to leane off the worke; and the souldiers could no longer indure to lie in Tents of skinned: and therefore Cæsar, after hee had wasted and spoiled their Country, burned their townes, and their houses; hee caried back his Armie, and placed them in such Citties to winter in, as were subdued by the late warres.

OBSERVATION.



*T*He Irish rebels, hauing the like commoditie of woods and bogges, do entertaine the like course of war, as the Morini did with Cæsar. The meanes which heviely to disappoint them of that practice, was to cut downe the woods; which if it be thought monstrous in this age, or ridiculous to our men of war; let them consider that the Romaine discipline, wrought greater effects of valour, then can be made credible by the vse of these times. For, besides their exquisite discipline, which of it selfe vvas able to frame patterns of vnexampled magnanimitie, their industrie was admirable in the execution thereof, and caried it with such vncessant trauell, that the souldiers thought it great happinesse when they came to wage battell with the Enemy; and could haue meanes to quit their continuall trauell, with the hazard of their liues.

Neither let it seeme strange, that the Romaines vndertooke to cut down the woods: but rather let vs admire their facilitie in so difficult a taske; for, as the historic witnesseth; *magno spacio paucis diebus confecto, incredibili celeritate*: a great quantitie of ground, was rid in a few daies, with incredible speed. And after the woods were cut downe, they tooke more paines in placing it on each side of the legions, to hinder any suddaine assault, then they did in cutting it downe: which deserueth as great admiration as the former part. There is another place in the sixth booke of these Commentaries, which expresseth more particularly the nature of such warres, and may serue to acquaint vs with that which Cæsar did in these difficulties.

The Eburones, or the men of Liege, had the like commoditie of woods & bogges, and made vse of them in the warre they had with Cæsar. The matter faith hee, required great diligence, not so much in regard of the perill of the whole Armie (for there could no danger come from an enemy that was frightened and dispersed) as the safetie of euery particular souldier, which in part did pertaine to the welfare of the whole Armie. For, the desire of a bootie, caried many of the souldiers farre from the bodie of the Armie: and the woods being full of vnknowne and secret passages, would not suffer them to goe either thicke together, or close imbattailed. If he desired to haue the warre ended, and the race of those wicked men to be rooted out, hee must of force make manie small companies, & diuide his men into many bodies: but if he would haue the Maniples to keepe at their Ensignes, as the discipline and custome of the Romaine Armie required; then the place was a shelter and defence to the Emie. Neither did they want courage to lay Ambushments, and to circumvent such

such as they found alone, straggling from their companies. In these difficulties, there was as much done as diligence could doe; providing rather to be wanting in the offensive part (although all mens mindes were sette on fire with revenge) then to hurt the enemy with the losse of the Romaine souldier. Cæsar sent messengers to the bordering States, to come out and sack the Eburones, & they should have all the prey for their labour: that the life of the Galles, rather then his legionarie souldiers, might be hazarded in those woods; as also, that with so great a multitude, both the race & name of that people might be quite extinguished.


There are many particularities in this relation, which concerne the true motion of the Irish warres, which may be better observed by such as knowe those warres by experience, then by my selfe, that vnderstand them onely by relation: and therefore to prevent such exceptions, as my rule shall make of the parallell in these two cases, I will leave it to bee done by themselves. And thus endeth the third Commentarie.



THE

THE FOVRTH COMMENTARIE.


THE ARGUMENT.

 He Visipetes, and Tenchtheri are driuen to seeke new seats in Gallia; they driue the Menapij out of their territories: but in the end are ouerthrowen by Cæsar. That warre being ended, he made a bridge vpon the Rhene, and carried his Army ouer into Germany. He taketh reuenge vpon the Sicambri; and giveth libertie to the Vbij: returneth into Gallia, and carrieth his Armie ouer into Britanic, with the occurrences of that warre.

CHAP. I.

The *Visipetes, and *Tenchtheri bring great multitudes of peoples, over the Rhene into Gallia: the nature of the Sueui.

* The of
Zutphen.
* Of H.affia.

 HE winter following, Pompeie and Crassus being Consuls, the Visipetes and Tenchtheri, two Germane nations, passed over the Rhene, with great multitudes of people, not far from the place, where it falleth into the sea. The reason of their sitting, was the ill intreatie, which for many yeares together they had received of the Sueui, the greatest and warlikest nation amongst the Germanes. For, these Sueui had one hundred Cantons or shires, which yearly furnished their warres, with 1000. men apiece: and kept as manie at home to maintain both themselves, and their Armies abroad: and these the yeare so lowing were in Armes; and the other staid at home and performed the like dutie; and so by this means, they all continued their experience both of tillage, and matter of war. They lived chiefly vpon cattel & milk, & vsed much hunting; which was the cause (what through the quality of their diet, their continual exercise, and libertie of life, being neuer tyed to any discipline, nor vrged to any thing against their disposition) that they were strong & of a large stature, vpon skins and hides for their cloathing, which covered but part of their bodie, the rest being naked. Their horsemen oftentimes in time of batell forsooke their horse, and fought on foot: being taught to stand

Cæsar.

N

[111]

still in one place, that when they would they might returne unto them. Neither was there any thing more base, or dishonest in the course of their life, then to use furniture for horses: and would adventure to charge upon great troupes of horse, that used Equipage, with a few of their owne quality. They admitted no wine to be brought in unto them, least it might effeminate their warlike inclination, or make them vnapt for labour. The greatest honour in their opinion, was to haue their bordering Territories lie waste & desolate: for, so it would be thought, that manie States together, would not resist their conquering valour: and it was reported, that the country lay waste from them one waie 600. miles together.

THE OBSERVATION.

BY this practice of the Sueni, it appeareth, how little a naked resolution of valour availeth, when it wanteth the ornaments of moral carriage and ciuill discretion, to make vse of that greatnesse which prowles hath obtained: for, notwithstanding that they were a nation both warlike, and of good abilitie, they were so vainly carried on with a conceit of manhood, that it sorteth to no other end, then to maintaine barbarisme at home, and desolation abroad; where as true valor is alwaies subordinate to the preferuacion of Common-weales, and is as the defensue Armes of ciuill societie. Which I haue the rather noted, in as much as it resembleth an humor that aboundeth in this age, especially in the particular hauiour of our young Gallants, whose naked valour revealing it selfe only in the lie and in the stabbe, for want of other assilant vertues to temper the heat of so brittle a metall, leadeeth them into such inconueniences and disordered actions, that it changeth the nature thereof, into giddie headed rashnesse; and in lieu of vertues guard, is repaid with irrisiō.

CHAP. II.

The motives, inducing the Vspetes to
come ouer the Rhene into

GALLIA.

Cæsar.

NEXT vnto these Sueni, inhabited the Vrbij, a very ample and potent State: and through their entercourse & traffick with marchants, somewhat more ciuill then the rest of the Germans. With these, the Sueni had often waged battell: and albeit they could not expel them out of their country forasmuch as their State was very great and populous; yet by continuall incursions they brought them vnder, and much weakened their estate. In the same case were the Vspetes and Tencheri: for, hauing made head against the
Sueni

Sueni for many yeares together, they were constrained in the end to forsake their possessions; and wandering the space of three yeares through the Continent of Germany, at last they arrived where the Menapij inhabited the bunkes, on both sides the river Rhene: but being terrified with the arrival of such a multitude, they forsooke all their dwellings beyond the river, and planted themselves on this side of the water, to hinder the Germans from further passage.

The Vspetes with their associates, hauing tried all meanes, and not finding themselves able to passe ouer by force, for want of boats; nor by stealth, by reason of the diligent watch of the Menapij, gained a retreat to their old habitation: & after three daies iourney, their horsemen in one night speedily returned againe, and slew the Menapij, both vnguarded and vnprouided. For they vpon the departure of the Germans feared not to returne ouer the river into their towns & houses. These being slain, and their shipping taken, they got ouer the river before the rest of the Menapij had any notice of their coming: by which meanes they easily dispossessed them of their dwelling places, and lined that winter vpon the provision they found there.

Cæsar vnderstanding of these things, and fearing the weaknesse of the Galles, in as much as they are sudden & quick in their resolutions, and withall desirous of noueltie: he durst no waie trust their vconstancies; for, it was their practice and custome to slay trauellers and passengers, and inquire of them what they either heard or knewe, concerning any thing that had happened; and the common people would flocke about Merchants in faires and markets, and learne of them whence they came, and what newes they brought from thence: and by these rumors and hearesayes they directed the main course of their actions; whereof they could not but repent themselves, being grounded vpon such weak intelligence, as was vsually coined to please the multitude. Which custome being known, Cæsar to preuent a greater war, hastned to his Army sooner then he was wont to doe.

OBSERVATION.

SUCH as haue spent their time in the contemplation of Nature, & haue made diligent search of the temperature & quality of climates and nations, haue all with one consent made choler the Regent of the French complexion; distinguishing the people, with such attributes, as the laide humor vsually breedeth. Neither haue these conditions, which Cæsar so long agoe obserued in the ancient Galles, any discreibance from that which the learned of this age haue deliuered, concerning the nature of the said inhabitants: but that irresolute constitution, which breeds such nouelties and contrarieties of actions, continueth the same vnto these times, in the inhabitants of that country, notwithstanding the alteration of customes, and people, or what else so long a time hath changed; which argueth the vnriftable power of celestiall influence, establishing an vniformity of nature, according as the site of the place lieth capable of their powerfull aspect.

The cause of the diuersitie in the temperature of nations, which are differen-

* Geldres & Cleues.

ced by North and South, is not without apparant cause, attributed to their propinquitie, or distance from the course of the sun, which distinguisheth by heat and cold the Northern & Southerne climates of the earth; and separateth the inhabitants thereof, by the dominion of their actiue qualities. But the reason why two Nations which are both in the same climate, and vnder the same parallel, receiuing the vertue of the celestiall bodies, by the same downfall and rebound of their beames, being differenced only by East and West; are so much disunited in nature, and so vnlike in disposition, is not so apparant: whether it be as some haue imagined, forasmuch as the all-inclosing spheare; which remaineth quiet and immouable about the circuit of the first motor, hath his parts diuerly distinguished with variety of properties; which by continuall reference and mutuall aspect, are imprinted in the correspondent quarters of the earth; and so keepe a perpetuall residency of one and the same qualitie, in one and the same place; and make also the variety of fashions in such partes, as otherwise are equall favorites of the heauens maiestie, by receiuing an equall measure of light, heat and vertue; or whether the faide quarters of the earth are in themselves diuerly noted, with seuerall qualities, which appropriate the selfe same influence to their particular nature, and so alter it into many fashions; or whether there be some other vnknown cause: I will leaue euery man to satisfie himself with that which seemeth most probable vnto him, and proceed to the discouerie of this cholerick passion. Vwherein I will endeavour to shew, how impatiencie, sodaine resolution, and desire of noueltie, are naturall adiuncts of this humor. And if Cæsar made vse of this Philosophy in the managing of that warre; let it not be thought impertinent to the knowledge of a Generall, to enter into the consideration of this learning. Vwherein first, I must laie for a maxime, that which long experience hath made authentically, that the motions of the minde are either quicke or slow, according as the complexion is tempered, either with heat or cold: for, as the stigmatall humor, is of a moist, colde and heauie nature, begetting weake and grosse spirits, and benumbing the instruments with a liueless disability; so is the motion of the internall faculties, proceeding likewise after a slow manner, according to the quality of the instruments, whereby it moueth: and therefore men of this waterish constitution, are no way apt to receive an impression, nor to entertaine any sensible apprehension, vnlesse it be beaten into them, with often and strong repetitions: and then also they proceede as slowly in discoursing of the consequence, and linger in the choice of their resolutions. On the contrary part, this *flamma bilis*, being of a hot piercing nature, and resembling the actiue vertue of the fire, doth so purifie the instruments of sense, and quicken the spirits with the viuacity of motion, that they take the first impression as perfectly, as if it had been oftentimes presented vnto them, with many strong circumstances. And thence it happeneth, that inasmuch as the *Species* is so readily receiued, & possesseth the apprehending facultie, with such facility of entrance, that it moueth the other powers of the soule, with as great efficacie at the first conception, as if it had bene brought in with troupes of probabilities, and strengthened with manifest arguments of vndoubted truth: It followeth therefore (by reason of the subtilie and

fit

first disposition of the instruments, which proceedeth from heate the chiefeft qualitie in choler) that the object is at the first moment, so strongly settled, in the first receiuing facultie, that the other powers of the minde, with as great speed manifest their offices, concerning the apprehension; and deliuer a sentence answerable to the strength of the first conception: which maketh them so impatient of delay, and so sodainly to alter their former resolutions, not suffering the discursive power to examine the substance thereof, by conference of circumstances; nor to giue iudgement according to the course of our intellectuall court. It behoueth therefore euery man, in that vnsteady disposition, especially in matter of moment, to be suspicious of his own credulity, & not to giue place to resolution, before his iudgement be informed, by discourse of the strength or weaknesse of the conceiued opinion.

But to leaue these speculative meditations, to Philosophers of learned conceit: for as much as the right vse of passions is either true wisdom, or cometh neereft to the same; I will only touch in a word what degree of choler best becometh a soldier; or how it auaieth, or disaduantageh in matter of warre. And first it cannot be denied, that there is almost no passion, that doth more eclipse the light of reason, or sooner corrupteth the sinceritie of a good iudgement, then this of anger, which we now speak of: Neither is there any motion that more pleaseeth it selfe in his owne actions, or followeth them with greater heat in the execution. And if the truth chance to shew it selfe, and conuince a false pretended cause, as the authour of that passion, it oftentimes redoubleth the rage even against truth and innocency. Piso condemned a souldier for returning from foraging, without his companion, being perswaded that he had slain him: but at the instant of the execution, the other that was missing, returned & with great ioy of the whole Army, they were carried to the Generall, thinking to haue much graued him, with the manifestation of the truth: but he through shame and despight, being yet in the torture of his wrath, redoubled his anger, and by a subtilty which his passion furnished him withall, he made three culpable for that hee found one innocent: the first, because the sentence of death was past against him, and was not to be recalled without the breach of lawe: the second, for that he was the cause of the death of his companion: and thirdly, the executioner, for not obeying his commandement.

Concerning matter of warre, as it consisteth of differenced parts; so hath choler diuers effectes. In case of discourse and consultation, when as the powers of the minde ought to be cleere of all violent affections, it greatly darkeneth the vnderstanding, and troubleth the sinceritie of a good iudgement, as Cæsar noted in his speech to the Senate concerning Catiline: and therefore a Commander, must by all means induor to auoid, euen the least motions of so hurtfull a passion; and season his affections, with that grauity and constancy of spirit, that no turbulent disposition may, either hinder his vnderstanding, or withhold his will from following that course, which reason appointeth, as the best means to a fortunate successe: alwaies remembring that all his actions are presented vpon a stage, and passe the censure of many curious beholders, which applaud graue & patient motions, as the greatest proof of true wisdom;

& disallow of passionate, and headstrong affection, as derogating from the sincere carriage of an action, how iust soeuer otherwise it seemeth.

Concerning execution and furie of battaile, I take anger to be a necessarie instrument to set valour on foot, and to ouerwage the difficulties of terror, with a furious resolution: for, considering that the noblest actions of the mind, stand in need of the impulsions of passions, I take anger to be the fittest meanes, to aduance the valiant carriage of a battaile: for, as feare is treacherous and vnlustie, so anger is confident and of an vnquencheable heat. And therefore a Commaunder ought by all meanes, to suggest matter of anger against an Enemy, that his men may beholde them with a wrathfull regarde, and thirst after the daie of battell, to satisfie their fury with the blood of their aduersaries. If any say, that it hath been heertofore obserued of the Galles, that in the beginning of a battell they were more then men, and in the later end they were lesse then women; and therefore a cholerick disposition is not so fit for seruice, as we seem to make it: I answer, that There is a difference between a disposition to choler, such as was obserued in the Galles, and the passion of anger, wel kindled in the minde: for, the first is subiect to alteration and contrariety of actions; but the other is furious, inuincible, neuer satisfisd but with reuenge. And so that of Aristotle is proued true, that anger serueth oftentimes as a weapon to vertue; whereunto some answer very pleasantly, saying, it is a weapon of a strange nature: for, we do manage other weapons, and this doth manage vs; our hand guideth not it, but it guideth our hand; it possesseth vs, and not we it, as it happened in the raigne of Tyberius, amongst the mutinous legions at *Vetula*: & therefore a Commander ought to take great heed, whom hee maketh the object of that anger, which kindleth in his Army. For, as it is a passion of terrible execution, and therefore needeth to be wisely directed; so is it dangerous in regarde of obedience, which was the only thing which Cæsar required in his soldiers.

But to leaue this hasty matter, and fall neerer that which we seek after: I may not omit the Prognostication, which Cæsar made of the consequence of this accident, by the naturall disposition of the people: the euent whereof proued the truth of his predictions, which sheweth what advantage a learned General hath bin somewhat instructed in the school of Nature, hath gained of him, whom only experience hath taught the actiue rudiments of the war, and thinketh of no further lesion in that art, then that which the office of a Seriant, or lanceprizado containeth.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Cæsar commeth to his Armie, marcheth towards the *Germanes*, and by the waie treateth of conditions of Peace.



Cæsar being come to his Army, found that to him happened which he before suspected: for, some of the States of Gallia had sent messengers vnto the *Germanes*, to leaue the banks of Rhene, and so come further into the continent, where they should find ready, what soeuer they desired. Whereupon the *Germanes* began to make further incursions, and to waste the land as far as the confines of the *Eburones*. The Princes of the Galles being called together, Cæsar thought it best to dissemble what he had discovered, concerning their revolt; and confirming their minds with an approbation of their loyalty, he commanded certaine troupes of horse to be leuied, and resolved to make warre vpon the *Germanes*; and having made provision of corne, he directed his march towards them. From whither as he was on the way, within a few daies iourney of their Camp, he received this message: The *Germanes* as they were not willing to make warre vpon the Romans, so they would not refuse to make triall of their manhood, if they were iustly prouoked; for, their ancient custome was to answer an Enemy by force, and not by treaty: yet this much they would confesse, that they came thither very unwillingly, being driuen by violence out of their possessions. If the Roman people would accept of their friendship, & either giue them territories to inhabit, or suffer them to keep that which they had got by the lawe of Armes, they might proue profitable friends vnto them. They only yielded to the *Sueui*, to whom the gods in feats of Arms were inferior; any other Nation they would easily conquer.

To this Cæsar answered what he thought fit; but the purport of his speech was, that he could not make any league with them, if they continued in Gallia: neither was it probable, that they that could not keepe their owne, would get possessions out of other mens hands: Gallia had no vacant place to entertain so great a multitude: but if they would they might find a welcome, amongst the *Vbi*, whose agents were at that instant in his Camp, complaining of the iniurie of the *Sueui*, and desiring aide against them; this much he himself would intreat of the *Vbi*. The messengers went backe with these Mandates, promising within three daies to returne againe to Cæsar: in the meane time, they desired him, not to bring his Army any neerer their quarters; which request Cæsar denied. For, understanding that a few daies before, a great part of their Cavalrie were passed ouer the *Mosa*, he suspected that this delay imported nothing more then the returne of their horsemen.

When Cæsar was come within twelue miles of their Camp, their Ambassadors returned

Cæsar.

*Liege.

Colonia Atrippina.

returned, and meeting him on the way, entreated him earnestly to march no further towards them: but being denied of their suit, they besought him to send to those troupes of horse, which marched before the Army, that they should not fight nor make any hostile encounter; and that he would give them leave to send messengers to the Vbijs: of whose entertainment they would willingly accept, if the Princes and Senate would sweare faith and safe continuance unto their people: Neither would they require more then 3. daies, to negotiate this business. Cæsar conceived this intreaty to import nothing else, then the returne of their horsemen that were absent in pillage, whom they expected within three dayes; notwithstanding he promised them to march but foure miles further that day, to a convenient waiting place: in the meane time he sent to the Commanders of the horse that were before, not to prouoke the Enemy to fight; and if they were set upon, to sustaine the charge, untill he came neerer with the Armie.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Irst, wee may obserue his dissembling of the practice of the Galles with the Germans; and the encouragement which hee gaue them in a faithfull and loyall affection to the people of Rome, when hee himselfe knew they had started from that duty, which both their honour and a good respect of their friends required: for, he well vnderstood, that his presence did take away all scruple of any further motion in that kind; and therefore to haue objected vnto them their errors, had not bin to heale, but to discouer their wound: only he took the waie to cut off their hopes of any practises, which they might attempt against the Romaine people; and held them in the mean time in the appearance of faithfull friends, that they might not be discouraged, by the detection of their revolt.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Secondly, vpon this resolution that there was no league to be made with the Germans, if they continued on this side the Rhene; wee may obserue how he entertained a treaty of peace, with such consents & denials, as might manifest his readinesse to further what he made shew of, & not weaken the meanes of his best aduantage. For as hee was content they should take a quiet farewel of Gallia, & plant themselves in the possessions of the Vbijs; so was he loath to yeeld to any condition, which might disadvantage his forcible constraint or weaken his command, if perswasion failed: for, he well knew, that powerfull means to effect that which he required, would further the course of a peaceable conclusion, and carry more authority in a parlee, then any other moriue, how reasonable focuer.

*Vincitur
hand grati.*

Moreouer wee may obserue, how carefull hee was not to impose vpon the Germanes a necessitie of fighting; but opened a passage (by propounding vn-

to

to them the association of the Vbijs) by which they might auoyd the hazard of battell. Which thing was alwayes obserued by Commanders of auncient times, who diligently teaching into the nature of things, found that neither of those noble instruments, whereby man worketh such wonders (I meane the hand and the tongue) had euer brought fo many excellent workes to that type of perfection, vnles they had been forced thereunto by necessity: and therefore we are wisely to handle the course of our actions, least while we stand too strict vpon a violent garde, we giue occasion to the Enemy, by the waile of *Antiperisasis*, to redouble his strength; and so furnish him with that powerfull engine, which Verius Mæcius calleth *ultimum* and *maximū telum*, the last and greatest weapon; the force whereof shall better appeare by these examples.

Some fewe of the Samnites, contrarie to the articles of peace between them and the Romans, having made incursions into the territories of the Roman confederats; the Senare of that State sent to Rome, to excuse the fact, and to make offer of satisfaction: But being reiected, Claudius Pontius Generall of their forces, in an excellent Oration which he made, shewed how the Romans would not harken to peace, but chose rather to be reuenged by war: and therefore necessity constrained them to put on Arms: *Iustum est bellum* (saith he) *quibus necessarium, & pia arma quibus, nisi in Armis, spes est.*

Caius Manlius, conducting the Roman legions against the Veij, part of the Veian Army had entred the Roman Campe; which Manlius perceiuing, hee halted with a band of men to keep the breach, and to shut in the Veij: which they no sooner perceiued, but they fought with that rage and fury, that they slew Manlius; and had ouerthrowen the whole Camp, had not a Tribune opened them a passage, by which they fled away.

In like manner Camillus, the wisest of the Romaine Captaines, being entered into the Cittie of the Veij, that hee might take it with greater facilitie and disarm the Enemy of that terrible weapon of necessitie, hee caused it to bee proclaimed, that no Veian should bee hurt, that was found vnarmed. Whereupon euery man cast away his weapon, and so the towne was taken without bloodshed.

Let a souldier therefore take such holde of occasions, and opportunities that are offered vnto him, that in time of battell hee may seem to cast necessitie vpon his own cause, and retaine it in his paie: considering how the power thereof altereth the works of Nature, and changeth their effects into contrary operations: being neuer subiect to anie ordinance or lawe; and yet making that lawfull which proceedeth from it.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

The Germans, contrary to their owne request
made to *Cæsar*, set upon the *Romaine* horse-
men, and ouerthrew them.

Cæsar.



Notwithstanding the Germans request, concerning the truce, as soon as they saw the Roman horsemen, which were in number 5000. (whereas the Germans had not above 800. horse) they charged upon the Romans, not expecting any hostile encounter, inasmuch as their ambassadours were newly departed from Cæsar, and had obtained that daie of truce: but being set upon, they made what resistance they could. The Germans, according to their vsuall custome, forsooke their horse, and fighting on foote, did easily put the Romans to flight; who neuer looked backe, untill they came into the sight of the legions: in that battell were slain 74. Roman horsemen. After this battell, Cæsar thought it not safe, either to hearken to any conditions, or to receive any message from them, that by fraud and deceit had sought for peace, & meant nothing but war: And to attend any longer untill their horsemen returned, was but to give them that advantage against him, especially considering the weaknesse of the Galles, amongst whom the Germans by this battell had gayned great reputations; and therefore he durst not give them space to thinke upon it.

OBSERVATION.



His cunning of the Germans offereth occasion to speak somewhat, concerning that maine controuersie of policie, which is, whether the actions of Princes and great Commanders, are alwaies to be attended with integrity, & faithful accomplishment thereof. Wherin I will only set down such arguments and groundes of reason, which vertue and morall honestie on the one part, (for we will make it no question to a Christian mind) & the daily practice of Statesmen on the other side, alleage to make good their contrarie assertions.

The great Politicians of the world, that commend vertue in a shew, and not in esse and being, & study to maintain their states onely with humane reason, not regarding the authority of diuine ordinance, set this down as a *maxime* in their Art; That he, that is to negotiate a matter, and meaneth to bring it to an end, forting to his contentment, must in all respects bee like qualified, both in iudgement and disposition, as the party is, with whom he dealeth: otherwise he cannot be sufficiently prepared, to hold himself strong in the matter, which he vndertaketh. For, a wassler that commeth with meere strength to encounter another that hath both strength and cunning, may be shew his strength that brought him thither, to be cast by skill, and be laught at, as an unworthie

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Champion for serious sports: in like manner, in this vniuersall confusion of infidelity, wherein subtilty flyeth at so high a pitch, he that thinketh with simplicity of spirit to wind through the labyrinths of falshood, and avoid the snares of deceit, shall find himself too weak for so difficult a task, and be shew his honestie, if he regard his commodity. For, it is the courtesie that euery man taketh, which must bring vs to the place, to which euery man goeth: and he that opposeth himself against the current of the world, may stand alone in his owne conceit, and neuer attain that which the world seeketh after. Forasmuch therefore, as craft & deceit are so generall, it behooueth a man of publicke negotiations, to carry a mind apt & disposed to these qualities. This was signified by that, which ancient writers report of Achilles, who was sent to Chiron the Cætaure, half a man and half a beast, to be instructed in the rudiments of Princely carriage; that of the brutish part, hee might learne to strengthen himselfe, with force and courage; and of the humane shape, so to manage reason, that it might bee a fit instrument to answer or preuent, whatsoever mans wit might forge to ouerthrow it. Neither ought a private man to wöder at the strangeness of these positions; considering that the gouernment of kingdoms, & Empires is caried with another bias, then that which concerneth particular affaires in a wel ordered State: wherein truth-breakers and faithlesse dissemblers are worthily condemned, inasmuch as they necessarily enforce the ruine thereof. But these that sit at the helm of gouernment, and are to shape the course of a State, according to the variation of times and fortunes, deriue their conclusions from other principles, wherein inferior subiects are no more capable, then men are able to vnderstand the works of the Gods: and therefore they are called *arcana imperij*, to be reuerenced rather, then lookt into.

To conclude, the affaires of particular persons are of so short extension, and incircled in so small a compasse, that a meane capacity may easily apprehend the advantages or inconueniences, which may ensue vpon the contract: and therefore it is requisite they should stand to the aduenture, and their iudgement is worthily taxed with the los: but the businesses of the Common-weale are, both subiect to so many casualties of fortune, and rely vpon such unexpected accidents, that it is impossible for any spirit, how prouident soeuer, to foresee the issue in that variety of chances. Besides that, euery particular subiect is much interested in the fortune of the euent, and may iustly challenge an alteration of the intended course, rather then suffer shipwrack through the error of their Pilot: And so the safetie of the State doth balance out the los of credit in the Gouernour.

On the other side, such as zealously affect true honour, ascribe vertue to bee the same both in Prince & people; neither doth condition of state, or calling, or the qualitie of publicke or private businesses, alter the nature and essence of goodnes: for, to deprive the young of truth and fidelity were to break the bond of ciuill society, which is the basis and ground-plot of all States and Commonweales. They doe not deny but that a wise Prince may so carrie a treatie, that he may seeme to affect that most which he least intendeth: or answer doubtfully concerning the propositions; and that hee may vie with great honour the

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practices and stratagems of warre, when the fortune of both parties consisteth vpon their owne industrie: but to breake any covenants agreed vpon, may wel get a kingdome, but neuer honourable reputation.

And thus they contend concerning the means, wherby a State is continued in happy gouernment: whereof this much I dare say by the warrant of this History, that he who falsifieth his word vpon aduantage, howsoeuer he regardeth his honour, had need to pay them home in regard of his owne faterie: for, if they once recover the loís, and get any aduantage against those truth-breakers, they will finde as little fauour, as the Germans did with Cæsar.

CHAP. V.

Cæsar marched directly to the Campe of the Germans, and cut them all in peeces, and so ended that warre.

Cæsar.



*Upon these considerations, Cæsar manifesting his resolution to the Legates, and Quæstor, there happened a very fortunate accident. For, the next daie, very early in the morning, most of the Princes and chieft of the Germans came vnto Cæsar into his Campe, to excuse their fraudulent practices, and with-
all to continue their petition of truce. Wherof Cæsar was exceeding glad, and caused them to be kept in hold; and at the same instant brought his Army out of the Campe, commanding his horsemen to follow the legions, because they had bin daunted with so late an overthrow: And making a triple battel, marched speedily eight miles, and so came vpon the Germans, before they had notice what had hapned; & being terrified with our suddain arrivall, & the departure of their own leaders, knew not whether it were their best course to bring forth their forces, or defend their Camp, or otherwise to seek their safety by flight. A high tumult & feare was no sooner perceived by the Roman soldier, but calling to mind their pernicious treacherie, they brake into the Campe, and were at first a little resfled; in the meane time, the women and children fled every one away: which Cæsar perceiuing, sent his horsemen to pursue them. The Germans, hearing the clamour and shriekings behind their backs, & seeing their friends pursued and slaine, did cast away their weapons, and fledde out of the Campe: and coming to the confluence of the Maie and the Rhene, such as had escaped, cast themselves into the river; where, what through feare & weariness, and the force of the water, they were all drowned. In this conflict, the Romans lost not a man. The number of the enemies was 430000, with women and children. To them who he had retained in his Campe, he gave leave to depart; but they, fearing the cruelty of the Gallies, desired that they might continue with the Romans: which Cæsar agreed vnto.*

O E S F R.

OBSERVATION.



*His relation affordeth little matter of warre, but onely a seuerer reuenge of hatefull treacherie: notwithstanding, I will hence take occasion, to discouer the offices of the Quæstor and the Legates; and shew what place they had in the Armie. And first, concerning the Quæstor, we are to vnderstand, that he was elected by the common voice of the people, in the same Court, which was called to create the Generall. His office was, to take charge of the publique treasure, whether it came out of their *Aerarium*, for the pay of the Armie; or otherwise was taken from the enemy.*

Of him the souldiers received their stipend, both in corne and money: and what other bootie was taken from the enemy, he either kept them, or sold them, for the vse of the Common-weale.

The Legates were not chosen by the people, but appointed by the Senate, as Assistants and Coadiutors to the Emperour, for the publique seruice, & were altogether directed by the Generall, in whose absence they had the absolute command: and their number was for the most part vncertaine; but proportioned according to the number of legions in the Armie.

CHAP. VI.

Cæsar maketh a bridge vpon the Rhene, and carieth his Armie ouer into Germanie.



THE Germane warre beeing thus ended: Cæsar thought it necessarie, to transport his Armie ouer the Rhene into the Continent of Germanie, for many causes: whereof this was not the least, that seeing the Germans were so easily persuaded, to bring their Colonies, & their vagrant multitudes into Gallia, he thought it good to make known vnto them, that the Romaine people could at their pleasure, carie their forces ouer the Rhene into Germanie. Moreover, those troupes of horse, which were absent at the late overthrow of the Germans, were fledde into the confines of the Sicambri, to whom, when Cæsar sent Messengers to demaund them to be sent vnto him, they answered, that the Romaine Empire was limited by the Rhene: & if the Germanes were interdicted Gallia, why should Cæsar challenge anie authoritie in their quarters? Laßlie, the Vbi, who amongst all the rest of the Germanes, had onelic accepted of Cæsars friendship, and giuen pledges of their fidelitie, had made earnest sute vnto him, to send them aide against the Sueni; or at the least, to transport his Army ouer the Rhene: for, the name and opinion of the Roman Army was so great, & of such fame, what with Ariouistus overthrow, &

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this last service, that it sounded honorable amongst the furthest Nations of Germany. For these reasons, Cæsar resolved to passe the Rhene: but to carie his Armie over by boate, was neither safe, nor for the maiestie of the people of Rome. And, albeit it seemed a matter of great difficultie, by reason of the breadth, swiftnesse, and depth of the riuer, to make a bridge: yet hee resolved to try what he could doe; otherwise, hee determined not to passe over at all: and so hee built a bridge after this manner.

At two foote distance, he placed two trees of a foot and halfe square, sharpened at the lower end, and cut answerable to the depth of the riuer: these hee let downe into the water with engines, and droue them in with commanders, not perpendicularly, after the fashion of a pile, but gable-wise, and bending with the course of the water: opposite vnto these, he placed two other trees, ioyned together after the same fashion, being fortie foote distant from the former, by the dimension between their lower parts in the bottome of the water, and reclining against the course of the riuer. These two paire of couples thus placed, hee ioyned together with a beame of two foote square, equall to the distance betweene the said couples, and fastened them at each end, on either side of the couples, with braces and pinnes: whereby the strength of the worke, and nature of the frame was such, that the greater violence of the streame was, and the faster it fell vpon the timber work, the stronger the bridge was united in the couplings and ioyns. In like manner, hee proceeded with couples, and beames, untill the work was brought vnto the other side of the riuer: and then hee laid straight planks from beame to beame, and covered them with hurdles: and so hee made a floore to the bridge. Moreouer, on the lower side of the bridge, he droue down supporters, which being fastened to the timber worke, did strengthen the bridge against the force of the water: and on the vpper side of the bridge, at a reasonable distance, he placed piles to hinder the force of trees or boates, or what else the enemy might cast downe to trouble the worke: within tenne daies, that the timber beganne to be cut downe and caried, the worke was ended, and the Army transported. Cæsar, leaving a strong guarizon at either end of the bridge, went into the confines of the Sicambri.

OBSERVATION.

IT shall not be amisse, to enter a little into the consideration of this bridge; as well in regard of the ingenious Architecture thereof, as also that we may somewhat imitate Cæsar: whom wee may obserue to insist with as great plenty of wit and eloquence, in presenting vnto vs the subtiltie of his invention, in such manner of handy works, as vpon any other part of his actions; as this particular description of the bridge, may sufficiently witness: besides, the fortifications at Alesia, & the intrenchments in Britany, for the safety of his shipping, with many other works, which he might well record, as the greatest designes of an heroick spirit, and the wonderfull effects of magnanimous industrie, that succeeding ages might not boast either of Arte or prowesse, which his vertue had not expressed; or otherwise might wonder

wonder at that worth, which they themselves could not attaine vnto. And to that purpose, he entertained Vitruuius, the Father of Architecture, and as worthily to be imitated in that facultie, as his Maister Cæsar is in feates of Armes. By whose example, a great Commander may learne, how much it importeth the eternitie of his fame, to beautifie his greatest designes with Art, and to esteeme of such as are able to intreat the Mathematicall Muses, to shew themselves vnder the shape of a sensible forme; which albeit, through the rudeness of the matter, fall farre short of the truth of their intellectuall nature, yet their beautie expresseth such a maiestie of Arte, that no time will suffer the memorie thereof to perishe.

The workmanship of this bridge consisted chiefly in the oblique situation of the double postes, whereof the first order bending with the streame, and the lower ranke against the streame, when they came to be coupled together with ouerthwart beames, which were fastened in the couplings with braces, which he nameth *Fibulas*; the more violent the streame fell vpon the work, the faster the ioyns of the building were united, as may better appeare by a modell of that making, then can be expressed by any circumstance of words.

I might hence take occasion to speake of the diuersitie of bridges, and of the practices which antiquitie hath deuised, to transport Armies ouer Riuers: but inasmuch as it is a common subiect for all that vndertake this Militarie task, & hath been handled by Lipsius, vpon the occasion of this bridge; I will refer the Reader to that place; and onely note the singular disposition of this action, inasmuch as Cæsar made the meanes correspondent to that end which hee intended. For, considering that the chiefe end of his passage was, to let the Germans vnderstand, that the power of the Romaine Empire, was not bounded with the Rhene; and that a riuer could not so separate their territories, but that they were able to ioyne both the Continents together, and make a common roade way, where it seemed most vnpassable: hee thought it best to passe ouer his Armie by a bridge, that to the Germanes might knowe the power of his forces, and also conceit their Territories, as united vnto Gallia; or to be vnted at the pleasure of the Romans, with a firme Isthmus and plaine passage by foote, which in times past had alwaies been separated by a mighty riuer. Neither would a transportation by boat haue wrought that effect, forasmuch as the daily vse thereof was so familiar to the Germanes, that it nothing altered their imagination, of an vnaccessible passage: but when they saw so strange a thing attempted, & so suddainly performed, they would easily vnderstand, that they were not to faile off, but that they might bee ouertaken: and so direct their demeanour accordingly.

Let this suffice therefore to proue, that a passage ouer a riuer by a bridge, is more honourable, safe, and of greater terror to the enemy, then any other way that can be deuised; especially, if the riuer carrie any depth, such as the Rhene is: otherwise, if it haue either shallowes or foordes, whereby men may wade ouer, without any great incommbrance, it were but lost labour to stand about a bridge; but rather to thinke of it, as of a place incombred with such hindrances, as men often meet with a march.

CHAP. VII.

Cæsar taketh reuenge vpon the Sicambri: giueeth libertie to the Vbij; and returneth againe into Gallia.

Cæsar.



*H*E Sicambri, vnderstanding that Cæsar was making a bridge over the Rhene, prepared themselves to sie; and at the perswasion of the Vsiptes, forsooke their country, and conuained themselves and their possessions into woods and solitarie Deserts. Cæsar, continuing a few daies in their quarters, hauing set on fire their villages and houses, and burned vp their Corne and prouision; he came to the Vbij, promising them aide against the Sueni: by whom, he vnderstood, that as soone as the Sueni had intelligence, that hee went about to make a bridge, calling a Council, according to their manner, they sent vnto all quarters of their State, that they should forsake their townes, and carie their wiues and children, and all that they had, into the woods: and that all that were able to beare Armes, should make head in one place, which they appointed to be the midst of their Country; & there they attended the comming of the Romans, & were resolu'd in that place to giue the battell. Which when Cæsar vnderstood, hauing ended all those things, in regard vwhereof he came into Germanie, which was chiefly to terrifie the Germans, to be reuenged vpon the Sicambri, to set the Vbij at libertie; hauing spent in all eigheteene daies beyond the Rhene, as well in regard of his own honor, as the good of the Common-weale: hee returned into Gallia, and brake vp the bridge.

CHAP. VIII.

Cæsar thinketh of a voiage into Britanie: hee enquireth of Merchants, concerning the nature of that people.

Cæsar.



*A*lthough the Sommer was almost spent, & that in those parts the winter hastened on apace, inasmuch as all Gallia inclineth to the North; notwithstanding, hee resolu'd to goe ouer into Britanie: forasmuch as hee vnderstood, that in all the former warres of Gallia, the Enemy had receiued most of their supplie from thence. And, although the time of the yeere would not suffer him to finish that warre; yet hee thought it would be to good purpose, if he went onely to view the Island, to vnderstand the qualitie of the inhabitants,

inhabitants, and to know their Coast, their Ports, & their landing places; whereof the Gallies were altogether ignorant: for, sildome any man but Marchants did trauell vnto them. Neither was there any thing discovered but the Sea-coast, & those Regions which were opposite vnto Gallia. And therefore, calling Marchants together from all quarters, he neither could vnderstand of what quantity the Island was, what Nations, or of what power they were that inhabited it; what use or experience of warre they had; what lawes or customes they used; nor what Hauens they had to receiue a Naue of great shipping.

OBSERVATION.



*A*S the Germans had oftentimes stirred vp motions of rebellion amongst the Gallies, by sending their superfluous multitudes into their kingdome; so the Britaines had vpheld most of their warres, by furnishing them with such supplies, as from time to time they stood in need of. So that if Cæsar, or the Romane people, would rest secure of their quiet and peaceable gouernment in Gallia, as they had chastised the insolencie of the Germans, & sent them backe againe, with greater losse then gaine; so was it necessary to make the Britaines knowe, that their assistance in the warre of Gallia, would draw more busineses vpon them, then they were well able to manage. For, as I haue noted in my former discourses, the causes of an vnpeaceable gouernment, are as well externall and forraigne, as internall, and bred in the bodie; which neede the helpe of a Physician, to continue the body in a perfect state of health; and require as great a diligence to qualifie their malicious operations, as any internall sicknesse whatsoeuer.

In the second Commentarie, I briefly touched the commoditie of good discouerie: but because it is a matter of great consequence, in the fortunate carriage of a warre, I will once againe by this example of Cæsar, remember a General not to be negligent in this dutie. Suetonius, in the life of our Cæsar reporteth, that he neuer vnderooke any expedition, but he first receiued true intelligence of the particular site and nature of the Country, as also of the manners and qualitie of the people: and that he would not vndertake the voiage into Britanie, vntill hee had made perfect discouerie by himselfe, of the magnitude and situation of the Island. Which Suetonius might vnderstand by this first voyage, which Cæsar would needs vndertake in the later end of a Sommer, although it were as he himselfe faith, but to discouer.

It is recorded by ancient Writers, that those demi-gods that gouerned the world in their time, gaue great honour to the exercise of hunting, as the perfect image of warre in the resemblance of all parts; and namely, in the discouerie and knowledge of a Country: without which, all enterprises, either of sport in hunting, or earnest in warres, were fruitiuous and of no effect. And therefore Xenophon in the life of Cyrus, sheweth, that his expedition against the King of Armenia, was nothing but a repetition of such sports, as hee had vfed in hunting. Howsoeuer, if the infinite examples registred in historie, how by the

dexterity of some Leaders it hath gained great victories, and through the negligence of others, irrecoverable ouerthrowes, are not sufficient motives to perswade them to this duty: let their vnc experience in matters of small moment, manifest the weakness of their proceedings, whē they are ignorant of the chiefeſt circumstances of the matter they haue in hand. But let this suffice in the second place, to proue the necessity of good discouerie; and let vs learn of Cæsar, what is principally to bee inquired after in the discouery of an vnknown country; as first, the quantity of the land: secondly, what Nations inhabit it: thirdly, their vse of warre: fourthly, their ciuill gouernment: and lastly, what Hauens they had to receiue a Naue of great shipping. All which circumstances, are such principall Arteries in the bodie of a State, that the discouery of any one of these demands, would haue giuen great light, concerning the motion of the whole body.

CHAP. IX.

Cæsar sendeth C. Volusenus, to discouer the coast
of Britanie; and prepareth himselfe for
that voiage.

Cæsar.
Teroanne, or
Montreil.



CÆSAR sent out Caius Volusenus, with a Galley, to discouer what he could concerning these things; and to returne againe vnto him very speedily: hee himselfe marched in the meane time, with all his forces, vnto the Morini; forasmuch as from thence, lay the shortest cut into Britanie. Thither hee commaunded that shippes should be brought from all the maritime Citties of that quarter, and namely that fleet, which hee had built the yeere before for the warre at Vannes. In the meane time, his resolution beeing knowne, and caried into Britanie by Merchants and others, many priuate States of that Iland sent Embassadors vnto him, promising him hostages of their loyalty, and signifying their readinesse to submit themselves to the Romaine Empire. To these he made liberall promises, exhorting them to continue in that obedience; and so sent them backe againe. And with them he sent Comius, whom he had made King of Arras, whose wisdom & vertue he held in good account, and knew it to be of great authoritie in those Regions. To him hee gaue in charge to goe to as many of the States as hee could, and perswade them to accept of the friendship of the Romaine Empire, and that Cæsar himselfe would presentlie follow after.

Volusenus, hauing taken what view of the Country he could (for he durst not goe on shore to commit himselfe to the barbarisme of the enemy) after five daies returned to Cæsar: and while hee staid in those places, for the furnishing of his fleet, the Morini sent Messengers vnto him, excusing their former faulces, and manifesting their readinesse to obey his mandates.

Cæsar,

Cæsar, not willing to leaue any enemy behind him, or to neglect his voyage into Britanie, for such small matters; hee willingly accepted of their submission, hauing first receiued many hostages of them, and hauing made readie eighty shippes of burthen, which he thought sufficient to transport two legions, he diuided the Gallies to the Quæstor, the Legates, and the Commanders of the horse. There were also eigheteene shippes of burthen more, which lay wind-bound at a Port eight miles off, and them he appointed for the horsemen. The rest of the Army, he committed to Q. Titurius Sabinus, and L. Aruncleius Costa, commanding them to goe to the confines of Menapij: and appointed P. Sulp. Rufus, a Legate, to keep the Port, with a sufficient guarizon.

CHAP. X.

Cæsar faileth into Britanie, and landeth
his men.



THESE things beeing thus dispatched; hauing a good wind, in the third watch, he put out to Sea, commanding his horsemen to imbarke themselves at the further Port; which was but slowly performed: He himselfe arrived vpon the coast about the fourth houre of the day, where hee found all the Clifts possessed with the forces of the enemy. The nature of the place was such, that the hills lay so steep ouer the sea, that a weapon might easily be cast, from the higher ground vpon the lower shore: and therefore he thought it no fit landing place; notwithstanding, hee cast anchor vntill the rest of the Naue were come vnto him.

In the meane time, calling a Councell of the Legates and Tribunes, hee declared vnto them what aduertisements he had receiued by Volusenus, and told them what he would haue done; and withall, admonished them, that the course of Militarie affaires, and especially Sea matters, that had so suddaine & vnconstant a motion, required all things to be done at a beck, and in due time. The Councell beeing dismissed, hauing both wind and tide with him, hee weighed anchor, and sailed eight miles from that place, vnto a plaine and open shore.

The Britaines, perceiuing the Romans determination, sent their horse & chariots before, and the rest of their forces followed after, to the place where the Romaines intended to land. Cæsar found it exceeding difficult to land his men, for these respects: the shippes were so great, that they could not be brought neere vnto the shore; the souldiers in strange & vnknowne places, hauing their hands laden with great and heauie weapons, were at one instant to goe out of the ship, to withstand the force of the billow, and to fight with the enemy; where-as the Britaines either standing vpon the shore, or making short sallies into the water, did bolaly cast their weapons in knowne and frequented places, and managed their horses, as accustomed to such seruices.

The

Cæsar.

The Romans being terrified with these things, and altogether unskilfull of this kind of fight, did use the same courage as they were wont to doe in land-seruices. Which when Cæsar perceiued, he caused the Gallies, that were both strange to the Brittaines, and readier for use, to be removed from the shippes of burthen, and to be rowed up and downe, and laid against the open side of the enemy; that from thence, with slings, engines and arrowes, the Enemy might bee beaten up from the water side, which stood the Romans in good stead: for, the Brittaines, being troubled with the strangenesse of the Gallies, the motion of their Oares, and the vnusual kind of engines; were somewhat dismayed, and beganne to retire backe, and giue way to the Romans. But the souldiers still lingering, and especially for feare of the depth of the sea, the Eagle-bearer of the tenth legion, desiring the Gods, that it might fall out happily to the legion: If you will, saith hee, forsake your Eagle, O yee souldiers, and betray it to the enemy; for mine owne part, I will doe my dutie, both to the Common-weale, and to my Imperator. And hauing spoken this with a loud voice, he cast himselfe into the Sea, and caried the Eagle toward the Enemy. The Romanes, exhorting one another, not to suffer such a dishonour to be committed, they all leaped out of the shippe: which when others that were neere at hand perceiued, they followed them with as great alacritie, and pressed towards the enemy to encounter with them.

The fight on both parts was very eager: the Romans (not being able to keepe any order of battell, nor to get any firme footing, nor to follow their Ensignes, forasmuch as euery man kept with those Ensignes which he first met withall) were wonderfully troubled. But the Enemy, acquainted with the flats and shallowes, as they beheld them from the shore to come single out of their shippes, putting spurres to their horse, would set vpon them incombred and vnprepared, & many of them would ouer-lay a few: others, would get the aduantage of the open side, and cast their weapons amongst the thickest troupes of them. Which when Cæsar perceiued, he caused the shipboates and smaller vessels to be manned with souldiers: and where he saw need of help, hee sent them to rescue such as wereouercharged.

As soone as the Romanes got footing on the firme land, they made head together, and charged the enemy, and so put them to flight; but they were not able to follow them, nor take the land at that time, for want of horsemen, which thing was onely wanting to Cæsars fortune.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Vpon this circumstance of landing, I may iustly take occasion to handle that controuersie, which hath beene often debated by our English Capitaines, which is, whether it be better in question of an inuasion, & in the absence of our shipping, to oppose an enemy at his landing vpon our Coast; or quietly to suffer him to sette his men on shore, and retire our forces into some in-land place, & there attend to giue him battell? It seemeth that such as first set this question on foot, and were of an opinion,

on, that we ought not by any means to encounter an enemy at his landing; for, so we might much endanger our selues and our Country; did ground themselves vpon the authority of Monsieur de Langey, not observing the difference between an Iland and a Continent. For, where he fetcheth downe that position, he plainly aimeth at such Princes, as border one vpon another in the same Continent: but where their territories are disioyned by so great a bar as the Ocean, and haue not such means to surpris one another, it were meere folly to hold good that rule, as shall better appeare by the sequell of this discourse. Wherein I will first lay downe the reasons, that may be vrged to proue it vnwise to oppose an enemy at his landing, not as being vrged by that party (for, I neuer heard any probable motiue from them, which might induce any such opinion) but set downe by such as haue looked into the controuersies, both with experience, and good iudgement.

And first, it may be objected, that it is a hard matter to resist an enemy at his landing, as well in regard of the vncertainie of place, as of time: for, being ignorant in what place hee will attempt a landing, wee must either defend all places of access, or our intentions will proue meere frivolous; & to performe that, it is requisite that our defense forces be sufficient, according to the particular qualitie of euery place subiect to danger: which, considering the large extension of our maritime parts, and the many landing places on our Coast, will require a greater number of men, then this Iland can afford. And although it could furnish such a competent number, as might seeme in some sort sufficient; yet the vncertainie of the time of the enemies arriual, would require that they should be lodged, either vpon, or neere the places of danger, many daies at least, if not many weekes, before the instant of their attempt, which would exhaust a greater masse of Treasure, then could bee well afforded by the State.

Secondly, it may be objected, that all our landing places are of such disadvantage for the defendants, that it were no safer at all to make head against him at the landing: for, inasmuch as such places are open & plaine, they yield no commoditie to shelter the defendants from the furie of the artillerie, where with the Enemy will plentifully furnish their long boates and landing vessailes; which beating vpon the beach (for, most of our landing places are of that qualitie) will so scatter them, that no man shall be able to indure the inconvenience thereof.

The third obiection, may arise from the disparitie both of numbers, and condition of the forces of either partie: for the first, it must needs bee granted, that the defendants, being to guard so many places at once, cannot furnish such numbers to euery particular place for defence, as the assailants may for offence.

Concerning the qualitie of the forces, it is without question, that a great & potent Prince (for, such a one it must be, that undertaketh to inuade the territories of so absolute and well obeyed a Princess as her Maiestie is) would draw out the floure of his soulderie wherefoeuer; besides, the gallant troupes of voluntaries, which doe commonlie attend such seruices. Now, these being thus qualified,

qualified, and drawne into one head, and being to make as it were but one bodie: how can it be reasonably imagined (the time and place of their attempt being vncertaine) that the defendants should equal them with forces of like vertue and experience?

These are the reasons, which may be drawne from the disadvantage, which they haue that goe about to oppose an enemy at his landing: the rest that haue bene vrged, by such as maintaine this opinion, are either impertinent to the question, or taken altogether from false grounds. But before I proceed to the answer of these reasons, I will lay this downe for a principle: That it is impossible for any forraigne Prince, how puissant soeuer, to make such a preparation as shal be fitting, to invade a State so populous, and respectiue of their Soueraigne (notwithstanding the pretences deuised to dissemble the same) but it must of necessitie be discovered, before it can be made able to put any thing in execution: which I might enlarge by particularizing the infinite equipage, which is required for so great a fleet. But I will rest my selfe in the example of the yere 88, which proueth the discovery of the pretended inuasion, before it could come to execution.

Concerning therefore the first obiection: it cannot indeed be denied, but the place of the enemies landing will be doubtfull, and therefore our care must generally extend it selfe to all places of access: but that our defensive forces are not sufficient in a competent manner to guard all such places, according as the necessity of them shal require, that is the point in question.

To proue that our forces are sufficient: we must necessarily enter into particulars, wherein I will take Kent for a president, as not altogether vnacquainted with the state thereof; which, if I deceiue not my selfe, is a shore of as large extension vpon the maritime parts, as any other within this kingdom. For the breadth thereof enlarging it selfe from the point of Nesse by Lyd, which is the vntermost skirte vpon the coast of Suffex, vnto Margate, vpon the coast of Essex; is by computation about twentie foure miles: but notwithstanding this large circuit, who knoweth not, that the sixth part thereof is not subiect to the landing of such an enemy as wee speake of: partly, in regard of the hugeness of the clifles, which doe inclose a great part of that skirte; & partly in regard that much of that quantitie, which may be landed vpon, hath such eminent and difficult places neere adioyning, as an Armie that should put it selfe there on shore, should find it selfe, being opposed but by a small force, so straitened, as they would not easily find a way out, without apparant ruine of their whole forces.

Further, it cannot be denied, but that generally along the coast of Kent, there are so many rocks, shelles, flats, and other impediments, that a Nauie of great shippes can haue no commoditie to anchor neere the shore: and for the most part the coast lieth so open to the weather, that the least gale of wind will put them from their Anchor: all which particularities duly considered, it will appeare that this large skirte of Kent, will afford a far lesser part fit for the landing of an Army, then was thought of at the first. And were it that so publike a treatise as this is, would admit with good discretion such an exact relation, as falleth within my knowledge concerning this point, I would vndertake to make

*Answer to
the first ob-
iection.*

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it so euident, by the particular description, both of the number, quantitie, and qualitie of the places themselves, as no man of an indifferent iudgement, would imagine our forces to be insufficient, to afford euery of them such a safe & sure guard, as shal be thought requisite for the same. But forasmuch as it is vsfitting to giue such particular satisfaction in this publike discourse, giue mee leaue, submitting my selfe alwaies to better iudgements, to giue a generall taste of that meaues as would secure all places, with a competent number of men.

Having shewed you before, the circuit of the maritime parts of Kent, I would obferue this order: first, to make a triple diuision of all such forces, as shal be appointed for this seruice; as for example, I will suppose the number to bee twelue thousand, of which I would lodge three thousand about the point of Nesse, and three thousand about Margate, and fixe thousand about Foulkston, which I take to be as it were the center: for, my greatest care should bee so to dispose of them, as they might not only succour one another in the same shire: but as euery shire bordereth one vpon another; so they should mutually giue helpe one vnto another, as occasion should be offered: as if the enemy should attempt a landing about Nesse, not onely the fixe thousand lodged as before, should march to their succours, but such also of the Suffex forces as were neer vnto that part; & so likewise of the rest. By which you may see, how great a force would in few houres be assembled, for the reinforcing of any of these out-skirts; and the rather, forasmuch as the one halfe of the whole forces, are thus lodged in the center of the Shire, which is neerer to all parts then any other place whatsoever. There would also in the quartering of them, an especiall care be had to the places of danger, as might be answerable to the impossibility thereof: for, my meaning is not to lodge them close together, but to stretch them out along the coast, by regiments and companies, as the Country might afford best opportunity to entertaine them.

Now, concerning the later part of this obiection, which vrgeth the vncertainty of time, when the enemy shall make his approaches: I hold it most requisite, that our defensive forces should be drawne into a head, before the enemy should be discovered neer our coast, ready to put himselfe on shore: for, it were a grosse absurditie to imagine, that companies could vpon such a suddaine bee assembled, without confusion; and make so long a march, with such expedition, as the necessitie of the occasion would require. Now, for that husbanding respect of her Maiesties coffers, which is vrged to such extremitie, as it would be vsupportable for this State to beare: as I doubt not but good intelligence would much qualifie that supposed immoderate expence; & I assure my selfe, that men of sound iudgement, will deeme it much out of season to dispute about vnnecessary thrust, when the whole kingdome is brought in question of being made subiect to a stranger:

*Vt ingulgent homines surgunt de nocte latrones:
Non expersigeris, vt te ipsum serues?*

The enemy (peraduenture) hath kept 30000 men in pay 2 months before, to make hauocke of our Country, and to bring vs into perpetuall thraldome; shall

shall we thinke it much to maintaine sufficient forces vpon our Coast, to assure our selues that no such enemy shall enter into our Country? The extremitie of this charge, would be qualified by our good espial, which would proportion our attendance, with the necessitie which is imposed vpon vs, to be carefull in businesse of this nature. Let this suffice therefore to proue, that our forces are sufficient to keepe the Sea-coast; and that the vncertainie of time, when the enemy will make his attempts, ought not to hinder vs from performing that dutie, which the care and respect of our Prince and Country, imposeth vpon every good subiect; which is the substance of the first reason, which I set down in the beginning of this discourse.

*The answer
to the second
reason.*

Now, concerning the second reason, which vrgeth the disadvantage of the place, in regard of the furie of the Enemys artillery. True it is, that such places as yeeld the Enemy commoditie of landing, are for the most part plaine and open, and afford naturally no couert at all. What then? Shall a souldier take every place as he findeth it, and vse no Arte to qualifie the disadvantages thereof? Or shall a man forgoe the benefit of a place of aduantage, rather then hee will relieue with industry, the discommoditie of some particular circumstance? I make no question, but an ingenious Commaunder, being in seasonable time lodged with conuenient forces vpon any of those places, yea, vpon the beach it selfe, which is vnapt to make defensible, as any place whatsoeuer, would vse such industrie, as might giue sufficient securitie to his forces, & ouer-weigh the Enemy with aduantage of place; especially, considering that this age hath afforded such plentifull examples of admirable inuentions in that behalfe. But this cannot be done, if our forces do not make head before the instant of the Enemys attempt, that our Commaunders may haue some time to make readie store of Gabions, hand-baskets, with such moueable matter as shal be thought fit for that seruice.

Neither let this trouble any man: for, I dare auouch it, that if our forces are not drawne into a head before the Enemy bee discovered vpon the Coast, although wee neuer meane to oppose their landing, but attend them in some inland place, to giue them battaile; our Commaunders will be farre to seeke of manie important circumstances, which are requisite in a matter of that consequence. And therefore, let vs haue but a reasonable time to bethinke our selues of these necessities, and wee will easilie overcome all these difficulties, and vse the benefite of the firme land to repell an Enemy, weakened with the Sea, tossed with the billow, troubled with his weapons, with many other hinderances and discouragements, which are presented vnto him both from the Land and the Sea. Hee that saw the landing of our forces in the Iland of Fiall, in the yeere 97, can some-what iudge of the difficultie of that matter: for, what with the working of the Sea, the steepnesse of the Clifles, the troublesomnesse of their Armes, the souldiers were lo incombred, that had not the Enemy beene more then a coward, he might well with two hundred men, haue kept vs from entering any part of that Iland.

*The answer
to the 3 reason*

Concerning the third Obiection, this briefly shall bee sufficient, that wee are not so much to regard, that our forces doe equall them in number,

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as to see that they bee sufficient for the nature of the place, to make it good against the Enemys landing: for, wee know that in places of aduantage and difficult accessse, a small number is able to oppole a great; and wee doubt not, but all circumstances duely considered, wee shall proportionably equall the Enemy, both in number and qualitie of their forces: alwaies presupposed, that our State shall neuer bee destitute of sufficient forces trayned, and exercised in a comperent manner, to defende their Countrey from forraine Enemys. For, the neglect thereof were to drawe on such as of themselves are but too forward to make a prey of vs; and to make vs vnapt, not onlie to oppole an Enemys landing, but to defende our selues from beeing overrunne, as other Nations liuing in securitie, without due regarde thereof, haue beene.

And this much concerning the answer to those three reasons, which seeme to proue that an Enemy is not to be resisted at his landing. Now if wee doe but looke a little into the discommodities, which follow vpon the landing of an Enemy, we shall easily discover the dangerousnesse of this opinion: as first, we giue him leave to liue vpon the spoile of our Countrey; which cannot bee prevented by any wasting, spoiling, or retiring of our prouisions, in so plentifull a Country as this is, especially considering that we haue no strong townes at all to repose our selues vpon. Whereof we need no further testimonie, then is deliuered vnto vs out of the seventh booke of these Commentaries, in that warre, which Cæsar had with Vercingetorix.

Secondly obedience, which at other times is willingly giuen to Princes, is greatly weakened at such times; whereby all necessary means to maintain a war is hardly drawn frō the subiect. Thirdly, opportunity is giuen to malecontents & ill disposed persons, either to make head themselves, or to flie to the Enemy. Fourthly, the madnesse to aduenture a kingdome vpon one stroke, hauing it in our disposition to do otherwise, with many other disadvantages, which the opportunity of any such occasion would discover.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



He word Imperator, which the Eagle-bearer attributeth to Cæsar, was the greatest title that could be giuen to a Romane Leader: and as Zonaras in his second Tome saith, was neuer giuen but vpon some great exploit, and after a iust victory obtained; and then in the place where the battaile was fought, and the Enemy ouerthrowne, the Generall was saluted by the name of Imperator, with the triumphant shout of the whole Armie; by which acclamation, the souldiers gaue testimonie of his worth; and made it equialent with the most fortunate Commanders.

This Ceremonie was of great antiquitie in the Roman Empire, as appeareth by manie Histories, and namely by Tacitus, where hee sayth, that Tiberius gaue that honour to Blefus, that hee should bee saluted Imperator by

*Of the name
Imperator.*

3. Annual.

the legions; which he sheweth to bee an ancient dignitie belonging to great Capitaine, after they had foiled the Enemy, with an eminent overthrow. For, euerie victorie was not sufficient, whereby they might challenge so great an honour, but there was required (as it seemeth) a certaine number of the Enemies to be slaine. Appian in his second book sayth, that in olde time the name of Imperator was neuer taken, but vpon great and admirable exploits: but in his time 10000. of the Enemy being slaine in one battell, was a sufficient ground of that honour. Cicero sayth, that 2000. slaine in the place, especially of Thracians, Spaniards or Galles, did worthily merit the name of Imperator. Howsoever it seemeth by the same Author, that there was a certaine number of the Enemy required to be slaine, where he sayth, *Se iusta victoria Imperatorem appellatum.*

Phil. 14.

Lib. 2. epist. 9

CHAP. XI.

The Britaines make peace with Cæsar, but breake it againe vpon the losse of the Roman shipping.

Cæsar.



He Britaines being ouerthrowne in this battaile, as soone as they had recovered their safety by flight, they presently dispatched messengers to Cæsar to intreat for peace, promising hostages & obedience, in what soeuer he commanded. And with these Ambassadors returned Comius of Arras, whom Cæsar had sent before into Britany. Cæsar complained, that whereas they sent vnto him into Gallia to desire peace, notwithstanding at his coming they made war against him, without any cause or reason at all; but excusing it by their ignorance, hee commanded hostages to be deliuered vnto him: which they presently performed in part; and the rest being to be set further off, should likewise be rendered within a short time; in the meane while, they commaunded their people to returne to their possessions, and their Rulers and Princes came out of all quarters to commend themselves and their States to Cæsar. The peace being thus concluded; foure daies after that Cæsar came into Britanie, the 18. ships which were appointed for the horsemen, put out to sea with a gentle wind: and approaching so nere the coast of Britanie, that they were within viewe of the Roman Camp; there arose such a sodaine tempest, that none of them were able to holde their course, but some of them returned to the port from whence they came; other some were cast vpon the lower part of the Island, which lieth to the West-ward; and there casting anchor tooke in such seas, that they were forced to commit themselves againe to the sea, and direct their course to the coast of Gallia. The same night it happened, that the moone being in the full, the tides were very high in those seas; whereof the Romans beeing altogether ignorant, both the Gallies which were drawne up vpon the shoare were filld with the tide, and the shippes of burthen that lay at anchour, were shaken with the

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tempest; neither was there any help to be giuen vnto them: so that many of them were rent, and split in peeces; and the rest lost both their anchors, gables and other tackling, and by that meanes became altogether vseruiceable. Whereas the whole Army was exceedingly troubled; for there was no other shipping to reuery them backe againe: Neither had they any necessaries to new furnish the olde: and euery man knew that they must needs winter in Gallia; forasmuch as there was no provision of corn in those places where they were. Which thing being knowne to the Princes of Britanie, that were assembled to conferre of such things as Cæsar had commanded them to performe when they understood that the Romans wanted both their horsemen, shipping and provision of corn, and coniecturing of the paucity of their forces, by the small circuit of their Campe; and that which was more important then all the rest, that Cæsar had transported his souldiers without such necessary cariages, as they used to take with them: they thought it their best course to rebell, and to keepe the Romans from corne and conuoyes of provision, and so prolong the matter, untill winter came on. For, they thought that if these were once overthrowne and cut off from turning into Gallia, neuer any man would afterward adventure to bring an Army into Britanie: therefore they conspired againe the second time, and conuained themselves by stealth out of the Camp, and got their men priuily out of the fields, to make head in some conuenient place against the Romans.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



Concerning the ebbing and flowing of the sea, and the causes thereof; it hath already been handled in the second book: to which I will adde this much, as may serue to shew, how the Romans became so ignorant of the spring tides, which happen in the full and newe of the Moone. It is obserued by experience, that the motion of this wateric element is altogether directed by the course of the moons wherein she exerciseth her regency, according as shee findeth the matter qualified for her influence. And inasmuch as all mediterranean seas, & such gulls as are inclosed in sinues and bolomes of the earth, are both abridged of the liberty of their course, and through the smallness of their quantity, are not so capable of celestiall power, as the Ocean it selfe: it consequently followeth, that the Tuscan seas, wherein the Romans were chiefly acquainted, were not so answerable in effect to the operation of the moon, as the main sea, whose bounds are ranged in a more spacious circuit; and through the plentiful abundance of his parts, better answereth the vertue of the Moon. The Ocean therefore being thus obedient to the course of the celestiall bodies, taking his course of flowing from the North, falleth with such a current between the Orcades, and the maine of Noruegia; that she filleth our channell between England and France, with great swelling tides; & maketh her motion more eminent in these quarters, then in any other parts of the world. And hence it happeneth, that our riuer of Thames, lying with her mouth so ready to receiue the tyde as it cometh, and hauing withall a plaine

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leuelled belly, and a very smal fresh current, rake the tide as far into the land, as any other known riuer of Europe. And for this cause the Romans were ignorant of the spring tides in the full of the moon.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Such as either by their own experience, or otherwise by obseruation of that which history recorderh, are acquainted with the government of Common weales, are not ignorant with what difficultie a nation, that either hath long liued in libertie, or bin gouerned by Commanders of their owne choosing, is made subiect to the yoke of bondage, or reduced vnder the obedience of a stranger. For, as we are apt by a naturall inclination to ciuill society, so by the same nature wee desire a free disposition of our selues and possessions, as the chiefest end of the saide societie: and therefore in the government of a subdued State, what losse or disadvantage happeneth to the Victor, or how indirectly soeuer it concerneth the bond of their thraldome, the captiue people be- hold it as a part of their aduersaries overthrow; and conceiue thereupon such spirits as answere the greaues of their hope, and fort with the strength of their will, which alwaies maketh that seem easie to be effected which it desireth. And this was the reason that the Britains altered their resolution of peace, vpon the losse which the Romans had receiued in their shipping.

CHAP. XII.

Cæsar new trimmeth his late shaken nauie: the Brit-
taines sit vpon the Romans as they haruested;
but were put off by CÆSAR.

Cæsar.

Cæsar although hee had not discovered their determination, yet conceiuing of the euent by the losse of his shipping, and by their delay of giuing up hostages; hee provided against all chaunces: for, hee brought corne daily out of the fieldes into his Campe; and tooke the hulls of such shippes as were most dismembred, and with the timber and brasse therof he mended the rest that were beaten with the tempest, causing other necessaries to be brought out of Gallia. Which being handled with the great industry and trauell of the Souldiers, he lost onely twelue shippes, and made the other able to abide the Sea.

While these things were in action, the seuenth legion being sent out by course, to fetch in corne, and little suspecting any motion of warre, as part of the souldiers continued in the field, and the rest went and came between them & the Campe the

the station that watched before the gate of the Camp, gave aduertisement to Cæsar, that the same way which the legion went, there appeared a greater dust then was vsually seen. Cæsar suspecting that which indeed was true, that the Britains were entred into some new resolution, he tooke those two cohorts which were in station before the port, commanding other two to take their place, and the rest to arm themselves, and presently to follow him, and went that way, where the dust was descried. And when he had marched some distance from the Camp, he saw his men overcharged with the Enemy, & scarce able to sustaine the assault, the legion thronged together on a heap, & weapons cast from all parts amongst them. For, when they had haruested all other quarters, they remained one peece of corn, whither the Enemy suspected the Romans would at last come; and in the night time conuained themselves secretly into the woods, where they continued vntill the Romans were come into the field: and as they sawe them disarmed, disperfed and occupied in reaping; they suddenly set vpon them, and slaying some fewe of them, routed the rest and encompassed them about with their horsemen, and Chariots. Their manner of fight with Chariots, was first to rise up and down & cast their weapons, as they sawe aduantage; and with the terror of their horses and rattling of their wheeles, to disorder the companies; and when they had wound themselves between any troups of horse, they sought their Chariots and sought on foot: in the mean time, the guiders of their chariots would drine a little aside, & so place themselves, that if their masters needed any helpe, they might haue an easie passage vnto them. And thus they performed, in all their fights, both the nimble motion of horsemen, and the firme stability of footmen; and were so ready with daily practice, that they could staie in the declivity of a steep hill, and turne short or moderate their going, as it seemed best vnto them; and run along the beam of the coach and rest vpon the yoke, or harness of their horses, and return as speedily again at their pleasure. The Romans being thus troubled, Cæsar came to rescue them in very good time: for, at his coming, the Enemy stood still; and the souldiers gathered their spirits vnto them, and began to renew their courage that was almost spent. Cæsar taking it an vnfit time, either to prouoke the Enemy, or to giue him battel, he continued a while in the same place: and then returned with the legions into the Camp. While these things were a-doing, and the Romans thus busied, the Britains that were in the field, conuained themselves alway.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

By this we plainly find, that there were vsually two cohorts (which according to the rate of 120. in a maniple, amounted to the number of 720. men) which kept the daie watch before the gate of the Camp, & were alwaies in readines vpon any seruice. The commoditie whereof appeareth by this accident: for, considering that the aduertisement required haste and speedy recourse; it greatly furthered their rescue, to haue so many men ready to march forward at the first motion, that they might giue what helpe they could, vntill the rest of their fellows came in.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



Heir manner of fight with Chariots, is very particularly described by Cæsar, and needeth not to be stood vpon any longer: only I obserue that neither in Gallia, nor any other country of Europ, the vse of Chariots is euer mentioned: but they haue euer bene attributed, as a peculiar fight, vnto the Easterne Countries, as futable to the plain and leuell situation of the place, whereof we finde often mention in the Scripture: which may serue for an argument to Geffrey of Monmouth, to proue the Britaines descent from Troy in Asia, where we likewise finde mention of such Chariots.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.



Hirdly, wee may obserue the discrete and moderate temper of his valour, and the meanes hee vsed to make his souldiers confident in his directions: for, notwithstanding the Britaines had exceedingly urged him, to make hazard of a present reuenge; yet finding it an vnfit time, (inasmuch as his men had bene somewhat troubled, with the furie of the Britains) he thought it best to expect some other opportunitie. And againe, to auoid the inconueniences of a learefull retreat, hee continued awhile in the same place, to imbolden his men with the sight of the Enemy. And this manner of proceeding wrought a full perswasion in his souldiers, that his actions were directed with knowledge, and with a carefull respect of their safetie: which gaue his men resolution when they were carried vpon seruice; being assured that what seruice soeuer they were imployed vpon, was most diligently to be performed, as a matter much importing the fortunate issue of that warre: whereas if they had perceiued, that headstrong fury (which carrieth men on with a desire of victorie, and neuer looketh into the meanes whereby it may bee obtained) had directed the course of their proceedings, they might with reason haue drawn back from such imployments, and valued their safety about the issue of such an enterprise. And hence ariseth that confident opinion, which the souldiers haue of a good Generall; which is a matter of great importance in the course of warre.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

The Britaines make head, with their forces; and
are beaten by Cæsar: his returne into
GALLIA.



After this for manie dayes together, there followed such tempests and foule weather, that both the Romans were constrained to keepe their Campe, and the Britaines were kept from attempting any thing against them: But in the meane time, they sent messengers into all quarters, publishing the smal number of the Roman forces, & amplifying the greatnesse of the booty, & the easie means offered vnto them of perpetuall liberty, if they could take the Roman Campe. Shortly vpon this, hauing gathered a great companie, both of horse and foot; they came to the place where the Romans were incamped. Cæsar (although he foresaw the euent by that which before had hapned, that if the Enemy were beaten back, he would auoid the danger by flight) yet hauing som 30. horse, which Comius of Arras had carried with him, at his coming into Britany, he imbailed his legions before his Camps; so gaue them battel. The Enemy not being able to beare the assault of the Roman souldiers, turned their backs & fled: the Romans followed them, as far as they could by running on foote; and after a great slaughter, with the burning of their towns farre and neere, they returned to their Camp. The same day the Britains sent messengers to Cæsar, to intreat for peace, whom he commanded to double their number of hostages, which he commanded to be carried into Gallia. And forasmuch as the Aquinoctium was at hand; he thought it not safe to put himselfe to the winter sea, with such weake shipping: and therefore hauing got a conuenient time, he hoised saile a little after midnight, and brought all his ships safe vnto the Continent. Two of these ships of burthen, not being able to reach the same haven, put in somewhat lower into the land: the souldiers that were in them being about 300. being set on shore, and marching towards their Camp; the Morini, with whom Cæsar at his going into Britany had made peace, in hope of a booty, first with a few of their men stood about them, commanding them vpon paine of death to laie downe their weapons: & as the Romans by casting themselves into an Orbe, began to make defence, at the noise and clamour amongst them, there were suddenly gathered together about 6000. of the Enemy. Which thing being known, Cæsar sent out all the horsemen to relieue them: in the meane time the Romans sustained the force of the Enemy, and fought valiantly the space of foure houres; and receiuing themselves some few wounds, they slew many of the Enemy. After the Roman horsemen came in sight, the Enemy cast awaie their weapons and fled, and a great number of them fell by the horsemen.

Cæsar.

OBSERVATION.

OF all the figures which the *Tactick* have chosen to make use of in military affairs; the circle hath ever been taken for the fittest, to be applied in the defensive part, as inclosing with an equall circuit on all parts whatsoever is contained within the circumference of that Area: and therefore Geometric teacheth a circumference a simple line, forasmuch as if you alter the site of the parts, and transport one arch into the place of another; the figure notwithstanding will remaine the same, because of the equal bending of the line, throughout the whole circumference. Which property, as it proueth an vniformity of strength in the whole circuit, so that it cannot be said that this is the beginning, or this is the end; this is front, or this is flank: So doth that, which Euclide doth demonstrate in the 3. of his Elements, concerning the final affinity between a right line, and a circle (which being drawn to touch the circumference doth touch it but in a point only) shew the greatness of this strength in regarde of any other line, by which it may be broken. Which, howsoever they seem, as speculatiue qualities, concerned rather by intellectual discourse, then manifested to sensible apprehensions; yet forasmuch as experience hath proued the strength of this figure, in a defensive part, about a ny other manner of imbatailing; let vs not neglect the knowledge of these natural properties, which discover the causes of this effect: neither let vs neglect this part of militarie knowledge, being so strong a means to maintain valour, & the finew of al our abilities: for, order correspondent to circumstances is the whole strength and power of an Army. Neither ought there any action in a well ordered discipline, to be irregular, or void of order: and therefore the Romans did neither eat nor sleep, without the direction of the Consull, or chief Commanders: otherwise their valour might rather haue been tearmed fury then vertue; but when their courage was ranged with order, and disposed according to the occurrences of the time; it neuer failed as long as the laide order continued perfect.

It appeareth therefore, how important it is for a Commander to look into the diuerty of orders for imbatailing, and to waigh the nature thereof; that he may with knowledge apply them to the quality of any occasion. The Romans tearmed this figure, *Orbis*, which significth a round body both with a concaue, and a conuex surface: in resemblance whereof, I vnderstand this Orbe of men imbatailed to be so named; which might peraduenture consist of fixe, or more, or fewer ranks, inclosing one another after the nature of so many circles, described about one Center: so that either the midst thereof remained void, or otherwise contained such cariages, and impediments, as they had with them in their march. This form of imbatailing was neuer vled, but in great extremitie: for, as it was the safest of all others; so it gaue suspition to the soldiers of exceeding danger: which abated much of their heat in batel, as will hereafter appeare by the testimony of Cæsar himself, in the fifth Commentarie, vpon the occasion which happened vnto Sabinus and Cotta.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.



HHe next daie, Cæsar sent Titus Labienus a Legate, with those legions which he had brought out of Britany, against the reuolted Morini, who hauing no place of refuge because their boggs & fennes were dried up, where they had sheltered themselves the yeare before; they al sel vnder the power of his mercy. *L. Titurius*, & *A. Cotta* the Legats, who had led the legions against the Menapij, after they had wasted their fields, cut up their corn, burned their houses (for, the Menapij were all hid in thicke woods) they returned to Cæsar: these things being thus ended, Cæsar placed the wintering Camps of al his legions amongst the Belge, to which place two only of all the Cities in Britany, sent hostages vnto him: the rest neglecting it. These wars being thus ended: vpon the relation of Cæsars letters, the senat decreed a supplication for the space of 20. daies.

Cæsar.

OBSERVATION.

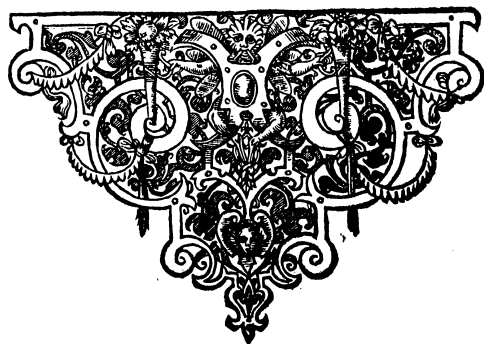
IN the end of the second Commentary, we read of a supplication granted by the Senat, for 15. daies; which was neuer granted to anie man before that time, since the first building of the Citie: but forasmuch as in this fourth year of the wars in Gallia, it was augmented from 15. vnto 20. daies, I thought it fit to refer the handling thereof, vnto this place. We are therefore to vnderstand, that whensoever a Roman Generall had earned himself well in the wars, by gaining a victory, or enlarging the boundes of their Empire: that then the Senate did decree a supplication to the gods, in the name of that Captain. And this dignity was much sought after: not onely because it was a matter of great honour, that in their names the Temples of their gods should be opened, and their victories acknowledged, with the concurrence & gratulation of the Roman people; but also because a supplication was commonly the forerunner of a triumph, which was the greatest honor in the Roman government: And therefore Caro nameth it the prerogative of a triumph. And Liue in his 26. book saith, that it was long disputed on in the Senate, how they could deny one that was there present to triumph, whose absence they had honoured, with supplication, & thanksgiving to the gods, for things happily effected: The manner of the Ceremonie was; that after the Magistrate had publicly proclaimed it with this form or stile, *quod bene & feliciter rempublicam administrasset*; the Roman people clothed in white garments & crowned with garlands, went to all the Temples of the gods, and there offered sacrifices, to gratulate the victory in the name of the General. In which time they were forbidden all other busineses, but that which pertained to this solemnity. It seemeth that this time of supplicatio, was at first included within one or 2. daies at the most: as appeareth by Liue in his third book, where he saith, that the victorie gained by two severall battells, was spicfully that vp by the Senat in one daies supplication; the people of their own accord keeping the next day holy, & celebrating it with greater deuotion then the former.

Li. 15. fam. Cicero.

Vpon

Vpon the victory which Camillus had against the Veij, there were granted foure daies of supplication; to which there was afterward a daie added, which was the vsuall time of supplication vnto the time that Pompei ended the warre, which they called Mithridaticum; when the vsuall time of fiue daies was doubled, and made 10. and in the second of these Commentaries, made 15. and now brought to 20. daies. Which setteth forth the incitements and rewards of wel doing, which the Romans propounded both at home and abroad, to such as induoured to enlarge their Empire, or manage a charge, to the benefit of their Common-wealths. And thus endeth the fourth Commentarie.

THE



THE FIFT COMMENTARY OF THE WARRE, WHICH CÆSAR MADE IN GALLIA.

THE ARGUMENT.

Cæsar caused a great navy to be built in Gallia: he caried 5. legions into Britany, where he made war with the Britains, on both sides the riuer Thames: at his returne into Gallia, most of the Galles reuolted; and first the Eburones, vnder the conduction of Ambiorix, set vpon the Camp of Q. Titurius the Legate, whom they circumuented by subtilty; and then besieged the Camp of Cicero: but were put by, and their Army ouerthrowen by Cæsar.

CHAP. I.

Cæsar returneth into Gallia: findeth there great store of shipping made by the souldiers, and commaundeth them to be brought to the haven Iccius.



Iulius Domitius, and Appius Clandius, being Consuls; Cæsar at his going into Italy, gaue order to the Legats to build as many ships that winter, as possibly they could; commaunding them to be built of a lower pitch then those which are vsed in the mediterranean sea, for the speedier lading & unloading of them, and because the tides in these seas were very great: and so far as much as he was to transport great store of horse, he commaunded them to be made flatter in the bottome then such as were vsuall in other places, and all of them to be made for the vse of Oares, to which purpose their lowe building serued very conveniently. Other necessaries and furniture for rigging, he gaue order to haue it brought out of Spain. Cæsar after the assembly of the States in Lombardy, and that he set free illiricum from the incursions of the Pirusæ, he returned into Gallia; where he found 600. ships built by the extraordinary industry of the soldiers, notwithstanding the penurie and want of all necessary matter, with 28 Gallies ready furnished, which in a few daies might be lanched: hauing commaunded the soldiers and ouerseers of the work, he commaunded them to be brought to the port called Iccius, from whence he knew the passage into Britany, was not above thirty mile ouer.

Cæsar.

THE

THE OBSERVATION.

THis Iccius Portus, Floide thinketh to bee Caleis; others take it to bee Saint Omer: partly in regarde of the situation of the place, which being in it selfe very lowe, hath notwithstanding very high banks, which incompasse the towne about; and in times past was a very large haven. To this may be added the distance from this towne, to the next Continent of the Iland of Britany; which Strabo maketh to containe 320. stadia, which agreeeth to the French computation of 13. leagues. Cæsar maketh it thirty mile: this is the haven, which Pliny calleth *Britannicam portum Morinorum*.

CHAP. II.

Cæsar saileth into Britanie: landeth his forces, and seeketh the Enemy.

Cæsar.



Cæsar having prepared all things in readinesse, he left Labienus in the Continent with three legions, & 2000. horse, both to keep the haven & make prouision of corne; and also to obserue the motion of the Galles: and with 5. legions & the like number of horse, as he left in the Continent, about sun-setting he put out to sea, with a soft south wind, which continued vntill midnight; and then ceasing he was carried with the tide vntill the morning; when he perceiued that the Iland laie on his left hand: and again, as the tide changed, he laboured by rowing to reach that part of the Iland, where hee had found good landing the yeare before: wherein the soldiers deserued great commendation; for, by strength & force of Oares, they made their great ships of burthen to keepe waite with the Galleies. About high noon, they arrived in Britany, with all their ships: neither was there any Enemy scene in that place: but as afterward Cæsar vnderstood by the Captiues, the Britains were there with a great power; but being terrified with the infinit number of shipping, which they discovered from the shore (for there were in al about 800) they forsook the shore, & hid themselves in the vpland country. Cæsar hauing landed his men, and chosen a conuenient place to incamp, as soon as he vnderstood by the captiues where the enemy laie, in the 3. watch of the night, he marched towards them, leauing ten cohorts & 300. horse for a garrison to his shipping: which he the lesse feared, because it lay at anchour in a soft & open shore: he marched that night about 12. mile before he found the Enemy. The Britains sending out their horse, and chariots to riuier that ran between them & the Romans, and hauing the aduantage of the vpper grounds; began to hinder the Romans and to giue them battell: but being beaten backe with our horsemen, they conuained themselves into a wood. The place was strongly fortified both by Art and Nature, and made for a defence (as it seemeth) in their ciuill

warrs:

wars: for, all the entrances were shut up with great trees, laid ouerthwart the passages. And the Britaines shewed themselves out of the wood but heere and there, not suffering the Romans to enter the fortification: but the souldiers of the 7. legion, with a Testudo which they made, and a moant which they raised, tooke the place, and drane them all out of the woods, without any losse at all; saving some few wounds which they received. But Cæsar forbade his men to follow after them, with any long pursuite, because he was both ignorant of the place, and a great part of that day being spent, he would inplay, therest thereof in the fortification of his Campe.

OBSERVATION.



Cæsar, hauing taken what assurance of peace hee could with the Galles, both by carrying the chiefeest of their Princes with him; and by leauing three legions in the Continent, to keep the vulgar people in obedience; he embarked all his men at one place, that they might be all partakers of the same casualties, and take the benefit of the same aduentures: which beeing neglected the yeere before, drew him into many inconueniences for want of horse, which being embarked at another Haven, met with other chances, & saw other fortunes; & neuer came to him into Britanie. The place of landing in this second voyage, was the same where he landed the yeer before: & by the circumstances of this history, may agree with that which tradition hath deliuered of Deale in Kent, where it is said that Cæsar landed. In the first yeere we find, that he neuer remoued his Campe from the sea shore, where he first seated himselfe; although his men went out to bring in Corne, as far as they might wel returne again at night: but now he entered further into the Iland, and within twelve miles march came vnto a riuer, which must needs be that of Canterbury, which falleth into the Sea at Sandwich.

In that he saith that the guarizon of his shipping consisted of tenne cohorts, which I haue said to be a legion: we must vnderstand, that Cæsar left not an entire legion in that guarizon; but he tooke tenne cohorts out of his whole forces, peraduenture two out of euery legion, and appointed them to take the charge of his shipping.

CHAP. III.

Cæsar returneth to his Nauies, to take order for such losses as had happened by tempest the night before.



THE next day, earlie in the morning, hee deuided his forces into three companies, and sent them out to pursue the enemy: but before they had marched any farre distance, and came to haue the reuerward of the Enemy in view; there came newes from Q. Arius, with whom

Cæsar.

whom he left the ten cohorts, & the charge of the shipping, that the night before, there was such a tempest at sea, that the whole Naue was either sore beaten, or cast on shore; and that neither anchor nor gable could hold them, nor yet the Sailers indure the force of the weather: and that there was great losse in the shipping, by running against one another, in the violence of the tempest.

Vpon these newes; Cæsar caused the legions to be called backe againe, and to cease for that time, from following the enemye any further. Hee himselfe returned to the Nauy, where he found forty ships lost, and the rest, not to be repaired, but with great industry and paines: first, therefore, he chose Ship-wrightes and Carpenters out of the legions, and caused others to be sent for out of Gallia, and wrote to Labienus to make ready what shipping he could. And although it seemed a matter of great difficulty & much labour, yet hee thought it best, to hale up all the ships on shore, and to inclose them within the fortification of his Campe. In this businesse he spent ten daies, without intermission either of night or day, untill he had drawne up the shippes, and strongly fortified the Campe; leaving the same garrison which was there before, to defend it.

THE OBSERVATION.

WHerein we may behold the true image of vndanted valour, and the horrible industry (as Tully teacheth it) which hee vied to prevent Fortune of her stroke in his busines, and comprehend casualties and future contingents, within the compasse of order, & the bounds of his owne power, being able in tenne daies space, to set almost eight hundred shippes from the hazard of wind and weather; & to make his Campe the Roade for his Naue, that so hee might rest secure of a meanes to returne at his pleasure.

CHAP. III.

The Britaines make Cæsiuellaunus Generall in this warre: the Iland, and the manners of the people described.

Cæsar.



CÆSAR, returning to the place from whence he came, found far greater forces of the Britaines there assembled, then he left when he went to the Naue: and that by publique consent of the Britaines; the whole government of that warre was given to Cæsiuellaunus, whose kingdom lay diuided from the maritime States, with the riuer Thames, beginning at the sea, & extending it selfe foure-score mile into the Iland. This Cæsiuellaunus, made continuall warre with his neighbour States: but vpon the coming of the Romaines, they all forgot their home-bred quarrels, and cast the whole government vpon his shoulders, as the fittest to direct that warre.

The

The inner part of Britaine is inhabited, by such as memorie recordeth to be borne in the Iland, and the maritime coast by such as came out of Belgia, either to make incursions or inuasions; and after the war was ended, they continued in the possessions they had gained, and were called by the name of the Cities from whence they came. The Country is very populous, and well inhabited with houses, much like vnto them in Gallia. They haue great store of castell, & vse brasse for money, or iron rings, weighed at a certaine rate. In the Mediterranean parts, there is found great quantity of Iyn, and in the maritime parts; iron: their brasse was brought in by other Nations. They haue all sorts of trees that they haue in Gallia, excepting the Firre and the Beech. Their religion will not suffer them to cate either Hare, Hen, or Goose; notwithstanding, they haue of all sorts, as well for noueltie as varietie. The Country is more temperate, and not so cold as Gallia: the Iland lyeth triangle-wise, whereof one side confronteth Gallia; of which side that angle, wherein Kent is, pointeth to the East, and the other angle to the South: this side containeth about 500 mile. Another side lieth toward Spaine, and the West, that way where Ireland lieth, being an Iland halfe as big as England, and as farre distant from it as Gallia. In the midway betweene England and Ireland, lieth an Iland called Mona, besides many other smaller Ilands; of which some write, that in Winter-time, for thirtie daies together, they haue continuall night: whereof we learned nothing by inquirie; onely we found by certain measures of water, that the nights in England were shorter then in the Continent: the length of this side, according to the opinion of the inhabitants, containeth seauen hundred mile. The third side lieth to the North & the open sea, sauing that this angle doth somewhat point towards Germanie: this side is thought to containe eight hundred miles; and so the whole Iland containeth in circuit 2000 miles. Of all the inhabitants, they of Kent are most courteous and ciuill; all their Countrey bordering vpon the sea, & little differing from the fashion of Gallia. Most of the in-land people sowe no Corne, but live with milke and fleish, clothed with skinner, & hauing their faces painted with a blew colour, to the end they may seeme more terrible in fight: they haue the haire of their head long, hauing all other parts of their body shauen, sauing their upper lip. Their wines are common to tenne or twelue, especially brethren with brethren, and parents with children; but the children that are borne, are put vnto them, vnto whom the mother was first giuen in mariage.

OBSERVATION.

IN the descriptions of the ancient Britains, we may first obserue their pedigree, according to the Haraldry of that time: wherein we must vnderstand, that in those ages, the Nations of the world thought it no small honour, to deriue their descent from a certaine beginning, and to make either some of their Gods, or some man of famous memorie, the Father of that progenie, and founder of their State; that so they might promise a fortunate continuance to their government, being first laid and established by so powerfull a meanes. But if this failed, they then bragged of antiquitie, and cast all their glory vpon the fertility of their soile, being so strong and fruit-

Q. 2.

full

full, that it yielded of it selfe ſuch a people, as they were: and ſo wee read how the Athenians, forasmuch as they were ignorant ſto whence they came, ware an Oaken leafe, in token that they were bred of the earth where they dwelled. And heereupon alſo grew the contouerie betweene the Egyptians and the Scythians, concerning antiquitie: wherein the Egyptians ſeemed to haue great aduantage, becauſe of the fertilitie and heat of their country; whereas the Scythians inhabited a cold climate, vnfertile, and an enemy to generation. Of this fort were the Britaines; that inhabited the mediterranean part of the Iland: who, not knowing from whence they came, nor who firſt brought them thither, ſatiſfied themſelues with that common receiued opinion, that they were borne and bred of the earth. The ſea-coaſt was poſſeſt by ſuch as came out of the Continent, and retained the names of the Citties from whence they came, as a memoriall of their progenitors.

The forme of the Iland is very well deſcribed, and meaſured out, according to the ſcale of our moderne Geographers. For, concerning the difference of longitude between the Eaſterne angle of Kent, & the furtheſt point of Cornwall, they make it eight degrees; which in a manner iumpeth with Cæſars diſmeſuration: the other ſides are ſomewhat longer: and therefore Tacitus, in the life of Aricola, compareth it to a Carpenters Axe, making that ſide which bordereth vpon France to reſemble the edge, and the other two ſides to incline by little and little, one towards another; and ſo make the Iland narrower at the top, according to the forme of that inſtrument. Hee ſetteth downe the whole compaſſe of the Iland, according to the manner of the ancient Geographers; who by the quantitie of the circuit, did vſually iudge of the content: not conſidering that the Area of euery figure dependeth as well of the quantitie of the angle, as the length of the ſide.

Concerning the temperature of Britanie, in regard of the cold Winters in France, we muſt vnderſtand that Britanie hath euer been found of a more temperate conſtitution, in regard of ſharp and cold winters, then any other countrie lying vnder the ſame parallell: whether the cauſe thereof may be imputed to the continuall motion of the ſea about the Iland, which begetteth heate, as ſome haue imagined; or to the ſite thereof, in regard of other Continents from whence the wind alwaies riſeth, and carieth with it the nature of the Countrey by which it paſſeth: and ſo the Iland hauing no other Continent lying North to it, from whence the wind may riſe, but all for the moſt part vpon the South, hath no ſuch cold windes to diſtemper it, as other parts of Germanie, which are vnder the ſame parallell: but the Southerne wind, which is ſo frequent in Britanie, tempereth the ayre with a mild diſpoſition, and ſo keepeth it warme; or whether it be ſome other vnkowne cauſe, our Philoſophers reſt vnſatiſfied. But as touching Gallia, it may be ſaid, that forasmuch as it beareth more to the South then this Iland doth, the aire thereof (by reaſon of the continuall heat) is of a farre purer diſpoſition; and ſo pierceth more then this groſſer aire of Britanie, and carieth the cold further into the pores; and ſo ſeemeth ſharper, and of a farre colder diſpoſition.

This Iland, which Cæſar nameth *Mona*, is known at this time by the name of *Man*,

Man, and lieth between Cumberland and Ireland. Ptolemy calleth it *Monada*. Tacitus calleth Angleſey by the name of *Mona*, peradventure from the nomination of the Britaines, who called it *Tyr mon*, the land of *Mon*.

Concerning thoſe places, where the night continueth in the miſt of winter for 30 daies together, they muſt be ſited 6. degrees beyond the circle Arctike, and haue a day in ſummer of like continuance, according to the rules of Aſtro-nomy. In that he found the nights in Britanie ſhorter then in the Continent, we muſt vnderſtand it to be onely in ſummer: for, the more oblique the horizon is, the more vneuen are the portions of the diurnall circles which it cutteth; and the neerer it commeth to a right horizon, the neerer it commeth to an equality of day and night: and hence it happeneth, that in ſummer time, the nights in France, are longer then heere in England; and in winter, ſhorter. The like we muſt vnderſtand of all Southerne and Northerne Countreies.

To conclude, I may not omit the ciuilitie of the Kentiſh men, and their courteous diſpoſition, aboue the reſt of the Britains, which muſt be imputed to that ordinary courſe which brought ciuility vnto all other Nations: of whom ſuch as were firſt ſeared in their poſſeſſions, and entertained ſocietie, were the firſt that brought in ciuill conuerſation, and by little and little were purified, and ſo attained to the perfection of ciuill gouernment. So we find, that firſt Aſſyrians and Babilonians (as neereſt to the Mountaines of Armenia where the Ark reſted, and people firſt inhabited) reduced their States into Common-weales of Monarchies of exquisite gouernment, flouriſhing with all manner of learning and knowledge; when as yet other Countreies lay either waſte, or ouerwhelmed with Barbariſme. From thence it flowed into Egypt; out of Egypt into Greece; out of Greece into Italie; out of Italie into Gallia; and from thence into England: where our Kentiſhmen firſt entertained it, as bordering vpon Fraunce; and frequented with Marchants of thoſe Countreies.

CHAP. V.

Diuers skirmiſhes between the Romans
and the Britaines.

HE Cavalrie of the enemy and their chariots, gaue a ſharpe conſlict to the Romaine horſemen, in their march: but ſo, that the Romaines got the better euery way, driving them with great ſlaughter to the woods and hills, and looſing alſo ſome of their owne men, beeing too venturous in the purſuit. The Britaines, after ſome intermiſſion of time, when the Romaines little thought of them, and were buſied in ſor-tifying their Campe, came ſuddenly out of the woods, and charged vpon thoſe that kept ſtation before the Campe. Cæſar ſent out two the chiefſt cohorts of two legions, to ſecond their fellows. Theſe two cohorts, ſtanding vwith a ſmall alley betweene them, the other that were firſt charged, beeing terrified

Cæſar.

with that strange kind of fight, boldly brake through the thickest of the enemy, and so retired in safetie to their fellows. That day, Quintus Labrius Durus, a Tribune of the souldiers, was slaine. The Britaines were repelled with more cohorts, which Cæsar sent to second the former. And, so far as the fight happened in the view of all the Campe, it was plainly perceiued, that the legionarie souldiers, being neither able for the weight of their Armour, to follow the enemy as he retired, nor yet daring to goe farre from his Ensigne; was not a fittie aduersarie to contest this kind of enemy: and that the horsemen likewise fought with no lesse danger, inasmuch as the enemy would retire backe of purpose, and when they had drawne them a little from the legions, they would then light from their Chariots, and incounter them, with that advantage which is betwene a footman and a horseman. Furthermore, they neuer fought thicke and close together, but thin, and in great distances, hauing stations of men to succour one another, to receiue the wearie, and to send out fresh supplies.

OBSERVATION.

VPon this occasion of their heauie Armour, I will describe a legionarie souldiour in his compleat furniture, that we may better iudge of their manner of warfare, and vnderstand wherein their greatest strength consisted. And first we are to learne, that their legionarie souldiers were called *Milites grauis armatura*, souldiers wearing heavy Armour, to distinguish them from the Velites, the Archers, Slingers, and other light armed men. Their offensive Armes were a couple of Piles, or as some will, but one Pile, and a Spanish sword, short and strong, to strike rather with the point then with the edge. Their defensive Armes were, a helmet, a corset, and boots of brasle, with a large Targer; which in some sort was offensive, in regard of that *omboneum* which stuck out in the midlt thereof. The Pile is described at large in the first booke, and the Targer in the second. The sword, as Polybius witnesseth, was short, two edged, very sharpe, and of a strong point: and therefore Liuie, in his 22 booke, saith, that The Gallies vsed very long swords without points; but the Romaines had short swords, readier for vse: these they called Spanish swords, because they borrowed that fashion from the Spaniards. The old Romaines were to girt with their swords, as appeareth by Polybius, & their monuments in Marble, that from their left shoulder it hung vpon their right thigh, contrary to the vse of the times; which, as I haue noted before, was in regard of their rarger, which they carried on their left arme: this sword, was hung with a belt of leather, belted with studs, as Varro noteth, and these were their offensive weapons.

Their Helmet was of brasle, adorned with three Ostrich feathers, of a cubite in length; by which, the souldiour appeared of a larger stature, and more terrible to the Enemy, as Polybius saith in his sixth booke. Their breast plate was either of Brasle or Iron, ioynted together after the manner of scales, or plated with little rings of Iron: their bootes were made of barres of brasle, from the

foote

Lib. 4.

Plin. lib. 10.

foote vp to the knee. And thus were the legionary souldiers armed, to stand firme, rather then to vse any nimble motion, and to combine themselves into a body of that strength, which might not easily recoile, at the opposition of any confrontation: for, agilitie standeth indifferent to helpe either a retreat or a pursuit; and nimble-footed souldiers, are as ready to flie back, as to march forward; but a waightie bodie, keepeth a more regular motion, and is not hindered with a common counterbuffle: so that whensoever they came to firme buckeling, and felt the enemy stand stiffe before them, such was their practice, and exercise in continual works, that they neuer fainted vnder any such taske, but the victorie went alwaies cleere on their side. But, if the enemy gaue way to their violence, and came not in but for aduantage, and then as speedily retired, before the counterbuffle were well discharged, then did their nimbleness much help their weaknesse, and frustrate the greatest part of the Romaine discipline. This is also proued, in the ouerthrowe of Sabinus and Cotta, where Ambiorix finding the inconuenience of buckling at hand, blowes, commanded his men to fight afar off; and if they were assaulted, to giue backe, and to come on againe as they saw occasion: which so wearied out the Romaines, that they all fell vnder the execution of the Gallies. Let this suffice thefore to shew, how vnapt the Romaines were to flie vpon any occasion, when their Armour was such, that it kept them from all starting motions, and made them suable to the staied and well assured rules of their discipline, which were as certaine principles in the execution of a standing battaile; and therefore, not to fit either for a pursuit, or a flight.

Concerning the vnequall combat betwene a horseman and a foote-man, it may be thought strange, that a footman should haue such an aduantage against a horseman, being ouermatched, at least with a Sextuple proportion both of strength and agilitie: but we must vnderstand, that as the horse is much swifter in a long carriere; so in speedie and nimble turning at hand, wherein the substance of the combat consisteth, the footman farre exceedeth the horseman in aduantage; hauing a larger marke to hit by the Horse, then the other hath. Besides, the horseman ingageth both his valour, & his fortune in the good speed of his horse, his wounds and his death, do consequently pull the rider after, his feare or furie maketh his maister either desperate or slowe of performance, and what defect soeuer ariseth from the horse, must be answered out of the honour of the rider. And surely, it seemeth reasonable, that what thing soeuer draweth vs into the societie of so great a hazard, should as much as is possible, be contained in the compasse of our owne power.

The sword which we manage with our owne hand, affoordeth greater assurance then the Harquebuse, wherein there are many parts belonging to the action, as the powder, the stone, the spring, and such like; whereof, if the least faile of his part, we likewise faile of our fortune: but, how probable soeuer this seemeth, this is certaine, that in the course of the Romaine warres, the horse were euer defeated by the foote, as is manifestly proued in the first of these booke.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.
Cæsar giueth the Brittaines two
seuerall ouerthrowes.

Cæsar.



HE next day, the Enemy made a stand vpon the hils afar off from the Campe, and shewed themselves not so often; neither were they so busie with our horsemen, as they were the day before: but about noone, whē Cæsar sent out three legions, and all his Cavalrie to get forrage, vnder the conductiō of Caius Trebonius a Legate, they made a suddaine assault vpon the forragers, and fell in close vwith the Engins and the legions. The Romaines charged very fiercely vpon them, & beate them backe: neither did they make an end of following them, untill the horsemen trusting to the succour of the legions which were behind them, put them all to flight, with the slaughter of a great number of them; neither did they giue them respite either to make head, to make a stand, or to forsake their chariots.

After this ouerthrow, all their Auxiliarie forces departed from them; neither did they afterward contend with the Romaines with any great power. Cæsar, vnderstanding their determination, caried his Armie to the riuer Thames, and so to the confines of Cassiuellannus, which riuer was passable by foote but in one place onely, and that very hardly. At his comming, he found a great power of the Enemy to be imbattailed on the other side, and the banke fortified with many sharpe stakes, and many other also were planted covertly vnder the water. These things being discovered to the Romaines by the Captiues and fugitiues, Cæsar, putting his horse before, caused the legions to follow suddainlie after: who notwithstanding they had but their heads cleere above the water, went with that violence, that the enemy was not able to endure the charge, but left the banke, and betooke themselves to flight.

OBSERVATION.



His attempt of Cæsar, seemeth so strange to Brancatio, that he runneth into strange conclusions, concerning this matter: as first, that he that imitareth Cæsar, may doubt of his good fortunes: for, his proceeding in this point, was not directed by any order of war; and that a great Commander, hath nothing common with other Leaders: but especially, he crieth out at the baseness of the Britaints, that would suffer themselves so cowardly to be beaten. But if we looke into the circumstances of the action, we shal find both Art and good direction therein: for, being assured by the fugitiues, that the riuer was passable in that place, and in that place onelie he knew that he must either adventure ouer there, or leaue Cassiuellannus for another Summer, which was a very strong inducement to vrge him to that

that enterprife. The difficultie whereof, was much relieved by good direction, which consisted of two points: First, by sending ouer the horsemen in the front of the legions, who might better indure the charge of the enemy, then the footmen could, that were vp to the neck in water; and withall, to shelter the footmen from the furie of the Enemy.

Secondly, he sent them ouer with such speed, that they were on the other side of the water before the enemy could tell what they attempted: for, if hee had lingered in the seruice, and giuen the enemy leaue to find the advantage which he had by experience, his men had neuer beene able to haue indured the hazard of so dangerous a seruice. It is hard to coniecture at the place where this seruice was performed; for, since the building of London bridge, manie foordes haue beene scoured with the current, and fall of the water, which before that time, caried not such a depth as now they doe.

CHAP. VII.

The conclusion of the British warre: Cæsar
returneth into Gallia.



Cassiuellannus, hauing no courage to contend any longer, dismissed his greatest forces, and retaining onely foure thousand and chariots, obserued their iourneies, keeping the wood Countries, and driuing men and cattell out of the fields into the woods, for feare of the Romans: & as their horse straied out either for forrage or bootie, he sent his chariots out of the woods by vnknowne waies, and put their horsemen to great perill: in regard whereof, the horsemen durst neuer adventure further then the legions, neither was there any more spoile done in the Country, then that which the legionarie souldiers did of themselves.

In the meane time, the Trinobants, being almost the greatest State of all those Countries (from whom Mandubratius had fledde to Cæsar into Gallia, for that his father Imanuentius holding the kingdome, was slaine by Cassiuellannus) sent Embassadors to Cæsar, to offer their submission, and to intreat that Mandubratius might be defended from the oppression of Cassiuellannus, and sent vnto them to take the kingdome. Cæsar, hauing receiued from them fortie pledges, & Cornes for his Armie, sent Mandubratius vnto them. The Trinobantes, being thus kept from the violence of the souldiers, the Cenimagni, Seguntiaci, Atacalites, Bibrocasi, yeelded themselves to Cæsar. By these he vnderstood, that Cassiuellannus: his towne was not farre off, fortified with woods and bogs, and well stored with men and cattell. The Brittaines call a towne, a thicke wood, inclosed about with a ditch and a rampier, made for a place of retrait, when they stood in feare of incursions from the borderers. Thither marched Cæsar with his Army, and found it well fortified, both by Arte and Nature: and as hee assaulted it in two

Cæsar.

two severall places, the enemy unable to keepe it, cast himselfe out of the towne by a backe way: and so he tooke it. Where he found great store of castell, and slew many of the Britaines.

While these things were a-doing, Cassiuellannus sent messengers into Kent, wherein there were foure severall Kings, Cingetorix, Caruilus, Taximagulus, & Segonax: them he commanded with all the power they could make, to sette upon the Campe where the Navie was kept. The Kings comming to the place, were overthrowne by a sally which the Romaines made out upon them, many of them beeing slaine, and Cingetorix taken prisoner. This battell concurring with the former losses, and especially moued therevnto with the reuolt of the forenamed Citties, Cassiuellannus intreated peace of Cæsar, by Comius of Arras. Cæsar, being determined to winter in the Continent, for feare of suddaine commotions in Gallia, and that the Summer was now farre spent, and might easilie bee lingered out, he commaunded pledges to be brought vnto him, and set down what yeerely tribute the Britaines should pay to the Romans. The hostages beeing taken, hee carried backe his Armie to the sea, imbarked his men, and arrived safe with all his shippes vpon the coast of Gallia.

OBSERVATION.



And thus ended the warre in Britanie, which affordeth little matter of discourse, being indeed but a scambeling warre, as well in regard of the Britaines themselves; who after they had felt the strength of the Romaine legions, would neuer adventure to buckle with them in any standing battell, as also in regard that there were no such townes in Britanie, as are recorded to haue beene in Gallia, which might haue giuen great honour to the war, if there had been any such to haue been besieged, and taken-in by Cæsar.

And although Tacitus saith, that Britanie was rather viewed then subdued by Cæsar, beeing desirous to draw that honour to his father in law Agricola; yet we find heere, that the Tinobantes, which were more then either the skits, or the hart of Britanie (for, our Historians doe vnderstand them to haue inhabited that part, which lieth as farre as Yorkshire & Lancashire) were brought vnder the Romaine Empire by Cæsar: who was the first that euer laid tribute vpon Britanie, in the behalfe of the people of Rome; or cast vpon them the heauie name of a subdued people.

T O

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



VT least I may seeme negligent in these occurrences of Britanie, as not deeming the alteration happening in this Iland by the power of Rome. worthy due memory: I will brieflie set downe the state thereof from this Area, during the liues of the twelue Emperours.

Iulius Cæsar's next successors, first Augustus, and then Tiberius, thought it policie to restrain the infinite desire of enlarging the Romaine Empire, and to lest this entrance into Britanie vnfolded. Caius is said to haue had a meaning to invade it, but did nothing. Claudius transported legions and aides, and first sent Aulus Plautius Gouernour, and after him Ostorius, who ouerthrew king Cradock in battell, and shewed him at Rome to Claudius, to Agrippina, and the Lords of the Senate: who affirmed the sight to be no lesse honourable, then when P. Scipio shewed Siphaces, or L. Paulus Perles. Him Didius Gallus succeeded, who beeing old and full of honour, thought it sufficient to keep that which his predecessors had gotten. Next vnto Didius came Veranius, onely memorable in dying the first yeere of his Proprætorship: but Suetonius Paulinus following, gotte a great name, first, by inuading Anglesey, strong with inhabitants, and a receptracle for fugitiues; Secondly, by ouerthrowing Boadicea, Queene of the Icenii, in a battell comparable to the victories of old times: wherein fourescore thousand Britaines were slaine, with the losse of foure hundred Romaine souldiers; but beeing thought to be ouer-seuere, he left his charge to Petronius Turpilianus: who, composing former troubles with a milder cariage, was succeeded by Trebellius Maximus; whose easie course of gouernment, taught the Britaines good manners, and made the souldiers first wanton with ease, and then mutinous: which by his gentle intreatie beeing ended without blood-shed, hee left his place to Vectius Bolanus, of like loosenesse of discipline, but in stead of obedience, got much good will. The errors of these three soft Proprætors, were holpen by Petilius Carcalis, a great Commander, and worthy his place; he subdued the Brigantes, and left the place to Iulius Frontinus, who with no lesse happinesse vanquished the Silures. The last was Agricola, fortunate in duers batrels against the Britaines, and as vnhappy in his reward; for, Domitian maligning his honour, first discharged him of his place, and then, as it is thought, poysoned him. And this was the state of Britanie vnder the twelue Emperours.

Tacit. 12.
Annal.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Cæsar disposeth his legions into their
wintering Campes.

Cæsar.
* Euther Cæ-
bray, Amiens
or S. Quintin



After he had put his ships in harbour, and held a counsell of the Gallies at * Samarobrina; forasmuch as that yeere, by reason of the drought, there was some scarcitie of Corne in Gallia; he was constrained to Garrison his Armie, and to disperse the into more Citties then he had done the yeeres before. And first, he gaue one legion to Caius Fabius, to be carried to the Neruij; another to L. Roscius, to be conducted to the Essui; a fourth he commaunded to winter amongst the men of Rhemes, in the marches of the Treviri vnder T. Labienus; three he placed in Belgia: with whom hee sent Mar. Cæsar his Quæstor, L. Vinatius Plannus; and C. Trebonius, Legates; hee sent one legion, that which he had last inrolled, beyond the river Po in Italy, with fine cohorts, vnto the Eburones; the greatest part of whose Country, lyeth between the Maize and the Rheine: With them hee sent Q. Titurius Sabinus, & Lucius Arunculeus Cotta. By distributing his legions in this manner, he thought to remedie the scarcitie of Corne; and yet the garrisons of all these legions, excepting that which Roscius carried into a quiet and peaceable part, were contained within the space of one hundred mile: and vntill his legions were settled, and their wintering Campes fortified, he determined to abide in Gallia.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



Have heard it oftentimes contradicted by some, that vnderstand not the weight of a multitude, when it was said, that An Armie keeping head continually in one part of a kingdome, was more burthen some to the common-wealth in regard of the expence of victualles, then when it was dispersed into particular Citties & Families, before the time of the muster and inolement: for, say they, in the generall account of the publike weale, it differeth nothing, whether a multitude of 30000. men be maintained with necessary provisions in one intire bodie together, or dispersed particularly throughout euery part of the countrey: forasmuch as euery man hath but a condition of life fouer hee be ranged: neither doth the charge of a multitude grow, in regard they are vnited together, but in regard they amount to such a multitude wherefoeuer. But such as looke into the difference with iudgement, shall find a marvellous inequality, both in regard of the portion of victualles which is spent, and the means whereby it is provided: for, first we must vnder-

stand,

stand, that an Army lying continually in one place, falleth so heauie vpon that part, that it quickly consumeth both the fatte and the flesh (as they say) & leaue nothing vnspent, which that part can afford them; and without further supply of provisions, woulde in a small time come to utter destruction. This want then must be relieved by taking from the plentie of other bordering quarters, to furnish the wants of so great a multitude: wherein there cannot be observed that proportion of moderate taking, to vitualle the Armie with a sufficient competence, but the partiall respect which the purueiers, and vittallers will haue to their priuat comoditie, will quickly make an inconvenience either in the country, from whence it is taken; or in the Armie, for which it is provided; according as the error may best aduantage their particular, what discipline foeuer be established in that behalfe: Whereas on the contrary part, when euery particular man of that multitude shall be billeted in a feuerall family, thorough all parts of the kingdom, the charge will be so insensible, in regard of the expence of the said families, that the countrey will neuer feele any inconvenience. And if euery housholder that had receiued into his house one of the said Army, should giue a true account of that which riseth about his ordinary expence; by the addition of one man, it would fall far short of that treasure, which is necessarily required, to maintaine the saide number of men vnited together into one bodie.

Neither doth the difference consist in the quantity of vittalles, which euery man hath for his portion, whether they be dispersed or vnited; but in the manner of provision, and the means which is vied to maintaine them: wherein euery master or steward of a family, endeouureth to make his provision at the best hand, & so to husband it, that it may serue for competence, and not for superfluities; and by that means, the generall plenty of the country is maintained, & the common-wealth flourisheth by well directed moderation. But in the victualling of an Army, there is no such respect had, which may any way aduantage the publike good; for, there the gaine of the purueier riseth by expence and superfluous wasting, rather then by thrift and saving frugality: and so the common-wealth is weakened by the ill husbanding of that great portion of vittalles, which is allowed for to great a multitude. And if they should haue such variety of viands in an Armie, as they haue when they are in feuerall families, it were impossible it should continue any time together. And therefore the Romans, notwithstanding the exactness of their discipline, could afford their Armies no other provision but corne, and larde, as well in regard of the commodity which that kinde of diet afforded them in the course of their warres, as also for the good of that country, wherein they were resident. And if it so fel out, that the extremity of the season, or any other cause, had brought a death into the land, there was no readier way to help that inconvenience, then by dispersing their Armies into diuers quarters; which Cæsar disposed with that care, that they might be as neere together as they could.

R

THE

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

C Concerning the choice of their souldiers and their maner of inrolment, I had rather referre the Reader to Polybius, then enter into the particular discourse of that action; which was carried with such grauitie and religious ceremonies, as might best serue to possesse their minds of the waight and consequence of that businesse: but forasmuch as the largenesse of their Empire, and the necessitie of their occasions would not admit, that the enrolement should still be made at Rome amongst the citizens, as it appeareth by this legion which was inrolled beyond the riuer Po; it consequently followeth, that such Ceremonies, which were annexed to the place, were altogether omitted: and therefore I cannot speake of that which the old Romanes did in that part of their discipline, as a thing continued vnto Cæsars time. But he hath desired to see the maner of their choise, with such complements as might adde both a reuerent respect, and a Maiestie to the work; let him read Polybius of that argument.

CHAP. IX.

Ambiorix attempteth to surprise the Campe of Sabinus and Cotta; and failing, practiseth to take them by guile.

Cæsar.

Fifteene daies after the legions were settled in their wintering Camps, there began a sudden tumult and rebellion by the means of Ambiorix, and Catiuaculus, who hauing receiued Sabinus and Cotta into their confines, & brought them in corne to the place, where they lay; at the inducement of Indutiomarus of Triers, they stir'd up their people to rebellion: & suddenly surprising those that were gon abroad to get wood, came with a great power to assault the Camp. But when our men had tooke Arms, and were got up vpon the rampier, and had ouermatched them in a skirmish of horse, which made a sally out of the Camp vpon the Gallies; Ambiorix despairing of good success, withdrew his men from the assault; & then after their maner, they cried vnto vs, that some of our company should come & speak with them: for, they had somewhat to discouer touching the publike state, whereby they hoped all controuersies might be ended. Whereupon Caius Carpinetus a Roman horseman, and one of Titurius his familiar friends, and one Iunius a Spaniard, who diuers

diuers times before had bene sent by Cæsar to Ambiorix; were sent out to treat with them. Ambiorix first acknowledged himselfe much indebted to Cæsar; for, manie curtesies, in that by his means he was freed from a pension which he paid to the Aduatici; and for that both his own son, and his brothers sonne, whom the Aduatici had helde in prison vnder the name of hostages, were by Cæsar released and sent home againe. And touching the assault of the Camp, he had done nothing of himselfe, but by the impulsion of the State, among whom such was his condition, that the people had as great authority ouer him, as he himselfe had in regard of the people: who were likewise inforced to this warre, because they could not withstand the sudden insurrection of the Gallies, whereof his small means might bee a sufficient argument. For, his experience was not so little, to thinke himselfe able with so small a power to ouerthrow the people of Rome; but it was a general appointment throughout all Gallia, vpon this day to assault all Cæsars garrisons, to the end that one legion might not giue reliefe vnto another: Gallies could not easilie denie the request of Gallies, especially when it concerned their publike libertie. Now hauing satisfied that dutie which he owed to his countrey, hee had respect to Cæsar and his benefites; in regard whereof, he admonished them, and praised Titurius for the hospitality that had been betweene them, that hee would looke to the safetie of himselfe, and his souldiers. There were a great number of Germanes that had alreadye passed the Rhene, and would be heere within 2. dayes: and therefore let them aduise themselves, whether they thought it good before the next borderers perceiued it, to depart with their souldiers out of their wintering places, either to Cicero or Labienus, of whom the one was not past fifty mile off; and the other a little further: for his owne part, he promised them this much, and confirmed it by oath, that they should haue safe passage through his territories; for so hee should both doe a pleasure to his countrey, in disburdening it of garrisons, and shew himselfe thankfull to Cæsar for his benefits. This speech being ended, Ambiorix departed, and Carpinetus and Iunius made report thereof to the Legats.

OBSERVATION.

Elander his counsell, to vse the foxes skinne where the Lions faileth, doth shewe, that the discourse of our reason is sooner corrupted with error, then the powers of our bodie are ouercome with force. For, oftentimes the mind is so disquieted, with the extremitie of perturbation, that neither the apprehension can take found instructions, nor the iudgement determine of that which is most for our good: but according as any passion shall happen to raigne in our disposition; so are we carried headlong to the ruine of our fortune, without sense of error, or mistrust of well-succeeding; where as the body continueth firme in his owne strength, and is subiect onely to a greater waight of power, by which it may be subdued and ouerthrowen. It behooueth vs therefore to take good heede, that our surest hold: bee not vnfastned by the subtiltie of the Foxe, when it

hath continued firme against the force of the lion : and that the treacherie of the spirit doe not disadvantage those meanes, which either our owne power or opportunitie hath gained in our actions. Wherein a Commander cannot have a better rule for his direction, then to beware, that violence of passion do not hinder the course of sound deliberation : and withall, to be jealous of whatsoever an Enemy shall, eyther by speech or action, seeme to thrust vpon him, how colourable soever the reasons may be, which are alleadged to induce him thereunto. For first, if the minde be not confirmed by the vertue of her better faculties, to resist the motion of fruitlesse apprehensions, it may easily be seduced (eyther by feare or vaine imagination, diffident conceptions or over-easie credulitie, with manie other such disturbing powers) from that waie, which a good discretion, and an vnderstanding free from passion, would have taken.

First therefore I holde it necessarie, to haue the consiliorie of our iudgement well settled, with a firme resolution, and with the presence of the mind, before we enter into deliberation of such things, as are made happy vnto vs by good direction. And then this, amongst other circumstances, will giue some help to a good conclusion; when we consider how improbable it is, that an Enemy, whose chiefest care is to weaken his aduersarie, and bring him to ruine, should aduise him of anie thing that may concern his good; vnlesse the profit, which he himselfe shall thereby gather, do farre exceed that which the contrarie part may expect.

I grant that in Ciuill wars, where there are many friends on either partie, & haue the aduise cause as deare vnto them as their owne; there are oftentimes manie aduise-ments giuen, which proceed from a true and sincere affection, & may aduantage the partie whom it concerneth, as wel in preventing any danger, as in the furtherance of their cause; and therefore are not altogether to be neglected, but to be weighed by circumstances, & accordingly to be respected; whereof we haue manie pregnant examples in the ciuill warres of France, and particularly in *Monsieur La Nou* his discourses : but where there are two Armies, different in nation, language and humour, contending for that which peculiarly belongeth vnto one of them; where care to keep that which is dearest vnto them, possi- slesh the one, and hope of gaine stirreth vp the other; there is commonly such an vniuersall hatred between them, that they are to looke for

small aduantage by aduertisements from the Enemy: which if the Romans had well considered, this subtle Gall had not dispossessed them of their strength, nor brought them to ruine.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

The Romans call a counsell vpon this aduertisement, and resolve to depart, and ioine themselues to some other of the Legions.



The Romans being troubled at the sodainnesse of the matter, albeit those things were spokē by an Enemy, yet they thought the no way to be neglected; but especially it moued them, for that it was incredible that the Eburones, being base and of no reputation, durst of themselues make war against the people of Rome: and therefore they propounded the matter in a

councell, wherein there grew a great controuersie among them: L. Aruncleius & most of the Tribunes, and Centurions of the first orders, thought it not good to conclude of any thing rashly; nor to depart out of their wintering Camps, without expresse commandment from Cæsar; forasmuch as they were able to resist neuer so great a power yea euen of the Germans, hauing their garizons well fortified: an argument wherof was, that they had valiantly withstood the first assault of the Enemy, & giuen them many wounds. Neither wanted they any victuals; & before that provision which they had was spent, there would come succor from other garizons & from Cæsar. And to conclude, what was more dishonorable or sauoured of greater inconstancie, then to consult of their weightiest affairs, by the aduertisement of an Enemy? Titurius urged vehemently to the contrarie, that it then would be too late for them to seeke a remedie, when a greater power of the Enemy, accompanied with the Germans, were assembled against them; or when anie blowe were giuen to any of the next wintering Campes: he took Cæsar to be gone into Italy; for, otherwise the Eburones, would not haue come so proudly to the Campe. Let them not respect the antheur, but the thing it selfe; the Rhēne was not farre off, and hee knewe well that the overthrowe of Ariouistus, and their former victories, were greuous to the Germanes. The Gallies were vexed with the contumelies they had receiued, being brought in subiection to the Roman Empire, and hauing lost their former reputation in deeds of Arms. And to conclude, who would imagine that Ambiorix should enterprise such a matter, without any ground, or certainty thereof? but howsoeuer things stood, his counsel was sure, and could bring no harm: for, if there were no worse thing intended, they should but goe safely to the next garizons; or otherwise, if the Gallies conspired with the Germans, their onely safetie consisted in celeritie. As for the counsell of Cotta, and such as were of the contrary opinion, what expectation could he had thereof? wherein if there were not present danger, yet assuredly famine was to be feared by long siege. The disputation being thus continued on either part, and Cotta with the Centurions of the first orders, earnestly repugning it; Doe as please you, since you will needes haue it so, sayth Sabinus; and that he spake with a loud voice, that a great part of the souldiers might well hear him: for, I am not hee that most feareth death among you; let

Cæsar.

let theſe be wiſe: and if any miſchance happen vnto them, they ſhall aſke account thereof at thy hands, inas much as if thou wouldeſt let them, they might ioinethemſelues within 2. dayes to the next gnarizons, & with them ſuſtaine what chance ſoouer their common deſinie ſhould allot them; and not periſh with famine and ſword, like a people caſt off and abandoned from their fellows. After theſe words, they began to riſe out of the Councel; but holde was laide vpon them both; entreaty was made that they would not obſtinately bring all vnto a deſperate hazard; the matter was all one whether they went or ſtaied, ſo that they all agreed vpon one thing; whereas in diſagreeing, there was no likelihood of well doing: the diſputation was prolonged vntill midnight; at length Cotta yeelded, and the ſentence of Sabinus tooke place. And thereupon it was proclaimed, that they ſhould ſet forth by the break of day: the reſt of the night was ſpent in watching: euery ſouldier ſought out what he had to carry with him, and what hee ſhould be conſtrained to leaue behind him of ſuch neceſſaries, as he had prepared for winter: all things were diſpoſed in ſuch ſort, to make the ſouldiers believe, that they could not ſtay without danger.

OBSERVATION.

BY the reſolution in this diſputation, it appeareth how little a graue and wiſe deliberation auaileth, when it is impugned with the violence of paſſion, according to the truth of my former obſervation; for, the matter was well reaſoned by Cotta, and his poſitions were grounded vpon things certaine, and wel known to the whole Councel: and yet the feare of Sabinus was ſuch, that it carried the conſclusion by ſuch ſuppoſed aſſertions as the qualitie of his paſſion had ratified for true principles; being grounded altogether vpon that which the Enemy had ſuggeſted, and not vpon any certaine knowledge of the truth: neither is it often ſeene, when a Councell diſputeth vpon matters of ſuch conſequence, that their deliberations are altogether cleere from ſuch troubleſome motions, but that it will ſomewhat incline to the partialitie of a ſtrong affection; ſo powerfull is paſſion in the government of the ſoule, and ſo intereſted in the other faculties. And this is one cauſe of the vncertainty of mans iudgement, from whence all contrarie and different opinions do ariſe. Neither is this ſo ſtrange a matter, that a counceill of warre ſhould ſo much varie in caſe of deliberation, when-as manie eſpeciall points of militarie diſcipline remaine yet vndeſcided; hauing the authoritie of the great Commanders of all ages, to ratifie the truth on either part; whereof I could alledge many examples. But concerning the iſſue and cunct of our deliberations, what can be more truly ſaid then that of the Poet?

*Et malè conſultis pretium eſt prudentia fallax;
Nec fortuna probat cauſas; ſequiturque merentes;
Sed vaga per cunctos nullo diſcrimine fertur:
ſcilicet eſt aliud quod nos cogatque regatque
Maius, & in proprias ducat mortalia leges.*

Not-

Notwithſtanding, forasmuch as our wiſdom is not ſo ſubiect to fortune, but that it may comprehend within it ſelfe, the good direction of moſt of the occurrences, which fall within the courſe of our buſineſſe; or if we muſt needs miſcarrie, yet it ſomewhat helpeth our ill fortune to thinke, that we went vpon beſt probabilities; it ſhall not be amiſſe to ſet downe ſome rules for the better directing of a mature conſultation. Wherein we are to vnderſtand, that as all our knowledge ariſeth from ſome of our ſenſes, and our ſenſes comprehend only particularities, which being caried vnto the apprehenſion, are diſpoſed into formes and degrees, according as they either concur or diſagree in their ſeueral properties: from whence there ariſe intellectionall notions, and rules of Art; wherein the ſcience of the ſaid particulars conſiſteth: ſo he that intendeth to debate a matter, with found deliberation, muſt deſcend from conſuſed conceptions & a knowledge in general, to the exact diſtinction of particular parts, which are the occurrences to be directed, and the materiall ſubſtance of euery action: he therefore that can giue beſt direction, either by experience, or iudicious diſcourſe, concerning ſuch particularities as are incident to the matter propounded, can beſt aduiſe which is the ſafeſt way to avoid the oppoſition of contradictory natures. But to make this ſomewhat plainer, I wil alledge 2. examples: the one moderne in caſe of conſultation; the other ancient, and may ſeeme not ſo pertinent to this matter, in regard it is a meere Apologie: yet forasmuch as it freely cenſureth the quality of particular circumſtances, it may giue great light to that which we ſeek after.

The moderne example is taken out of Guicherdin, from the warres which Lewis the French King had with the Pope and the Venetians, concerning the State of Ferrara & the Duchie of Millan: wherein there aroſe a controuerſie among the French Capraines, whether it were better to go directly to ſeek the Enemy, who albeit were lodged in a ſtrong & ſecure place, yet there was hope, that with the vertue of Armes and impertunity of arillerie, they might be diſlodged, and driuen to a retreat: or otherwiſe, to take the waie either of Modena or Bologna, that ſo the Enemy for feare of loſing either of thoſe townes, might quit their holde, and by that meanes Ferrara ſhould be freed from the warre. Monsieur Chaumont the Generall of the French, inclined to the former aduiſe: But Triumice, a man of great authoritie and experience, hauing bene an executioner in 18. batailles, reaſoned thus in particulars to the contrary. We debate (ſaith he) to go ſeek the Enemy to fight with him; and I haue alwaies heard great Capitaines holde this as a firme principle; Not to attempt the fortune of a battell, vneleſſe there be either an offer of an eſpeciall aduantage, or otherwiſe, compulſion by neceſſitie. The rules of warre giue it to the Enemy that is the inuader, and hath vnder taken the conqueſt of Ferrara, To ſeek to aſſaile and charge vs; but to vs, to whom it is ſufficient to defende our ſelues, it cannot bee but impertinent to vnder take an action, contrary to all direction and diſcipline of war. I am of opinion, which is confirmed by euident reaſon, that there is no poſſibilitie to execute that deuiliſh, but to our harmes & diſaduantage: for, we cannot go to their Camp but by the ſide of a hill, a ſtreight and narrow way, where all our forces cannot bee employed; and yet they with

small numbers wil make resistance, hauing the opportunitie of the place fauourable to their vertues : we must march by the rising of a hill, one horse after another; neither haue we any other way to draw our Artillery, our baggage, our carts and bridges, but by the streight of the hill : and who doubteth not but in a way so narrow and combrous, euery artillerie, euery cart, or euery wheel that shall breake, will not stay the Army a whole houre at the least? By which impediments euery contrary accident may put vs to disorder. The Enemy is lodged in couert, prouided of victuals and forrage; and we must incampe all bare and naked, not carying with vs that which should serue for our necessarie nouriture; but expect the things to come after, which in reason ought to goe with vs. To attempt new enterprises, whereof the victory is lesse certaine then the perill, is contrary to the grauity and reputation of a Leader; and in actions of the war, those enterprises are put to aduenture, that are done by will & not by reason. Many difficulties may compell vs to make our abode there, two or three dayes; yea, the snowes & rains ioined with the extremitie of the season, may suffice to detain vs: how shall we then do for victuals & forrages? What shall we be able to do in the wars, wanting the things that should giue vs strength & sustenance? what is he that considereth not, how dangerous it is to go seek the Enemy in a strong Camp, & to be driuen at one time to fight against them & against the discommodity of the place? If we compell them not to abandon their Campe, wee cannot but be enforced to retire; a matter of great difficultie in a countrey so wholly against vs, and where euery little disfauour will turn to our great disadvantage, &c.

And thus proceeded that graue discourse, in the discouerie of the particular occurrences, incident to that enterprise; which being laied open to their confused iudgements, did manifestly point at the great disadvantages, which were to be vndergone, by that attempt.

Annal. 6.

The other example is of more antiquitie, taken out of Tacitus, and concerneth the arraignment of certaine Senatours, for the friendship that had past between Seianus and them. Amongst whom M. Terentius thus answered for himselfe; according as it hath of late been published by translation:

It would bee peraduenture lesse behouefull for my estate to acknowledge, then to denie the crime I am charged with: but hap what happe may, I will confesse that I haue been Seianus friend, and that I desired so to be, and that after I had obtained his friendship I was glad of it. I had seen him ioint officer with my father, in the gouernment of the pretorian cohort; and not long after, in managing the Citie affaires, and matters of warre: his kinsmen and allies were aduanced to honour: as euerie man was inward with Seianus, so he was graced by Cæsar: and contrariwise, such as were not in his fauour, liued in leare, and distressed with pouertie. Neither doe I alleadge any man for an example of this; all of vs who were not priue to his last attempts, with the danger of my only estate I will defend: not Seianus the Vulsinienfis, but a part of the Claudian and Iulian family, which by alliance he had entred into; thy sonne in law Cæsar, thy companion in the Consulship, and him who took vpon him thy charge of administering the Common-wealth, wee did reuerence and

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and honour. It is not our part to iudge of him, whom thou doest exalt above the rest, nor for what considerations: to thee the highest iudgement of things the gods haue giuen; and to vs the glory of obedience is left. Wee looke into those things which wee see before our eyes, whom thou doest enrich, whom thou doest aduance to honours, who haue greatest power of hurting or helping: which Seianus to haue had, no man will denie. The Princes hidden thoughts, or if he go about anie lecret drift it is not lawfull to sound, and dangerous; neither shalt thou in the ende reach vnto them. I thinke not onely, Lords of the Senate, of Seianus last daie; but of sixteen years, in which we did likewise fawne vpon and court Satrius, and Pomponius; and to be known vnto his freed men and partners, was reckned for a high fauour. What then? shall this defence be generall, and not distinguished, but a confusion made of times past, and his later actions? No: but let it by iust boundes and rearmes be diuided: let the treasons against the Common-wealth, the intentions of murdering the Emperour bee punished; but as for the friendships, duties, pleasures and good turnes, the same end shall discharge and quit thee, O Caesar, and vs.

The constancie of this Oration preuailed so much, that his Accusers were punished with exile. And thus wee see how particularities decide the controuersie, and make the waie plaine to good direction.

CHAP. XI.

The Romaines take their iourney towardes
the next legion; and are set vpon by
the GALLES.



As soone as the day light appeared, they set forth of their Camp (like men perswaded that the counsell had been giuen them not by an Enemy, but by Ambiorix an especial friend) with a long tailed march, and as much baggage as they were able to carrie. The Gales vnderstanding of their iourney, by their noise and watching in the night; secretly in the woodes some two miles off layed an Ambuscado, in two seuerall places of aduantage, and there attended the comming of the Romans; and when the greatest part of the troupes were entred into a valley, sodainely they shewed themselves on both sides the vale, pressing hard vpon the reuerward. and binding the foremost from going vp the hill, and so began to charge vpon the Romans in a place of as great disadvantage for them as could bee. Then at length Titurius, as one that had provided for nothing before hand, began to tremble, ranne vp and downe, on a disposed his cohorts, but so fearful-

Caesar.

fearefully and after such a fashion, as if all things had gone against him, as it happeneth for the most part to such, as are forced to consult in the instant of execution.

OBSERVATION.

Now plainly appeareth, by this negligent and ill ordered march, and the vnlooked for encounter which the Galles gaue them, that feare had ratified in the iudgement of Sabinus the smooth suggestio of Ambiorix, with an approbation of a certaine truth; and layed that for a principle, which a discourse free from passion would haue discerned to be but weake, and of no probabilitie: which so much the more amazed Titurius, by how much his apprehension had erred from the truth, and betraied good counsell to a course full of danger; which as Cæsar noteth, must needs fall vpon such, as are then to seeke for direction when the businesse requireth execution. I haue handled already the inconueniences of disappointment; and therefore at this time will but bring it only into remembrance, that wee may take the greater care to prevent an accident of that nature: wherein, as the best remedie for an euill is to foresee it, according to the saying, *Præuisa pereunt mala*; so the greatest mischief in an euill, is when it commeth vnthought of, and besides our expectation; for, then it falleth vpon vs with a supernaturall waight, and affrighteth the mind with a superstitious astonishment, as though the diuine powers had prevented our designements, with an irremediable calamitie, and cut off our appointment with a contrarie decree: although peraduenture the thing it selfe carrie no such importance, but might be remedied, if we were but prepared with an opinion, that such a thing might happen.

It were no ill counsell therefore, what resolution soeuer bee taken, to make as full account of that which may fall out to crosse our intentions; as that which is likely to happen from the direction of our chiefest proiects; and so we shall be sure to haue a present minde in the midst of our occasions, and feele no further danger, then that which the nature of the thing inforceth.

CHAP.

CAP. XII.

The Romans cast themselves into an Orbe; and are much discouraged.



BVs Cotta, who had before thought that these things might happen by the waie, and for that cause would not bee the author of the iourney, was not wanting in anything that concerned their common safetie: for, both in calling vpon the souldiers and encouraging them, hee executed the place of a Commander; and in fighting, the dutie of a soldier. And when they found, that by reason of the length of their troupe, they were not able in their owne persons to see all things done, and to giue direction in euery place, they caused it to be proclaimed, that they should all forsake their baggage, and cast themselves into an Orbe: which direction, although in such a case be not to be reproved; yet it fell out ill fauorably: for, it both abated the courage of the Romans, and gaue the Enemy greater incouragement, inasmuch as it seemed that that course was not taken, but vpon a great feare and in extremity of perill. Moreover, it hapned, as it could not otherwise choose, that the soldiers went from their Ensignes, to take from the carriages such things as were most deare vnto them: and there was nothing heard amongst them, but clamours and weepings. But the Barbarous Galles were not to learne how to carrie themselves: for, their Commanders caused it to be proclaimed, that no man should stir out of his place; for the price was theirs, and all that the Romans had laide aparte, was reserved for them: and therefore let them suppose that all things consisted in the victory. The Romans were equall to the Galles, both in number of men and valour; and albeit they were destitute of good Captaines, and of good fortune, yet they reposed in their manhood all the hope of their safety: and as often as any cohort issued out, they failed not to make a great slaughter of the Enemy on that part.

Cæsar.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



Hauing already handled the nature of an Orbe, with such properties as are incident to a circle; wherein I shewed the conueniencie of this figure, in regarde of safe and strong imbattailing: I will now adde thus much concerning the vice thereof, that as it is the best manner of imbattailing for a defensive strength, and therefore neuer vied but in extremity; so we must be very careful, that the sodaine beaking of our selues to such a refuge, do not more dimaie the souldiers, then the aduantage of that imbattailing canne benefit them

them. For, vnlesse a Leader be carefull to keepe his men in courage, that their hearts may bee free from despaire and amazement, what profit can there arise from any disposition or body focuer, when the particular members shall bee senselesse of that duty, which belongeth vnto them? For, order is nothing but an assistance to courage, giuing means to manage our valour with aduantage. In the warre of Affricke we reade, that Cæsar's legions being incircled about with great multitudes of enemies, were forced to make an Orb; but he quickly turned it to a better vse, by aduancing the two Corners two contrary waies; and so diuided the Enemy into two parts; and then beate them backe, to their great disaduantage.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Lib. 20.

THeede not stand vpon this order which the Galles heere took, concerning pillage, that no souldier should forsake his station, or disfrank himself in hope of spoile; which is a thing that from the very infancy of warres hath often changed the fortune of the day, and solde the honour of a publike victory, for priuate lucre and petty pilfering. Amongst other examples, let that which Guichardine reporteth of the battell of Tarò, suffice to warne a well directed Armie, as well by the good which Charles the eighth of that name, King of France, receiued at that time, as by the losse which the Italians felt by that disorder, not to seek after pillage vntill the victory be obtained.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

THe insufficiency of these Commanders, whereof Cæsar now complaineth as the onely want, which these Romans had to cleere themselves of this danger; bringeth to our consideration that which former times haue made a question: which is, whether it were the vertue of the Roman Leaders, or the valour of their souldiers, that enlarged their Empire to that greameffe, and made their people and Senate, Lords of the world? Polybius waighing the causes of a victory, which the Carthaginians gained of the Romans, by the counsell and good direction of one Zantippus a Grecian, hauing before that time receiued diuers ouerthrowes, during the time of those warres in Affricke; concluded, that it was more in the worthinesse of the Commanders, then in any extraordinary vertue of the souldiers, that the Romans atchieued so many conquests. And besides the present example of Zantippus, he confirmed his opinion with the proceedings of Hannibal; who from the beginning of the second Punicke warre, stil gained of the Roman Empire, enlarging the territories of Carthage, and streightening the iurisdiction of mightie Rome, vntill it had got a Leader matchable to that subtle Carthaginian, and found a Scipio to confront their Hannibal. To this may be added that famous

famous battell betweene the olde Romans, and the last Latines; wherein both parties were equally ballanced, both in number and qualitie of their souldiers, hauing both the same Armes, the same vse of their weapons, and the same discipline, as if it had been in a Ciuill warre. Neither could Fortune tell by the presence of their Armies, where to bestow her fauour, or where to shew her disdain; but that the worthinesse of the Roman Leaders, brought the oddes in the triall, and made Rome great with the ruine of the Latines. Whereby it appeareth, how much it importeth the whole fortune of the Armie, to haue a Leader worthy of the place which he holdeth: forasmuch as nothing doth make a greater difference of inequality betweene two equall Armies, then the wisdom and experience of a graue Commaunder, or the disability of an vnskillfull Leader; which are so powerfull in their seuerall effects, that there is greater hope of a heard of Harts ledde by a Lion, then of so many Lions conducted by a Hare.

CHAP. XIII.

*Ambiorix directeth the Galles how they might
best fight with aduantage, and frustrate
the weapons of the Romaine
souldiers.*



THE which thing when Ambiorix perceived; he commaunded his men to throwe their casting weapons as far off, and keepe themselves from coming neere at hand, and where the Romans charged them, to giue way: & againe, as they saw them retire to their Ensignes, then to pursue them. Which commaundement was so diligently obserued by the Galles, that as oft as any cohort sallied out of the Orbe to giue an assault, the Enemy gaue backe as fast as they could; and in the meane time there was no helpe, but that part must be left naked and open to the inconuenience of casting weapons: and againe, as they retired to their place, they were circumvented, as well by them that had giuen place vnto them, as by such as stood next about them. And if they went about to keepe their ground, they could neither helpe themselves by their manhood; nor standing thicke together, auoide the darts that such a multitude cast vpon them: and yet notwithstanding these inconueniences, besides the wounds which they had receiued, they stood still at their defence, & hauing so spent the greatest part of the day (for they had fought eight houres together) they committed nothing dishonourable, or unworthy of themselves.

Cæsar.

S.

THE

THE OBSERVATION.

Have spoken already of the manner of the Roman fight, consisting altogether in good disposition of imbatrailing, and in firme standing, and buckling at handy-blows: as may appeare by this circumstance, where Ambiorix forbiddeth his men to buckle with them, but to giue backe & follow on againe, as the lightnesse of their Armes gaue them opportunitie. In like manner, in the first booke of the Ciuill wars, in the battell betwene Cæsar and Afranius, it appeareth, that Cæsar his souldiers were bound to keepe their array, not to leaue their Ensignes, nor without a waig' tie occasion to forsake their stations appointed them: whereas the Afranians fought thin, and scattered heere and there; and if they were hard laid vnto, they thought it no dishonour to retire and giue backe, as they had learned of the Portugals, and other Barbarous Nations.

CHAP. XIII.

The Romans are ouerthrowne.

Cæsar.

Then T. Baluentius, who the yeere before had bene Primi-pile of that legion, a valiant man, and of great authoritie, had both his thighes darted through with a Iavelin; and Q. Lucanius, of the same order, valiantly fighting to succour his sonne, was slaine: ana L. Cotta the Legate, as hee busily encouraged all the Cohorts & Centuries, was wounded in the mouth with a sling. Titurius mooued with these things, as he beheld Ambiorix as farre off encouraging his men, sent C. Pompeius vnto him, to intreat him that he would spare him and his souldiers. Ambiorix answered, that if he were desirous to treat, hee might: for, hee hoped to obtaine so much of the people, to save the souldiers; but for himselfe, he should haue no harme at all: for the assurance whereof, he gaue him his faith. Titurius imparted the matter to Cotta, who absolutely denied to goe to an armed enemy, and continued resolute in that opinion. Titurius commanded such Tribunes & Centuries that were present, to follow him; and when hee came neere to Ambiorix, being commaunded to cast away his Armes, he obeyed, and willed those that were with him, to doe the same. In the meane time, while they treated of the conditions, and Ambiorix began a solemn protestation of purpose, Titurius was by little & little compassed about and slaine. Then, according to their custome, they cried victory; and taking up a howling, charged the Romaines with a fresh assault, and routed their troupes. There L. Cotta fighting valiantly, was slaine, with the most part of the souldiers with him. The remnant retired into their Campe, amongst whom L. Petrosidius the Eagle-bearer, when hee sawe himselfe ouercharged with enemies, threw the Eagle within the Rampier, and fighting with

with a great courage, before the Campe, was slaine. The rest, with much adoe endured the assault vntill night, and in the night, being in despaire of all succour, slew themselves every man: a few, that escaped from the battell, came by unknowne waies through the woods, to Labienus, and certified him how all things had fallen out.

OBSERVATION.



And thus haue we heard of the greatest losse, that euer fell at any one time vpon Cæsar his Armie, from the time that he was first Proconsull in Gallia, vnto the end of his Dictatorship. For in the two ouerthrowes at Dirachium, he lost not about 1000 men, and in that at Gergouia, not so many: but heere, fiftene cohorts were cut in peeces, which amounted to the number of 7000 men, or thereabout. Which maketh cowardice, and ill direction the more hatefull, in regard that the great victorie, which his valour obtained in Pharalia, cost him but the liues of two hundred men.

The resolution of such as returned to the Campe, witnesseth the exceeding valour of the Roman souldier, if a valiant Leader had had the managing thereof; or if Cotta alone had been absolute Commaunder, there had bene great hope of better fortune in the successe. But heere it happened as it commonlie doth, that where there are many that are equall sharers in the chiefe authoritie; the direction, for the most part followeth him that is more violent in opinion then the rest: which being a propertie rather of passion then of iudicious discourse, forceth a consent against the temperate opposition of a true discerning vnderstanding; and so consequently it falleth out, that one coward, hauing place and authoritie in the Councell, doth either infect or annihilate the sound deliberations of the rest of the Leaders: for, his timorousnesse sleeth alwaies to extreamities, making him rash in consultation, peremptorie in opinion, & base in case of perill; all which are enemies to good direction, and the onely instruments of mischeuing fortune.

CHAP. XV.

Ambiorix hasteth to besiege Cicero, and stirreth vp the Aduatici, the Neruij, and so raileth a great power.



Ambiorix tooke such spirits vnto him vpon this victory, that with his horsemen he went immediately vnto the Aduatici, being the next borderers vpon his kingdome, without intermission of night, commaunding his footmen to follow him. The Aduatici being stirred vp to Commotion, the next day after hee came to

the Neruij, exhorting them not to let slippe this occasion of taking to themselves perpetuall libertie, and renenging them of the Romaines for the wrong they had received. He told them that two Legates were already slaine, and a great part of the Armie ouerthrowne: it was now no great matter, suddenly to surprise the legion that wintered with Cicero; to the performance whereof, hee offered himselfe to be their assistant. These remonstrances easily perswaded the Neruij, and therefore they dispatched speedy messengers to the Centrones, Grudj, & other people under their dominion, and raised very great forces; and with them they hastened to the Campe where Cicero wintered, before any inkling of the death of Titurius was brought unto him.

OBSERVATION.

THe ambitious and working spirit of Ambiorix, that could attempt to raise the baseness of a small and ignoble State, to so high a point of resolution, that they durst adventure vpon the Romaine Legions, being settled in the strength of their Empire, by the memorie of so many victories in Gallia; wanted now no means to make an ouerture to a vniuersall commotion, propounding libertie & reuenge to the Gales (two the sweetest conditions that can happen to a subdued people) if they would but stretch out their hands to take it, and follow that course which his example had proued sure and easie. Which may serue to shew, that hee that will attempt vpon doubtfull and vn safe Principles, will take great aduantage from a probable entrance, and make a small beginning a sufficient means for his greatest designs.

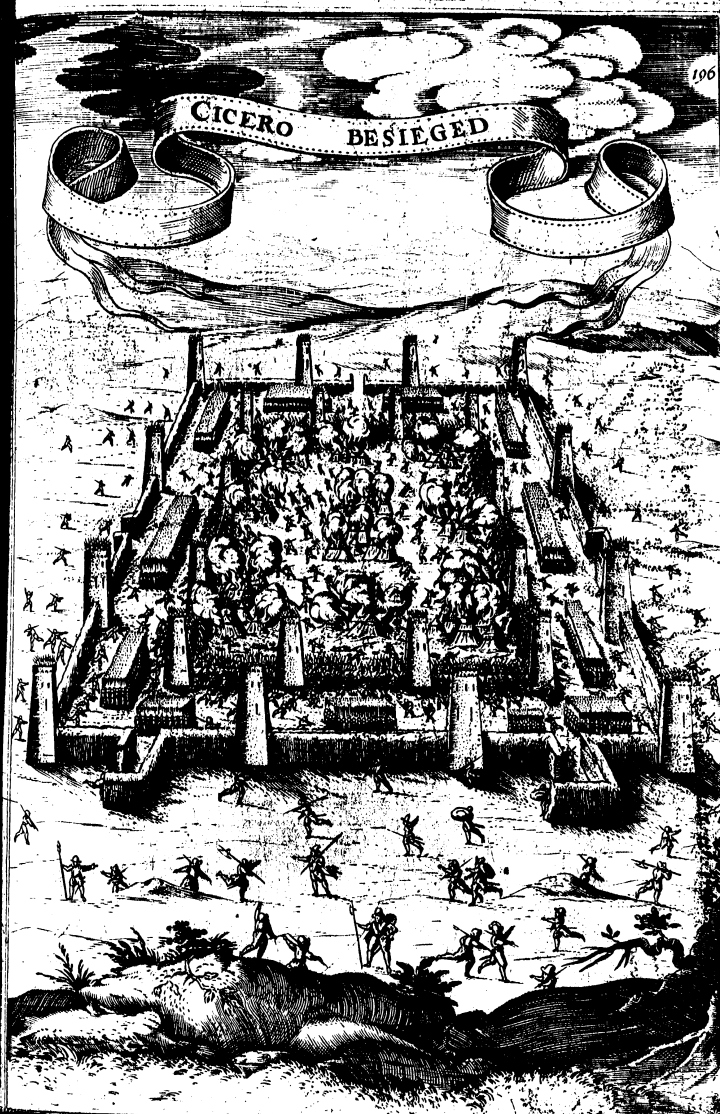
CHAP. XVI.

Cicero defendeth his Campe from the surprise
of the Neruij, and preparath himselfe
against a Siege.



Thappened to Cicero also (as it could not otherwise chuse) that many of the souldiers, that were gone into the woods for timber and munition, were cut off by the sudden approach of the Enemies horsemen. These being circumvented, the Eburones, Neruij, and Aduatci, with all their confederates and clients, began to assault the Campe. The Romans betooke them speedily to their weapons, and got vpon the rampier, with much adoe they held out that day: for the Gales trusted much vpon celeritie, hoping if they sped well in that action, to be victors euer after.

Cicero



Cicero dispatched Letters with all speed to Caesar, promising great rewards to him that should carie them: but all the waies were so fore-laid, that the Messengers were taken. In one night there was built in the Campe one hundred and twenty towers, of such timber as was brought in for fortification; and what soeuer wanted of the rest of the worke, was perfected.

The enemy the next day, with a farre greater power assaulted the Campe, and filled up the ditch: the Romans made the like defence, as they had done the day before; the like was continued diuers daies after. The Romaines made no intermission of their work at any part of the night, nor gaue any rest either to the sick or the wounded. What soeuer was needfull for the next daies assault, was provided in a readinesse the night before; a great number of stakes hardened in the fire were prepared, and many murall piles were made; the towers were floored in their stories; Pinacles and Parapets were set up of hurdles: and Cicero himselfe being sickly, and of a weake constitution, tooke not so much leasure as to rest himselfe in the night time: so that the souldiers of their owne accord, compelled him by intreatie, to spare himselfe.

OBSERVATION.



His Q. Cicero, is said to be the brother of Marcus Cicero, the famous Oratour, & to him were the Letters sent which are found in his Epistles, directed *Quinto fratri*. In this action, his carriage deserved as great reputation, in the true censure of honour, as euer his brother did for his eloquence, *pro Roscio*. And if it had beene the others fortune to haue performed the like seruice, he would haue made it the greatest exploit that euer Roman had atchieued by Armes. Wherein particularlie may be commended, the diligence and industry which was vsed, in raising so many towers in so small a time; for providing the night before, such things as were necessarie for the next daies defence; for making so many stakes hardened in the end with fire, for the defence of the rampier; and for the store of these murall piles, which resembled the forme of the ordinarie pile, but were farre greater and waightier, in regard they were to be cast from the rampier; which gaue them such aduantage, by reason of the height, that being cast by a strong and well practiced arme, they were very effectuall and of great terrour.

CHAP. XVII.

The Neruij propound the same things to Cicero
which *Ambiorix* had done to *Sabinus*;
but are reiected.

Cæsar.

Then the Princes and chiefe Commanders of the Neruij, which had any entrance of speech, and cause of acquaintance with Cicero, signified their desire to speak with him: which being granted, they propounded the same things they had vsed to deceive *Sabinus*; all Gallia were in Arms; the Germans were come ouer the Rhene; Cæsar and the rest were besieged in their wintering Campes; *Sabinus* & his men were cut in peeces; notwithstanding, they carried this mind to Cicero, that they refused nothing but their wintering among them; they might depart in safetie whither they would, without disturbance or feare of danger. Cicero onely made this answer: that It was not the custome of the people of Rome, to take any article or condition from an armed Enemy; but, if they would lay their Armes aside, let them vse his furtherance in the matter, and send some to negotiate it with Cæsar; there was great hope, in regard of his iustice and equitie, that they should not returne unsatisfied.

THE OBSERVATION.

THe first attempt, which *Ambiorix* made vpon the Camp of *Sabinus* and *Cotta*, was but short; but heere, what with the pride of the former victorie, and the great multitude of the assailants, they continued it longer, in hope to carrie it by assault: for, the first assault of a place, especially, when it cometh by way of surprize, is of greater hope to the assailant, and of greater danger to the defendant, then such as afterward are made in the sequell of the warre: for, after the first brunt, the heat of the enemy is much abated, as well through the nature of a hot desire, which is most violent in the beginning, & afterward groweth cold & remisse, as also with the harmes and perill which they meet with in the incounter; and on the contrarie side, the defendants hauing withstood the first furie, wherein there is most terrour and distrust, grow more confident and better assured of their manhood, and in experience of their strength, stand firme against any charge whatsoever.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

The Neruij besiege Cicero, with a ditch and
a rampier, and worke meanes to set fire on
their Tents.

Cæsar.

THe Neruij disappointed of this hope, caried a ditch & a rampier round about the Camp; the rampier was 15 foote high, and the ditch 15 foote deepe; which they had learned of the Romaines, partly by being conuerfant among them certaine yeeres before, and partly by the prisoners and captiues which they had taken; but they had no iron tooles fit for that purpose, but were driuen to cut vp turfe with their swords, and gather earth with their hands, and carie it away with their Mantles and Gaberdines. Whereby may be gathered, what a multitude of men there were at the siege; for, in lesse then three houres, they finished the fortification of fifteene miles in circuit. The daies following, the enemy built towers to the height of the rampier, prepared great hookes and strong penthouses, or safeguards of boards and timber, according as the captiues had giuen them instruction. The seauenth day of the siege, being a verie windie day, they cast hot bullets of clay out of slings, and burning darts vpon the cabines of the Romans, which after the manner of the Galles, were thatched with strawe: these cabines were quickly sette on fire, which by the violence of the wind was caried ouer all the Campe. The enemy pressing forward with a great clamour, as though the victorie were already gotten, began to bring their Turrets and Testudines to the rampier, and to scale it with ladders. But such was the valour of the Roman souldiers, that albeit they were scorched on all sides with fire, and ouer-charged with multitude of weapons, and saw all their wealth burned before their face; yet no man forsooke the rampier, or scarce looked backe at that which had happened, but they all fought valiantly, and with an exceeding courage.

OBSERVATION.

THis one example may serue, to shew the excellencie of the Roman discipline, and the wisdom of the first founders of that Art: for, they perceiving that the fortune of warres consisted chieflie in the mastering of particular occurrences, trained their souldiers in that forme of discipline, as might struggle with inconueniences, and strong oppositions of contradicting accidents; and so ouerwage all difficulties and hinderances, with a constant persecution & a courage inuincible. For, the great attempting spirit of an ambitious Commander, that seeketh to ouertoppe the trophies of honor, with the memory of his exploits, will quickly perish by his own direction, if the instruments of execution be weaker, then the means which lead

leade him to his desfigments. For, where the waight is greater then the strength, the engine will sooner breake, then lift it vp. Let a discreet Leader therefore lo leuell his thoughts, that his resolution may not exceed the abilitie of his particular meanes: but first let him be well assured what his souldiers can doe, before he resolue what he will doe: or otherwise, let him so inable them by discipline and instructions, according to the example of the old Romans, that their worth may answer the height of his desires, and follow his aspiring mind, with a resolution grounded vpon knowledge and valour; and so making their abilitie the ground of his designes, he shall neuer faile of meanes to performe what he intendeth. The want of this consideration, hath within these late yeeres, repaid our Commanders in many parts of Christendome, with losse and dishonour, when as they measure the humour of their poore needie and vndisciplined souldier, by the garbe of their ambitious thoughts, & so laid such projects of difficultie, as were verie vsutable in the particularitie of occurrences, to that which their souldiers were fit to execute.

CHAP. XIX.

The æmulation betweene two Centurions, *Pulpio*
and *Varenus*, with their fortunes in
the encounter.

Cæsar.



HERE were in that legion two valiant men, *Titus Pulpio*, & *L. Varenus*, Centurions, comming on apace to the dignity of the first orders: these two were at continuall debate vvhich of them should be preferred one before another, and euerie yeere contended for place of preferment, with much strife & emulation. *Pulpio*, at a time that the fortification was very sharply assaulted, called to *Varenus*, and asked him why he now stood doubtfull? or what other place hee did looke for to make triall of his manhood? This is the day, saith he, that shall decide our controuersies. And when hee had spoken these words, he went out of the fortification; and where he saw the Enemy thickest, he fiercely set vpon them: then could not *Varenus* hold himselfe within the rampier, but followed after in a reasonable distance. *Pulpio* cast his pile at the enemy, and strooke one of the multitude through, that came running out against him. Hee being slaine, all cast their weapons at him, giuing no respite or time of retrait. *Pulpio* had his target strooke through, and the dart stuck fast in his girdle. This chance turned aside his gabberd, and hindered his right hand from pulling out his sword; in which disadvantage the enemy pressed hard vpon him. *Varenus* came and rescued him: immediately the whole multitude, thinking *Pulpio* to bee slaine with the dart, turned to *Varenus*, who speedily betooke him to his sword, and came to handy strokes; and hauing slaine one, he put the rest somewhat back. But as he followed overhastily vpon them, hee fell downe: him did *Pulpio* rescue, being

being circumvented and in danger; and so both of them hauing slaine manie of the enemy, retired to their Campe in safetie, to their great honour. Thus Fortune caried as well the contention, as the encounter of them both, that being Enemies, they neuer thelesse gaue helpe to saue each others life, in such sort, as it was not to be iudged which of them deserved greatest honour.

OBSERVATION.



Cæsar inserteth this accident of the two Centurions, as worthe to be related amongst the deeds of Armes contained in these Commentaries: wherein we are first to obserue the grounds of this quarrell, which was their continuall strife for place of preferment, which they fought after, by shewing their valour in time of danger, and approuing their worth by the greatnesse of their desert; a contention worthy the Roman discipline, and may serue for a patterne of true honour full of courage, accomplished with verue. For these *Simulacres*, which desire of honour had cast between them, brought forth emulation, which is the spur of vertue, far from enmitie or hatefull contention: for, the difference between these two qualities, is, that enmitie hunteth after destruction, and onely reioiceth in that which bringeth to our aduersary vter ruine, dishonor, or ill archieurement: but emulation contendeth only by well deseruing, to gaine the aduantage of another mans fame, that vseth the same meanes to attaine to the like end; and is alwaies mixed with loue, in regard of the affinitie of their affections, and the sympathy of their desires, not seeking the ouerthrow of their Competitor, but succouring him in time of danger, and defending him from foule and vnfortunate calamities, that he may still continue to shew the greatnesse of his worth, by the opposition of inferior actions, which are as a lesse scantling of desert, to measure the estimation of the others honour.

A vertue rare and vknowne in these daies, and would hardly find subiects to be resident in, if she should offer her help in the course of our affaires, or sue to be entertained by the crooked dispositions of our times: for, we can no sooner conceiue the thoughts that breed emulation, but it turneth presently to hatred, which is followed to the vttermost of our malice, & resteth better satisfied with the miserable end of our opposed partner, then with thousand of Trophies deferuently erected to our honor. Vvhich maketh me wonder, when I looke into the difference of these and those ages, whether it were the discipline of that time, which brought forth such honest effects of vertue, to their glory and our ignominie, hauing learned better rules then were known vnto them; or whether the world weakened with age, want strength in these times to bring forth her creatures in that perfection, as it did in those daies; or what other cause hath made our worst affections so violent, and our better faculties so remisse & negligent, that vertue hath no part in vs but words of praise. Our whole practise being consecrated to actions of reproach. The injuries, murders, scandalous cariages of one towards another, which in these daies are so readilie offered

and so impatiently digested, will admit no satisfaction but priuate combat; which in the first Monarchies, was granted onely against strangers, and forraigne enemies, as the onely objects of Armes and wrath, and capable of that iustice, which the priuate sword should execute: for, they well perceiued, that these single battels, were as sparkles of ciuill discord, and intestine warres; although not so apparant in the generall view of their State, yet as odious in particular, and as dishonourable to good government. And if there were a true record of such, as haue been either slaine or wounded within these fortie yeres, either in this kingdome, or in France, or in Germanie, by this licentious and brutish custome; I make no question, but they would amount to a number capable of that tearefull stile, which is attributed to Ciuill warres.

Neither is there any law, how rigorous or hard foucer, that can giue reliefe to this disorder, but the restraint will draw on as great enormities, and as vntolerable in a good government. Rotaris, King of the Lumbards, forbade his subiects this manner of combat: but shortly after, he was constrained to recall the Edict, for the auoiding of greater euils; although he protested the thing to be both inhumane and barbarous. The like Edict was published in France, by Philip the Faire; but was within two yeres reuoked againe, at the instant request of his subiects, in regard of the murders and assassins committed in that kingdome.

The onely remedie that I find to take effect in this case, was that of late time, which the Prince of Melphe in Piemont, inuented to prevent this cuill: for, perceiuing how ordinat quarrels and bloodshed were in his Campe, he assigned a place betweene two bridges, for the performance of the *Duellum*, vvith this charge; that hee that had the worst, should alwaies be slaine, and cast from the bridge into the water: the danger ioyned with dishonour (which by this Decree attended such as vnderooke priuate combat) made the souldiers wiser in their cariage, and put an end to their fedition and ciuill discords. But that which is yet worst of all, is, that custome hath now made it so familiar, that e-very trifles seemeth sufficient to call the matter to a priuate combat: a crosse looke calleth another mans honor in question; but the word Lye, is of as great consequence, as any stabbe or villanie whatsoeuer. Wherat we may wel wonder how it happeneth, that wee seele our selues so much exasperated at the reproach of that vice, which wee so ordinarily commit: for, in the custome of these times, to cast vpon vs the lye, is the greatest iniurie that wordes can doe vnto vs; and yet there is nothing more frequent in our mouth. It may be a propertie in our nature, to stand chiefly in the defence of that corruption vnto which we are most subiect.

I speake not this to qualifie the foulness of this vice: for, I hold a Lye to be a monster in nature; one that contemneeth GOD, and feareth man, as an ancient Father saith; but to shew the crookednesse of our disposition, in disdaining to acknowledge that fault, which wee so commonly commit. But I would faine learne, when honour first came to be measured with vvords: for, from the beginning it was not so. Cæsar was often called to his face theefe, and drunkard, without any further matter; and the libertie of inuectiues, which

great

great personages vsed one against another, as it beganne, so it ended with words. And so I think our lie might too; for, I take him that returneth the lie, and so letteth it rest, vntill further prooffe, to haue as great aduantage in the reputation of honour, as the former, that first gaue the disgrace.

CHAP. XX.

Cicero findeth meanes to aduertise Cæsar of this Accident; who hasting, raiseth the siege, and putteth the Enemy to a great slaughter.



& the siege grew daily hotter & sharper, and specially, for that the greatest part of the souldiours were laid up vvith wounds, and the matter brought into a few mens hands that vvore able to make any defence; so they sent out Letters and Messengers the more often to Cæsar: of vvhom, some vvore taken, and in the sight of our souldiours, tortured to death. There was one within the place besieged, of the Nation of the Neruij, called Vertico, of honest parentage: vvho in the beginning of the siege had sleade to Cicero, and caried himselfe faithfully in that seruice: this man did Cicero chuse, perswading him with hope of libertie, and other great rewards, to carie Letters to Cæsar; vvich he tooke, & hauing tied them vp in his Dart, travelled as a Gall amongst the Gallies, without any suspicion, & so came to Cæsar: Of vvhom he vnderstood, how dangerously Cicero and the legion vvore beset.

Cæsar, hauing receiued those Letters about the eleuenth houre of the day, dispatched presently a Messenger to M. Crassus the Treasurer in the country of the Bellonact, twentie five miles off; commanding the legion to set out at midnight, and speedily to come vnto him. Crassus set out and came along vvith the Messenger. He sent another Post to C. Fabius, the Legat, to bring that legion to the confines of the Atrebatj, through vvich he was to passe: And writ in like manner to Labienus; that if it stood vvith the conueniencie of the State, hee should bring the legion to the territories of the Neruij: for, the rest of the Armie that vvore further off, he thought good not to expect. He drew foure hundred horse or thereabouts, from the neerest vvintering Campes. And beeing aduertised about the third houre (by the fore-runners) of Crassus comming, hee marched that day twentie miles.

Hee made Crassus Governour of Samarobrine, & gaue him one legion for the defence thereof; in regard that the baggage of the vvhole Armie, the hostages of the Prouinces, the publique transactions and Letters, together vvith all the Corne vvich hee had got for the provision of the Winter, was left in that place. Fabius, according to his directions, without any delay, met him vvith the legion.

C c.

Labie.

Cambray.

Labiennus, understanding of the death of Fabrius, and the slaughter of the Cohorts: and knowing also that the whole forces of the Treuiri were marching towards him; he doubted, that if his setting forward out of his winter station, should seeme as a stealing away, he should not be able to undergoe the charge of the enemy, who a late victory had made insolent: and therefore informed Cæsar by his Letters, what danger it would be to draw the legion from their wintering Camp; relating what had happened amongst the Eburones and how that all the forces of the Treuiri, both horse and foote, lay but three miles distant from his Campe.

Cæsar, allowing of these reasons, howsoever his hope of three legions was fallen unto two; yet his whole trust was in celeritie, as the onely meane of all their safeties: and so by great iourneis, came into the confines of the Neruij; where he understood by the Captiues, how matters passed with Cicero, and what danger he was in. At what time he perswaded a certaine horsman of the Galles, by great rewards offered unto him, to carrie a Letter to Cicero; which hee sent writ in Greeke Characters, lest his purposes should be discovered, if the Letter had been intercepted: advising, that if he could not come to his presence, hee should tie it to the string of a Dart, and so cast it into the fortifications. Hee advertised them by his Letter, that he was on the way with the legions, and would be there instantly to raise the siege. The Gall, fearing some danger, followed the directions, and cast it into the workes by a Dart; which fell by chance upon a turret, and there stuck two daies before it was perceived: the third day, a souldiour finding it, tooke it downe, & brought it to Cicero; who read it publicly in the assembly of the souldiours, and put them all into exceeding great ioy. And at the same time, the smoake of their fires began a farre off to be discovered: which put them out of all doubt of the approach of the legions.

The Galles, being advertised thereof by their Discoverers, left the siege and made towards Cæsar with all their power; which consisted of threescore thousand men or thereabouts. Cicero, finding himselfe at libertie, sought out the same Vertice before mentioned, to carry Letters to Cæsar: advising him to be wary and diligent in his passages signifying by those Letters, that the Enemy had left the siege, and turned all his forces towards him. Which Letters, being brought unto Cæsar about midnight, he certified his Partie of the contents thereof, and prepared them by incouragement to fight. The next day, as soone as it began to be light, he removed his Campe; and having marched about foure miles, he discovered the multitude of the enemy, beyond a great Valley and a River. It was a matter of exceeding danger to give battell to so great a number, in a place of disadvantage: yet forasmuch as he knew that Cicero was freed of the siege, he thought he might the better forbear to make such haste: and thereupon fate downe, and in as indifferent a place as he could chuse, fortified his Campe. Which being of it selfe very little, as not having scarce seaven thousand men, & those without any carriages: yet he lessened it as much as hee could, by narrowing the small streets thereof; to the end he might the better defend it if happily the enemy might be drawne to engage himselfe seriously in any attempt upon the same. In the meane time, having sent out Discoverers into all parts, he informed him-

selfe.

selfe which way he might most conveniently passe over the valley.

The same day, after small incounters of the Cavalrie at the water, either partie contained themselves within their fortifications: the Galles, as expecting greater forces, which were not yet come; and Cæsar, that by a counterfet feare, he might draw the Enemy to the place where he was lodged on this side the valley, and so strike the battell before his Campe; and if he could not bring it so about, then upon discovery of the waies, to passe the Valley and the River with lesse danger. As it began to be day light, the Cavalrie of the enemy came neere unto the Campe, and began to skirmish with our horsemen. Cæsar, of set purpose, commanded the horsemen to fall back, and to betake themselves into the Camp: and with ball, to fortifie their Camp on all sides with a higher rampier, to stoppe up the Gates; and in doing of these things, to cary themselves tumultuously, and with a fained show of great feare. With which inducements, the enemy was so drawn on, that he brought over all his forces, and imbattailed them in an unequall and disadvantageous place. Our men being drawne from the rampier (to make the matter more apparant) they were imboldened to come neerer, and to cast weapons from all parts into our works: sending Heralds round about with Proclamations, that if any Gall or Roman would come over unto the before the third houre, he should be taken into their safe protection; but, after that time, there was no hope of any such reception. And they did so contemne our party, that when as the Ports were shut up for a shewe, with a single rowe of turfes, to the end they might appeare to be made up in such manner that they could not be broken open; some of them began to breake downe the rampier with their handes, and others to fill up the ditches.

Which Cæsar perceiuing, salied out at all the Ports at once; & sending out the Cavalrie, put the enemy so suddainly to flight, that not one of them resisted by way of fighting: insomuch as he slew a great number of them, & put them all besides their Armes. But because he feared to follow them farre, in regard of the woods and bogs, that lay in their passage (being unwilling to hazard himselfe upon the least occasion of danger) he returned with all his forces in safety: and the selfe-same day came to Cicero. Where he admired the towers, the mantelets and works, which were begun and prepared by the enemy: and drawing out the legions, hee found that the tenth man had not escaped without wounds. By all which circumstances he understood, with what danger & valour the busines had been carried. He commended Cicero & the legion, according to their merit; calleth out by name such Centurions and Tribunes of the souldiours, as by testimony of Cicero, were found to haue deserved extraordinarily in that service; informed himselfe by the Captiues, of the certainty of Sabinus and Cottas misfortune. The next day, hee spake publicly to the souldiours, opened the particulars of that matter, and then seasoned them with comfort and incouragement; shewing that the losse which happened through the fault and temerity of a Legate, was to be borne with better patience: and the rather, forasmuch as by the assistance of the immortal Gods, and by their owne vertue, the losse was redeemed, in such a fashion, as neither the enemy did long ioy it, nor themselves were long afflicted with griefe for the same.

OBSERVATION.

THe passages in this Chapter, are of great varietie, and do giue occasion of much discourse: but that which is most remarkable, is, that to exceed in forces and troops of men, may be a meanes to bring a partie to an ouerthrow: for, an extraordinary power doth alwaies beget an opinion sorting to their owne desires, and can hardly thinke of anie other end, then that which luteth with securitie and victorious successe; vvith beeing crossed in any materiall circumstance, & put besides the course of their intendments, whereby they faile of what they expected, doth consequentially draw all, the other way; and changeth hope into mishap: as it fared here vvith the Galles, vpon Cæsars suddaine slyding out of his Campe.

CHAP. XXI.

The commotions of the States of Gallia. Induciomarus, attempting great matters, was slaine, and the Countrey quieted.



IN the meane time, the report of Cæsars victory was caried to Labienus, with incredible speed, through the Countrey of those of Rheimes: insomuch, as being fifty miles distant from that place where Cicero wintered, and that the ouerthrowe vvvas giuen about three of the clock in the afternoone, there was a shout as the Campe gate before midnight; whereby the men of Rheimes congratulated Labienus for that victorie. The same vvhereof beeing caried to the Treuiri; Induciomarus, that purposed the next day to besiege Labienus, fled in the night time, and caried all his forces backe to the Treuiri. Cæsar remaunded Fabius, vvith the legion into their vvinter stations: He himselfe, vvith three legions, determined to vvinter about Samarobrine. And forasmuch as there were such commotions throughout all Gallia, himselfe resolved to abide vvith the Armie all the vvinter: for, vvpon the newes of the ouerthrowe of Sabinus, almost all the States of Gallia, did enter into a consultation of vvwar; sent Messengers and Embassadours into all parts, to make ouertures for future resolutions, and to vvnderstand in vvhat place the vvwar might best be set on foote, holding their Conuenticles by night, in secret and desert places: in such manner, as there passed not a day, during all that vvinter, vvvhich brought not some newe care or doubt concerning Cæsar, least he should be aduertised of these meetings and conspiracies, amongst these occurrences.

He had intelligence frō L. Roscius the Legat, that great forces of those States and Citties of the Galles, that are called Armorica, were assembled together, to fight against him; and were come vvithin eight miles of his Campe: but vvnderstanding of Cæsars victorie, they fell backe, in such a fashion, as though they meant

meant to sile away. But Cæsar, hauing called vnto him the Princes and chiefe men of euery State; terrifying some, as seeming to vvnderstand their complots, and perswading others, kept a great part of Gallia in obedience. Howbeit, the Senones (a strong people, and of great authority amongst the Galles) went about by a publique Decree to kill Canarinus, vvho Cæsar had set to be king ouer them (vvwhose brother Adoritasgus, at Cæsars coming into Gallia, and vvwhose ancestors formerly, were possessed of that kingdom): vvvhich he perceiuing, fledde away, and was persecuted to the vvvery borders, and so drinen as vvvell out of his priuate house, as of his kingdom. And hauing sent Embassadours to Cæsar, to satisfie him herein; vvhereas hee commaunded the vvhole Senate to come vnto him, they refused to obay his warrant: so much it preuailed amongst barbarous people, that there vvwere some found that durst a vvough the vvundertaking of a vvwarre. Which made such an alteration in the minds of all men, that besides the Hedui, and the state of Rheimes, vvhom Cæsar had in great fauour and respect (the one for their ancient and perpetuall fidelitie to the people of Rome, and the other, for their late seruices in the vvwar of Gallia) there was almost no State free from suspition. Insomuch, as I knowe not vvvell, vvwhether it may not be vvondered at or no; as vvwell for many other reasons, as specially for that they greatly grieved, that they, vvwho excelled all other Nations in deeds of Armes, had now lost their reputation so farre, as they were forced to beare the yoke of the people of Rome.

The Treuiri and Induciomarus, lost no time of all that vvWinter, but sent Commissioners beyond the Rhine, soliciting the Citties, and promising monies vvith confident assurance, that the greatest part of our Armie was already cut off; and that vvvhich was left, was but a small remainder of the same: and yet for all that, no people of the Germanies could be perswaded to passe the Rhine. For, hauing twice made triall to their cost, in the vvwarre of Arionistus, & in the passage of the *Teuchtheri, they vvould tempt Fortune no further.

Induciomarus, cast downe from his hope, did not vvwithstanding traine and gather forces, got horses from the bordering States, and vvith great rewards, drew vnto him banish and condemned men, from all parts of Gallia; and did thereby get such an opinion throughout all that Continent, that Embassadours came flocking vnto him from all quarters, and sought his fauour both in publique and priuate. When he vvnderstood that men made to him of their owne accord, and that on the other side, the Senones and Carnutes were instigated vvith a remembrance of their offences; and on the other side, the Neruij and Aduataci, made prouision of vvwar against the Romanes, and that hee should not vvwant vvvoluntarie forces, if he did but once goe out of his confines; hee gaue order to call a Conncell of Armes: vvvhich, according to the manner of the Galles, was alvvways the beginning of a vvwar; beeing such, as constrained all the men that were of yeeres, by the common law of the Land, to assemble together in Armes: and hee that came last, was in the sight of all the rest, put to death vvith exquisite torture. In that Conncell, he tooke order to proclaim Cingetorix the chiefe of the other faction, and his sonne in law (vvwho, as we haue before declared, had followed Cæsar, and not left him in any of those seruices) a Traytor to the State, and that his goods should be confiscated.

Franckesfort.

That beeing done, he published in the Councell, that he was sent for by the Senones and the Carnutes, and many other States of Gallia: whether he meant to go, through the territories of the inhabitants of Rhemes; & that he would harry and waste their country. But first, his purpose was to take the Camp of Labienus, and accordingly gave order what he would have done. Labienus, being in a Camp exceedingly fortified, as well by Nature as by Art, did not feare any danger that might happen to himselfe, or the legion; but rather studied not to let passe any occasion, to carry the matter handsomely, and to purpose. And therefore, being advertised by Cingetorix and his allies, what speech Induciomarus had delivered in the Councell, he sent Messengers to call the confining citties, and commaunded his men to be sent unto him by a certaine day.

In the meane time, Induciomarus rid up and downe almost euery day, with all his cavalrie vnder his campe; sometimes to view the site thereof, otherwhile to parlee, or else to terrifie the souldier: & his horsemen, for the most part, would cast their weapons within the rampier. Labienus kept all his men within the fortifications, and did what he could to make the enemy believe that hee was fore afraid. And, as Induciomarus came daily with greater contempt to the camp, one night, having taken in the cavalry of the bordering citties, which he had formerly sent for, he kept all his party (by good guarding) within his campe, with such diligence, that their reception could not possibly be bruted abroad, or caried to the Treuiri. In the meane time, Induciomarus, according to his wonted custome, approached neere the campe, and there spent a great part of the day: the horsemen cast their weapons, and with words of high reproach, called out our men to fight; without any word giuen in answer by them. And a little before the euening, as they dispersed themselues and departed, upon a suddaine, Labienus let out all the cavalry at two Ports, commanding them, that after the Enemy was put to flight (which he saw would necessarily happen) that euery one should make after Induciomarus: and that no man should so much as wound any other Enemy, before they saw him slaine; Being very unwilling, to give him time to escape, while the souldiers were engaged with the rest: and propounding great rewards to tht that slew him. Fortune made good that direction: for, as all made after one; Induciomarus was surprized in the foord of a River, & slaine; & his head was brought backe into the campe: the horsemen returning, slew as many of the rest as they could take. This thing beeing knowne, all the forces of the Eburones and Neruij, which were met together, departed home: and after that time, Cæsar had Gallia better settled in quietnesse.

Liege.

OBSERVATION.



S the misfortune which befell Sabinus and Cotta, put all Gallia into troubles and commotions; so the head of Induciomarus, reduced all into peace; According as it is said of the Spaniard; that In some cases, one man is worth a thousand.

And thus endeth the fifth Commentarie.

FINIS.

I

THE SIXT BOOKE OF CÆSARS COMMENTARIES.

THE ARGUMENT.

HIS Sommers Commentarie setteth forth the malice of an enemy, that refuseth open encounter: but keeping himselfe in the fastnesse of his holds, forceth the aduerse partie, either to leaue him vntouched, or to seeke him out vpon disadvantage: together with such casualties annexed to the matter, as the power of fortune doth commonly intermingle with such occurrences: as also the maners and fashions of life, then in vse amongst the Germanes and Gaules.

CHAP. I.

*Cæsar fearing a greater commotion in Gallia,
mustereth more forces.*

CÆSAR for many reasons expecting greater troubles in Gallia, appointed M. Silanus, C. Antistius Reginus, and T. Sextius Legates in his armie, to make a new choise, and muster up more souldiers; and withall he intreated Cneius Pompeius Proconsull, forasmuch as he continued at the city about publique busineses, that he would recall to their ensignes, and send vnto him such souldiers as were before discharged of the Consuls oath: for he thought it very materiall for the future time, to the opinion of the Gaules, when they should see Italy so mightie, that if they had receiued any losse by the casualties of warre, they could not onely in a short time make a supply thereof, but augment their armie with greater forces. Which when Pompey had granted, both for the good of the common wealth and Cæsars friendship, the choice being speedily by his ministers performed: before the winter was ended, three legions were inrolled and brought vnto him, whereby the number of cohorts were doubled which were lost with Q. Titurius: and withall he made experience both by the speed and by the forces, what the wealth and discipline of the people of Rome could do.

Cæsar.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



Notwithstanding any former purpose, I will begin this Commentary with the manner of the choise which the Romaines used when they mustered souldiers for an intended warre: and will lay it first downe, as the basis and groundstill of all militaire architecture, and caried by them with such a ceremonious and graue respect, as might best expresse the seriousness of the action, and make the souldiers vnderstand what consequence the sequell imported. *Polybius*, who onely remaineth of them that haue written of the aunient fashion of the Romaine warre, amongst other parts of their discipline, hath left vnto posteritie a compendious relation of their musters and inuolvements, with the helpe of other histories may be thus vnderstood.

Polyb. lib. 6.

Vpon the choise of their Consuls in the beginning of euery yeare, their custome was to inrole foure Legions, two for either Consull. At which inuolment, they first chose fouretee Tribunes, out of the bodie of their Gentlemen, whom they called Equites: these fouretee were such as had serued five yeares in the warres, whereby they became eligible of that dignitie. And againe, they chose ten other Tribunes out of the communaltie, being such as had seene ten yeares seruice: grounding this custome vpon another law; which commaunded the Equites to serue ten, and the Pedites or Commons twentie whole yeares before they could be freed and discharged from the warres: and therefore according to the proportion of their stipendary time, as the Equites were admitted Tribunes at five yeares, so were the legionarie footmen at ten, as at halfe their complete time of seruing in the warres. The generall respect which the Romaines had in the choise of euery particular man, from the highest to the lowest, was included in the circumstances of their age, and of their wealth: the age which they deemed fit to endure the labors of war, was from seuentene to fixe and fortie, for so saith *Tubero*. Concerning the first limit of militaire abilitie, that *Sernius* did inrole souldiers from the age of seuentene yeares, adiudging such to be fit for the seruice of the common-weale. And *Sensornius* expresseth the second with an etymologie of the name, where he saith, that men were called *Iuvenes* vnto the age of 46 yeares, *Quod rem publicam in re militari possint inuare*. In this abilitie of yeares, we are to vnderstand, that the law required euery man to perfect the complete number of twentie yeares stipend: if there were occasion of so many warres in that space of nine and twentie yeares, which is comprehended betwene seuentene and fortie six. The wealth which is the second circumstance that made men capable of militaire dignitie, was necessarily required to amouit to the value of *Drachmas quadringentas*, as *Polybius* saith, which by the latin phrase was termed, *Quaterna milia aris*: such as were not worth so much, were neglected in this choise, and reserved for sea-seruice: neither was it lawfull for any man to attaine to any office or magistracie within the citie, vntill he had merited ten yeares stipend. Vpon a resolution to make an inuolment, which was almost euery yeare,

the

Thirteen
pound ster-
ling or there-
abouts.

The Consuls did proclaime a day when all men of militaire age were to present themselves: vpon which day the Romaine youth being assembled in the citie, and then in the Capitoll: the fouretee Tribunes elected out of the bodie of the Equites, diuided themselves according as they were chosen by the people into foure parts; forasmuch as in former time the whole forces of their Empire consisted of foure legions or regiments, wherof I haue discoursed at large in the former booke. And the foure Tribunes first chosen were allotted to the first Legion, the 3 next to the second legion, the foure other to the third, and the three last to the fourth. In like maner the ten Tribunes which were taken out of the common bodie of the people, diuided themselves into foure parts: and the two first chosen were inrolled in the first legion, the three next in the second legion, the two following in the third legion, and the three last in the fourth. By which ingenious and discreet allotment it came to passe, that the communaltie were intermingled in the gouernment of their armies with the gentlemen, in such an excellent mixture, that the Equites were either superiour or equall to the Plebei; notwithstanding that euery legion had an equall number of Tribunes. The election being thus farre caried, the Tribunes of euery legion fate them downe by themselves: the people being deuided first into their Tribes, and then into their classes and centuries, casting lots which Tribe should be taken; and out of that Tribe wheront the lot fell, they drew foure men as equall as they could both in age and habitude, who being brought forth, the Tribunes of the first legion made the first choise of one of those foure; then the Tribunes of the second legion had their choise, they of the third legion tooke the next, and the fourth had the last man. And againe, out of the same Tribe were other foure chosen, and then the Tribunes of the second legion began first to make their choise, and so consequently the first legion had the last man. Againe foure other being chosen, the Tribunes of the third legion had the first election, and in that course the second legion had the last man. And by this alternate and successiue election it came to passe, that euery legion was equally compounded both in quality and in number. The inuolment proceeding in this maner vntill their numbers were full: the Tribunes of euery legion assembled their seuerall troopes together, and tooke one out of euery regiment, and gaue an oath vnto him that he should execute and obey according to his power, whatsoever was commanded him by his Generall: the rest being particularly called, were sworn to keepe the same oath which their foreman had taken: and thus we see, both who were the electors, who were eligible, and the maner of their choise. Wherein we may obserue what means they vied to ingage euery particular man, with an interest in the generall cause: for they thought it not sufficient to force men out by publike authoritie, and to bind them simply to that seruice by the mandates of their Empire, considering the labours and difficulties of warre, which oftentimes are able to dull the edge of the greatest spirit, and to cause omissions of duty in the most honest and obedient minds; but they tied them likewise with such particular respects, as did both concerne the possessions of their fortune, and the religion of their soule. For it is obserued concerning mans actions, that vnlesse the minde do faith-

b 2

fully affect the execution, it may be caried with such a perfunctorie seruice, as shall betray the true intent to no effect, and deceiue the end of that which was promised by designement: and therefore they refused to inrole any man, that had not a conuenient proportion of wealth, to maintaine a stedfast and well resolued courage, and to settle the motions of a staggering mind, when they bethought themselves, that the publike duties wherein they were engaged, were the defensie powers of their Empire, and the meanes whereby the publike weale continued happie: and so by consequence their priuate fortunes were assured from violence, and preferred onely by an effectuall obseruance of their militarie discipline. I graunt that it is not altogether wealth that doth grace and formalize the actions of men: for in some cases penurie and want makes men more valorous, according to the answer which a souldier once made to Lucullus:

Horace.

Ibit eo quò viâ, qui zonam perdidit, inquit.

Notwithstanding forasmuch as the publike cause, is either misprised or well affected, according as it doth concerne euery man in particular, as who will doubt of the vtermost diligence of those Mariners, that haue their vessell fraught with their owne goods? or contrariwise, who will blame a mercenarie Pilot, for making peace with death, with the losse of other mens merchandizes? For *Patria est ubicunque, bene est*, as one truly saith. And the estimation we haue of this life, is entertained onely by the benefites we hold by our life. And therefore it much importeth a State, to haue such Agents to negotiate the publike businesse, as are engaged in the same by the interest of their owne particular. Neither was it sufficient in that gouernement to chuse men of abilitie both in their bodie and in their substance, but they found it necessarie to bind their conscience with a religious consecration, and to sweare a faithfull obedience to their Generall, which with the reuerence of the place being the Capitoll, and other ceremonies of maiestie attending the inrolement, doth manifestly shew, how much the Romaines imputed to this part of their discipline, being the foundation of the sequele of that action

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

*Renforcing of
troupes de-
cayed.*



Secondly, I obserue the benefite which an opulent and able State may make of any losse or misfortune receiued by an enemy: which consisteth chiefly in the reinforcing, or if it may be, in the redoubling of such troupes as the casualties of warre hath consumed: for it much abateth the spirit of a people, and turneth the pride of a victorie into discouragement and faintnesse of heart, when they see their best and most fortunate inducours atchieue nothing, but a reiteration of their labours, and are driuen to begin againe that worke, which with much difficultie and hazard they had once overcome. For it is the end that maketh any labour to be vnderaken, being otherwise nothing but a paine of the bodie and a vexation of the spirit. And therefore when it shall be found either

either circular, or of many confrontments, before it can answer the designements of our mind, we chuse rather to forgo that contentment, which the accomplishment of our desires would afford vs, then to buy it with such a measure of trouble, as exceedeth that, which the proportion of our meanes seemeth able to effect. In regard whereof, the auncient sages of the world, made a taske of this qualitie to be one of *Hercules* labours, by slaying the serpent Hydra to be of this nature, that when one head was smitten off, two other heads grew out presently from the same stumpe: and so his labour multiplied his trauell, and his valour increased the difficultie of his worke. It was *Cæsars* custome in other cases, to haue such a beginning of strength at his first entrance into a war, as by continuance might be augmented, and rather increase then decay, vpon the resistance of an enemy. So he began the warre in Gallia with fixe legions, continued it with eight, and ended it with tenn: he beganne the ciuill warre but with one legion: he ariued at Brundisium with fixe: he followed *Pompey* into Greece, with fiftene thousand foote, and siue thousand horse, and ended that warre with two and twenty thousand foote, and a thousand horse. He began the warre at Alexandria with 3200. foote, and ended it with fixe legions. He began the warre in Affricke with fixe, and ended it with eight legions. And thus he imitated naturall motion, being stronger in the end then in the beginning, and made his armie as a plant like to grow great, and sprout out into many branches, rather then to die or decay for want of strength, or fresh reinforcing.

CHAP. II.

The Treuiri sollicite the Germanes and some of the States of Gallia. *Cæsar* carieth 4 legions into the territories of the Neruii.



NDVCIOMARVS being slaine, as is related in the former booke, the *Treuiri* gaue the gouernment vnto his kinsfolke: they intermitted no time to sollicite their borderers with the Germanes, and to promise them money for the warre. When they could not preuaile with their neighbours, they tried those that were further off, and hauing found some that hearkened to their designs, they confirmed their league with a mutuall oath, giuing pledges for assurance of money, and with all they drew *Ambiorix* into their societie and confederation. Which things being knowne, *Cæsar* perceiuing the preparations which in euery part were made for warre: the *Neruii*, *Aduatici*, and the *Menapii*, with all the Germanes on the other side of the Rhenne to be in armes, the *Senones* not to come being summoned, but to be in counsell with the *Carnutes* and their bordering States, the Germanes to be solicited with often Embassages from the *Treuiri*, he held it best to thinke of warre soo-

Cæsar.
* Part of the
Diocesis of
Cullen.

a Tourney.
b Beaumont.
c Guelthers.

* Charities.

ner then heretofore he was accustomed: and therefore before the winter was ended, with foure legions that lay next together, he entred suddenly vpon the confines of the Neruii, and hauing taken a great number of men and castell, before they could either make head or flee away, he distributed the bootie to the souldiers, wasted the countrie, caused the people to come in, and to giue pledges vnto him: that businesse being speedily ended, he brought the legions backe againe into their wintering camps.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Exemplarie
iustice.

HIS exemplarie course of proceeding in punishing some one for the offences of many, hath euer bene held the best meanes to repress rebellious and factious motions, as well amongst particular subjects which do conspire against the common Pollicie of a State, as also of such inferiour Cities and States, as shall entertaine a confederacie preiudiciall to the soueraigntie of an Empire: for in all such combinations the vndertakers are euer more confident in the assistance and mutuall encouragement of each others assent and forwardnesse, then in the strength of their owne particular meanes. For the mind propounding a course contrarie to a vertuous direction, is alwaies suspicious and mistrustfull of the issue: for as honest motions and conceptions of the heart are attended with assurance, so doth diffidence wait vpon indirect and perfidious designements. And thence it happeneth, that when the inward thoughts can afford no meanes of emboldening, they commonly relie vpon each others example, and do make the action to appeare honest vnto themselves, forasmuch as so many associates do approue it. For the preuention whereof in the continent of Gallia, Cæsar first layed a heauie hand vpon the Neruii, being well assured, that as rebellious motions are strengthened and drawne on by the mutuall example of conspiring members, so they may be weakened and extinguished by the exemplarie ruine and subuersion of some one or more of the said members, and is as forcible to disswade as the other to encourage: suting right with the tenour of iustice, which ought to be caried in such sort against offenders, that by the punishment of some few, the feare may touch all. According as the Poet describeth the nature and effect of thunder:

*Ipse Pater media nimborum in nocte corusca
Fulmina molitur, dextra, quo maxima motu
Terra tremuit, fugere serrat, & mortalia corda
Per genes humilis statuit pauid, ille flagranti
Aut atro, aut Rhodopea, aut alta Ceraunia
Deicit.*

The whole earth trembled, but one hill onely smoaked for it.

THE

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



SECONDLY, I obserue the respect which Cæsar had to the extraordinarie labour of his souldiers: for whereas they were drawne out of their wintering camps before winter was ended, and were caried vnseasonably vpon a seruice, he rewarded them with the bootie and spoile of the enemy, contrarie to the ordinarie course of the Romaine warfare, which reserued either all or the most part thereof for the publike Treasure, and left the souldier to his stipendarie entertainment. Which is a point very obseruable in the cariage of a warre: wherein are required as well eminent and extraordinarie attempts, as common and vsuall duties, and in the iudgement of a wise Commandeur are thought wortheie their answerable rewards. At the siege of *Gergonia*, as it followeth in the seuenth Commentarie, *L. Fabius* a Centurion told his companions, that the bootie and pillage which he had got at the taking of *Anurium*, would not suffer any man to get vp vpon the wall before himselfe. And so for the most part it falleth out, that honorable attempts being honorably rewarded, do as seed sowne in good ground, multiplie the increafe of like vertuous actions. And this was one principall meanes which he vsed to giue courage and valour to his souldiers, as when he went to get *Spain* from *Pompey* and that faction, he borrowed mony of the Tribunes and Centurions, and gaue it in larges to the souldiers, whereby he gained (as he saith) two aduantages, *quod pignore animos Centurionum deuinxit, & largitione redemit militum voluntates.*

*Vpon extra-
ordinarie ser-
uice, the sould-
ier extraor-
dinarily re-
warded.*

*Lib. 1. civilis
bell.*

CHAP. III.

Cæsar summoneth a generall Coun-
cell, and carieth his armie against
the Senones.



AGENERALL Councell or meeting of all the States of Gallia being summoned, according to his first resolution in the beginning of the Spring, whereas all the rest sating the Senones, Carnutes, and Treuiri made their appearance: he conceived of it as the beginning of warre and defection, and thereupon setting all other things aside, he transferred the Councell to the citie of Paris in the confines of the Senones, which in the time of their fathers had vntied their state vnto them, but were held cleare of this confederacie. This thing being published from the Tribunall, the same day he caried the Legions against the Senones, and by great iourneys came into their countrie, his comming being knowne, Acco the chiefe author of that rebellion,

Cæsar.

commanded the multitude to go into the cities and townes of defence: but as they endeuoured, before it could be accomplished newes was brought that the Romaines were already come, whereby they necessarily left off their purpose, and sent Ambassadors to Cæsar to intreat for fauour, they vsed the mediation of the Hedui, whose state had of old time bene in faith and league with the Romaines. Cæsar at the suite of the Hedui did willingly afford them pardon and accepted their excuse, forasmuch as he iudged the sommer time fitter to be spent in the warre which was coming on him, rather then in matter of question and iudgement: and having commanded an hundred pledges, he deliuered them to be kept by the Hedui. The Carnutes likewise sent messengers and pledges, and by the intreatie of the men of Rhemes, whose clients they were, received the same answers. Cæsar ended the councill, and commanded horsemen to be sent him from all the States of Gallia.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

The benefit
of use of coun-
cels and Par-
liaments.

TH shall not seeme impertinent to the Reader, that I take occasion here to say somewhat touching the vse and benefit of this Parliament or Councell generall, wherein all the states of Gallia, or at the least such as did acknowledge the Romaine soueraigntie, presented their faultie, and were mutuall witnesses of each others allegiance. Concerning which we are to vnderstand, that as all naturall bodies haue a transitorie being, depending vpon motion & function of parts, so specially States and Common-weales: as sympathizing with naturall causes haue no certain continuance in one and the same being, but are subiect to the alteration of time and fortune, and do passe the ages of a naturall life, from infancie growing to better strength vntill it come to the best perfection which yeares can afford it, and then decaying again by like degrees, euen to the period and death of that pollicie. For remedy whereof, and for the preuention of any weakening disease, which might infect either the whole powers of the bodie, or so possesse any part thereof, as it might thereby proue either dangerous or vnprofitable: amongst other helps, these councells and meetings haue bene thought necessary, wherein euery particular State and citie had some of their societie present, as wel to open their grieuances if any were, and to seeke ease and releefe by way of treaty and dispute, as also to receiue such directions and mandates, as the wisdom of the Prince should thinke meete for their gouernement. For as this common councell or generall assembly, may well be termed the pulse of a politicke bodie, whereby the true state and temperature thereof is discerned, so is it also as a treatie or parle, and a renewing of the conditions of peace betwene the head and the members, where soueraigntie and obedience being mutually propounded, do concur in the stablishing of true and perfect gouernement. And this is that which the politicians of latter time do in their writings call the reducing of a common-weale to the first beginning: for the noisome and superfluous humours being by this means purged and abated, the bodie of the publike weale is refined into such true and naturall elements, and settled in that disposition

disposition of health, as may giue great hope of long continuance. Besides this vse and benefit of these assemblies, there were many necessary busineses concluded, & many things agreed vnto seruing to the maintenance of war against parties and factions, as namely the leuies and supplies of horse and foot, granted by this Councell as a subsidy, and in the Romaine army receiued stipend and pay by the name of Auxiliary or associate forces, whereof we reade in many places of these Commentaries, and particularly in this booke: but the Romaines vsed specially the seruice of their horsemen, as the flower of their strength, and farre exceeding their foot companies in execution of armes and vse of war, wherein the Gaules haue cuer challenged a preheminance before other their neighbour nations, and haue continued the same reputation euen vnto this time: whether it be in regard of the nimble and quicke motions of their spirits, which are better fitted with the swift and speedie execution of horse, then with any readines which their own strength can afford them, or what other cause it hath I know not: but this I am sure of, that as the world taketh notice of their hot phantasies, so would the French be reckoned the best horsemen of any other nation. The last saying which I obserue concerning this councell, is the time wherein it was summoned, which was the beginning of the Spring rather then any other part of the yeare, whereof there is this reason, that if any State neglected the summons, and refused to make their appearance according to custome, the sommer time coming on, gaue good meanes to the Romaine legion to punish the insolence of such a contempt, as it happened in this place to the Senones, Carnutes and Treuiri, whose absence from this meeting was a sufficient argument to Cæsar of their rebellion, and deserued the reward of open revolt.

The French
are better
horsemen
then footmen.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



TH second thing which I will briefly obserue in this Chapter, is the pardon which Cæsar willingly gaue the Senones at the mediation of the Hedui, not so much for the respect he bare vnto the Hedui, although they had of long time performed good seruice to the Romaine Empire, and were found more faithfull then all the States of Gallia (howbeit I doubt not but that he was glad of that occasion to gratifie the Hedui,) but as a maister in that facultie, well knowing what best fitted with the publike profite in all times and seasons, he would not mispend the sommer in questions and dispute concerning former errors which might better be remembered vpon other occasions, but rather in prosecuting war against other speciall reuolters, as a matter more behouefull to the aduancement of the Empire, and best fitting the time of sommer. For in following a businesse, there is nothing more auailable to a fortunate issue, then to be able to distinguish of the validity of the parties, & to discern which hath most interest in the bulke of the matter, that fo we may not be mistaken in our designs, but follow that course as shall most aduantage our purpose. And here a Generall is to take speciall care, that no humerous respect do hinder that resolution which

Not to mis-
pend the time
in vnecessa-
ry seruices.

true iudgement approueth : for oftentimes it falleth out, that either particular profit, delighting pleasures, desire of reuenge, or some other vnseasonable affection, doth so intangle them in their proceedings, as they neuer attaine to the maine drift of the action : and this is called stumbling by the way.

CHAP. III.

Caesar intendeth the warre of the Treuiri.

Caesar.

THIS part of Gallia being quieted, he bent his whole mind to make warre against the Treuiri and Ambiorix, commanding Cananinus with the cavalrie of the Senones to go along with him, least any tumult should happen in his absence, either thorough his discontentment or the malice of the State : these things being thus determined, so far as much as he well knew that Ambiorix would not come to blowes in open fight, he endeoured by what meanes he could to vnderstand his other purposes. The Menapij were neighbour-borderers vpon the confines of the Eburones, inclosed about with a defence of bogs and woods, onely they of all the States of Gallia had neuer sent to Cæsar touching any contract of peace: of them Ambiorix was receiued and had familiar entertainment. And further he vnderstood, that by the meanes of the Treuiri the Germanes were brought to a contract of friendship with him also. These helps he thought were fit to be taken from Ambiorix before he set vpon him with open warre, lest despairing of his safety, he should either hide himselfe amongst the Menapij, or be compelled to fly ouer the Rhine to the Germanes. In this resolution he sent the baggage of the whole armie with a conuoy of two Legions to Labienus, who was then in the territories of the Treuiri, and he himselfe with fine expedite and vnburthened Legions made towards the Menapij. They hauing made no head, but trusting to the strength of the place, fled into the woods and bogs, and caried all they had with them. Cæsar diuiding his forces to C. Fabius a legat and M. Crassus the treasury, hauing made speedy provision of bridges, did set vpon the in three parts, and burnt houses and villages, and tooke great numbers of men and cattell, whereby the Menapij were constrained to send to Cæsar for peace: he hauing taken pledges of them, assured them that he would esteeme them as enemies if they did either receiue Ambiorix into their countrey, or any messengers from him. The matter being thus compounded, he left among them Comes of Arras with certaine horse, as a garrison to that place, and he himselfe made towards the Treuiri.

THE

OBSERVATIONS.



HENCE we may obserue, that as it falleth out in other things for the most part, so especially in matter of warre there is such a medley and interlacing of materiall circumstances, with the bodie of the action, that commonly one businesse begets another. Cæsars chiefe designe at this time was the warre against Ambiorix & the Treuiri: but considering the contract and league between the and the Menapij, he would not prosecute the warre of the Treuiri, vntill he had take away that assistance, & left the in the nakednes of their own strength. Wherein we may first obserue what opinion Cæsar held of allies and associates, or any other that gaue helpe or assistance to an enemy: for besides this particular, we may reade in the fourth Commentarie, that the chiefeest cause that moued him to take the voyage into Brittain, was, for that the Brittaines had vnderhand given succour and assistance to the Gaules, a matter not to be neglected in his iudgement, whether it were in regard of any friendship or good respect which they bare vnto the Gaules, or otherwise to keepe the Romanes occupied there, that they in the meane time might liue quietly at home, which I neede not here dispute: but the matter proueth it selfe plainly by Cæsars owne confession, that the continuall supplies sent from Brittain, were a sufficient cause to moue him to that warre. And as it followeth in this Commentarie, concerning the selfe same matter, the onely cause that drew him to passe the Rheine the second time into Germanie, was the succours which the Germanes had formerly sent to the Treuiri, according to reason in cases of other natures, that he that will extinguish a lampe, must not suffer an addition of oyle, nor admit the influence of lesser streames, when he goeth about to drie vp the greater riuer. But that which was the occasion of this businesse, and might haue challenged the first place in this discourse, was: for that Cæsar was most assured that Ambiorix would not be brought to a triall of battell, and therefore he laboured to vnderstand his other proiects. From whence a Commander may receiue direction, what course to hold in a refusal of open encounter: for as the art and sleight of warre is to subdue an enemy, so are there more waies and meanes to effect that purpose, then by waging battell, as I haue discoursed at large in the third Commentarie: whereunto I may adde thus much, which is generally obserued in the cariage of great and eminent Commanders, that such as failed in matter of negotiation, and wanted dexteritie in managing the course of their businesse, (notwithstanding any fortune or singularity in striking a battell,) did neuer attaine to firme and permanent honour. If any man be desirous to descend into particulars, let him looke into the liues of king Pirrhus, Demetrius, Anniball, and Caius Marius, whose latter ends, or shutting vp of their liues, were not answerable to their excellencie in deedes of armes, for want of that iudiciall disposition of their businesse, which Cæsar might boast of, of whom it may be truly said, that (notwithstanding the many battels which he fought, yet he did *plura consilio, quam vi gerere*.

Caesar's opinion of allies & associates.

Chap. 10.

CHAP. V.

Labienus ouerthroweth the Treuiri
by a guile.

Cæsar.



*H*ILE Cæsar was about these things, the Treuiri having raised great forces both of horse and foote, had a purpose to assault Labienus, wintering in their confines with one legion. And as they were within two dayes journey of him, they had intelligence of two legions more which Cæsar had sent unto him; whereupon they encamped themselves some fiftene miles distant fro him, and resolved there to attend the Germanes forces: Labienus being advertised of their resolution, hoping through their rashnesse to find some good opportunitie of encounter, he left five cohorts for the safetie of the cariages, and with five and twenty other cohorts, besides great forces of horse he marched towards the enemy and encamped himselfe within a mile of them. Betweene Labienus and the enemy there ranne a river, the passage whereof by reason of the broken banks was very hard and difficult: this river he did not purpose to passe himselfe, and doubted the enemy would not be drawne to do it. In the meetings and counsels of warre he gave out, that forasmuch as the Germans were said to be at hand, he would neither hazard himselfe nor the fortunes of the army, but he would rather remove his campe the next day very early in the morning. This was quickly caried to the enemy, as amongst many of the Gauls that were with him, some of them did naturally favour the proceedings of their owne nation. Labienus having in the night time called unto him the Tribunes of the souldiers, and the Centurions of the first Orders, acquainted them with his purpose, and to the end he might give greater suspicion of feare to the enemy, he caused the campe to be dislodged with more noise and tumult then the Romaine discipline had usually observed; and thereby made the retreat not unlike a flight or escape: which before day light (the two camps being so neare one to the other) was by the discoverers brought to the enemy. The last troupes of the Romaines were scarce gone out of the campe, but the Gauls encouraging one another not to lose so hopefull a prey, thinking it long (specially the Romaines being thus affrighted, to expect the Germane forces, and that it stood not with their dignitie, being so able, and so many in number, not to adventure upon a handfull of men, flying from them, and troubled besides with baggage and burden, and therefore they doubted not to passe the river, and to give them battell in a place of disadvantage. Labienus suspecting that which now had happened, to the end he might draw them all over the river, he made as though he would go on forward: at length sending the cariages a litle before, and placing them upon a hill: he haue now (said he) fellow souldiers that oportunitie which ye desired, the enemy in a cumbersome and unequal place, onely afford me your Leader at this time that valour, which oftentimes heretofore you have shewed to your Generall, imagine him

to

to be present, and to see his service with his owne eyes: and withall he commanded the Ensignes to be caried towards the enemy, and the army to be imbattelled, and leaving a few troupes of horse with the cariages, he disposed the rest in the wings of the army. The Romaines taking up a cry and a shout, did speedily cast their pikes at the enemy, who when they saw the Romaines ready to assault them whom they had thought had fled from them for feare, they were so discouraged, that even in the first close they betooke themselves to flight towards the next woods. Labienus pursuing them with his horsemen, killed many of them and tooke more prisoners, and within a few dayes tooke in the whole state of the Treuiri: for the Germanes which came to their succour understanding of their overthrow, returned home againe; and with them went also the kinsmen of Induciomarus the authors of that defection. The sovereignty and government was given to Cingetorix, who from the beginning had ever bene true and loyal to the Romaines.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

*H*AVE already handled this practise of a pretended feare, which the Historie doth so often recommend to our consideration, and have shewed the inconuenience of ouer light credulitie, leading such easie weeners to a disappointment of their hopes, and consequently to the hazard of their fortune. I will now proceed to that which is further implied in this relation, and respecteth the chiefeft dutie of a chiefe commander: and that is, what specially is required of a Generall, in the cariage and direction of a battell. Concerning which point, as there is nothing more materiall to the effecting of any businesse, then oportunitie of time, conueniencie of place, and an orderly disposition of the meanes according to time and place. So in question of encounter or waging battell, the dutie of a Leader may be included in these three circumstances, concerning the qualitie of the place, as the chiefeft and first respected in the choice of a iudiciall director, the whole scope of the Romaine discipline from the time of their first Kings, even to the last of their Emperours, did always aime at the aduantage of place, as a necessarie helpe for the obtaining of victorie. Which I haue already noted in the Heluetian action: yet for as much as the wisdom and experience of those times did deeme it a circumstance of such importance, give me leave once againe to enforce the vse thereof by these examples. *Habentis milites* (saith Labienus in this place) *quam petistis facultatem, hostem iniquo atque impedito loco tentis, præstate eandem nobis ducibus virtutem, quam sepe numero Imperatori præstitistis.* Whereby he cleareth himselfe of all imputation of ill direction, as having performed the vttermost dutie of a Commander, and given such helpe by the aduantage of the place as are requisite to an easie victorie, leaving the rest to the execution of the souldiers. Cæsar at the losse he receiued at Dyrrachium cleared himselfe to his souldiers in this sort: *Quod esset acceptum detrimenti cuius, potius quam suæ culpæ debere tribui, locum securum ad dimicandum dedidisti, &c.* And as it followeth in the feuenth Commentarie, being imbattelled vpon

Com. 3. cap. 8.

The dutie of a
Generall in
enemie battell.

Lib. 1. cap. 6.

the side of a hill right ouer against the armie of the *Gauls*, which stood likewise in a readinesse to entertaine the *Romaine* valour, would not suffer his men to hazard themselves in the passage of a bogge of fiftie foote in breadth lying betwene both the armies, but rather perswaded his souldiers, disdaining the confrontation of the enemy, to indure their contumelie, rather then to buy a victorie with the danger of so many worthie men, and patiently to attend some further oportunitie. Which passage of *Cæsar* euen in the said tearmes, as it is there related, was vrged to good purpose by Sir *Frauncis Vere* in the year 1600 at a consultation before the battell of *Newport*. For the armie of the Netherlands being posselt of the Downes, which are small swelling hils rising vneuenly along the sea shore vpon the coast of *Flanders*, and the enemy making a stand vpon the sands at the foote of those hils, and so cutting off the passage to *Ostend*, it was disputed by the Commaunders, whether they should leaue the Downes, and go charge the enemy where he stood imbattell'd vpon the sands, or attend him in the fastnesse of the Downes whereof they were posselt. The whole Councell of warre were earnestly bent to forsake the Downes, and to hazard the fight on equal tearmes, as impatient that their passage and retreat to *Ostend* should be cut off. But Sir *Frauncis Vere* well knowing how much it importeth the businesse of that day to hold a place of such gaine and aduantage, perswaded Count *Maurice* by many reasons, and specially by this of *Cæsar* which I last alleaged, not to forgo the helpe of the Downes, but to expect the enemy in that place, and so make vse of that benefite vpon the first encounter, rather then to aduenture the successe of the battell in worse tearmes, in hope of clearing the passage: and shewing also many probable coniectures, that the enemy would not continue long in that gaze. Wherein as his opinion then preuailed, so all that were present were eye-witnesses both of the truth of his coniecture, and the soundnesse of his iudgement. For the enemy within a while after comming on to charge the troupes of the States, was receiued with such a counterbuffe from the hils, and were violently beaten backe in such rude manner, as our men had the execution of them for the space of a quarter of a mile or more, which was no small aduantage to the fortune of that day. Touching the oportunitie of time, which *Pindarus* calleth the Mother of worthie exploits, and oftentimes dependeth vpon the circumstance of place, a Generall ought carefully to aduise that he neither precipitate nor foresew the occasion, which is well expressed in this particular seruice of *Labienus*. For where his purpose was to draw the enemy ouer a riuer that had steepe and vneasie banks, and thereby of a hard and difficult passage, he would not shew his resolution, vntill he had drawne them all ouer the riuer: for he was well assured, that the *Romaine* legions would so charge the enemy vpon their first encounter, with the vnresistible waight of their piles, that in their giuing backe they could not escape the daunger of the riuer. And therefore to make the victorie more absolute and complete, he suffered them all to come ouer the water, that all might be endaungered in their passage backe againe. And this is the benefite which oportunitie bringeth, which is the rather to be attended with all carefulnesse, forasmuch as *Non sapit, ac diu, eadem occasio est.*

*Battell of
Newport.*

Concerning

Concerning the last circumstance of the apt and fit disposition of the forces according to time and place, which is necessarily required in the dutie of a General: it is referred to this end only, that they may be ranged in such manner, that as one man is assistant to another in their severall files and ranks, so one troope may be in subsidis to another, to the end that no part may stand naked, or fall in the singlenesse of it owne strength, but that one may second another from the first to the last. *C. Sempronius* a *Romaine* Consull hauing fought vnaduisedly, and receiued an ouerthrow, *Iulius* the Tribune of the people, caused *Tempanius* a horseman that was present at the battell to be called, and as *Liuius* reporteth it, *Coram eis, sexte Tempani, inquit, arbitreris ne C. Sempronium Consullem, aut in tempore pugnam iniisse, aut firmasse subsidis aciem?* for *Liuius* saith, he hath fought incaute in consule, non subsidis firmata acie non equite apte locato. And of these three circumstances, consisteth the dutie and office of a Generall, touching the direction of a battell: wherein whosoever faileth, doth hazard the prerogatiue of his commaund ouer that armie which he leadeth, according to that of *Cæsar* in the first of his Commentaries, *Se scire quibus sinque exercitus dicto audiens non fueris. aut male re gesta fortunam defuisse, aut aliquo facinore comperio, aduenitur esse conuictum:* which *Cæsar* himselfe needed not to feare, if we may beleeue *Plutarke*, who writeth that he was indowed by nature with an excellent promptitude and aptnesse, to take oportunitie in any businesse.

*In the life of
Cæsar.*

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



May not omit to insist a litle vpon this noise or shout, which the souldiers tooke vp in the instant of the charge, and is related in this place as a materiaall point in their cariage at this seruice. A matter auncient and vsuall in the *Romaine* armies, as well in the time of their first Kings, as their first Consuls. *Fusi primo impetu & clamore hostes*, saith *Liuius* concerning *Romulus*. And not long after, *Consul nec promouit aciem, nec clamorem reddi passus.* *Cæsar* in the censure which he gaue concerning *Pompey* his direction for the battell at *Pharfalia*, doeth expresse a double vse of this clamour or shouting: first the terrour of the enemy, and secondly the encouragement or assurance of themselves: *Est quedam animi incitatio* (sayth he) *atque alacritas, naturaliter innata omnibus, que studio pugne inceditur, hanc non reprimere sed augere imperatores debent: neque frustra antiquitus institutum est ut signa vndique concinerent, clamorem vniuersi tollerent, quibus rebus & hostes terrirent & suos incitari existimauerunt.* Two contrarie effects, proceeding from a cause, which to common sense carieth no shew of any such efficacy: *Fox est preterea nihil*, as one said of the Nightingale no shew of any such efficacy: But such as do seriously looke into the reasons thereof, shall find the saying true which is ascribed to the elder and wiser *Cato: Verba plus quam gladium, & voces quam manum hostes territare & in fugam vertere.* The eare as I haue already noted wil sooner betray the soule to the distresse of feare, then any other of the five senses: which *Iosephus* well vnderstood, although peraduenture he applied

*The vse and
benefite of a
shout took vp
in a charge or
assault.*

*Lib. 1.
Lib. 2.
Lib. 3. Ciuil.*

Lib. 1.

Lib. 3. cap. 18

not fit a remedie, when he commaunded his men to stop their eares at the acclamations of the *Romaine* legions, lest they might be daunted and amazed thereat. The reason may be, for that our discourse (diligently attending vpon a matter of that consequence which calleth the lues of both parties in question, and valuing euery circumstance at the utmost) doth alwayes presuppose a cause answerable to such an effect of ioy and assurance: for these shouts and acclamations are properly the consequents of ioy, & are so auailable that they deceiue both parties, for such as take vp the shout by way of anticipation, do seem to conclude of that which is yet in question; and the enemy therupon apprehendeth danger when there is none: at all, whereby it hapneth, *Hofes terrent, & suos incitari*, as *Cæsar* noteth. Besides these examples, I might allége the authority of holy writ, but that it might seeme both vsauorie and vnseasonable to make a commixture of such diuersities: I will therefore content my selfe with a practice of our time at the battell of *Newport*, where after diuers retreits and pursuits, either side chasing the other, as it were by turne and mutuall appointment, and as it often falleth out in such confrontments: at last commandement was giuen to the *English* to make head again, and after some pause to charge the enemy with a shout, which being accordingly performed, a man might haue seen the enemy startle before they came to the stroke: and being charged home were so routed, that they made no head againe that day. For the preuention of such a disadvantage, there can be no better president, then that which *Plutarke* noteth, touching the battell betwene the *Romaines* and the *Ambrons*, a part of that deluge of people which came downe into Italy with the *Cimbri* and *Tewtons*; for these *Ambrons* coming out to giue battell, to the end they might strike feare into the *Romaines*, they made an often repetition of their owne name with a lowd sounding voice, *Ambrons, Ambrons, Ambrons*. The *Italians* on the other side that first came downe to fight, were the *Ligurians*, inhabiting the coast of *Genoa*, who hearing this noise, and plainly vnderstanding them, made answer with the like crye, founding out their owne name, *Ligurij, Ligurij, Ligurij*. Whereupon the Captaines of both sides made their souldiers crye out altogether, contending for enuie one against another who should crye it loudest; and so both sides were encouraged, and neither of them disadvantaged, *Chamore utramque sublato*.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.



LHIS *Labiens* was a great souldier, and well acquainted with *Cæsars* maner in leading an armie, and made many good fights while he continued vnder his command: but after he betooke himselfe to *Pompeys* part, and ioyned with a faction against his first maister, he neuer atchieued any thing but losse and dishonour.

Dux fortis in armis
Cæsaris Labienus erat, nunc transfuga vilis.

And

And vpon that occasion he is often mentioned as a memoriall of his disloyallic, to proue that good successe in matter of warre doth follow the Generall rather then any inferiour Captaine: for it is obserued of diuers, whose fortune hath bene great vnder the conduction of some commanders, and as vnclucky vnder other leaders: like plants or trees that thrive well in some grounds, and beare store of fruite, but being transplanted, do either die or become barren. And doubtlesse, there may be obserued the like sympathy or contrariety in the particular courses of mans life, wherein they are caried vpon the streame of their fortunes, according to the course of their first imbarcking. And therefore such as happen in a way that leadeth to successfull ends, shall much wrong themselves either to turne backe againe, or to seeke by-paths, whose ends are both vnknowne and vncertaine: and herein the French saying may serue to some purpose:
Si vous estes bien tenez vous là.

CHAP. VI.

Cæsar carieth his armie ouer the Rheine into Germanie.



CÆSAR being come from the Menapij to the Treuiri, did resolve to passe the Rheine for two causes: the one was, for that the Germanes had sent succours and supplies to the Treuiri; the other that Ambiorix might haue no reception or entertainment among them. Vpon this resolution, a litle above that place where he caried his armie ouer before, he commaunded a bridge to be made after the knowne and appointed fashion, which by the great industrie of the souldiers was ended in a few dayes: and leaving a sufficient strength at the bridge, lest any sudden motion should rise amongst the Treuiri, he caried ouer the rest of his forces both horse and foote. The Vbiij which before time had giuen hostages and were taken into obedience, sent Ambassadors vnto him to cleare themselves from imputation of disloyallic, and that the Treuiri had received no supplies from their state: they pray and desire him to spare them, lest the generall distrust of the Germanes should cause him to punish the innocent for the guilty: and if he would aske more hostages, they would willingly giue them. *Cæsar* vpon examination of the matter, found that the supplies were sent by the Swevi: and thereupon he accepted the satisfaction of the Vbiij, and inquired the way and the passages to the Swevi. Some few dayes after he vnderstood by the Vbiij, that the Swevi had brought all their forces to one place, and had commaunded such nations as were vnder their dominion that they should send them forces of horse and foote. Vpon this intelligence he made provision of corne, and chese a fit place to incamp in: he commaunded the Vbiij to take their castell and all their other goods from abroad out of the fields into their townes, hoping that the barbarous and unskilfull men might through want of victuall be drawne to fight vpon hard conditions: he gaue order also that they should euery day

Cæsar.

d

send out discoverers to the Swevi to understand what they did. The Vbijs did as they were commaunded, and after a few dayes brought word that all the Swevi having received certaine newes of the approach of the Romaine armie, had retired themselves and all their forces to their utmost confines, where there was a wood of an infinite greatnesse called Bacenis, and served as a naturall wall or defence to keepe the Chirufci from the incursions of the Swevi, and the Swevi from the iniurie and spoile of the Chirufci.

OBSERVATIONS.

Bridges.



WILL hold my former purpose, not to deliuer any thing concerning bridges, whereof there are so many treatises already extant: neither will I go about to describe the substantiall building or ingenious workmanship of this bridge here mentioned, which might well become *Cæsar* & his armie: for as he only could, or at the least did, put in practise the making thereof, so will I leave the description to himselfe, as best fitting with his eloquence. But forasmuch as *Brancatio* an Italian writer, taketh occasion from hence to runne into ignorance and error, giue me leave to set a marke vpon this place, lest others not knowing the auncient course, should run their barke vpon the same shallows. Amongst other aduertisements (being but fourteene in all, which he hath giue vpon *Cæsar*'s Commentaries) he noteth and commendeth the vse of bridges before this or any other inuention of former times, specially in regard of the easinesse and expedition which may be vsed both in making such a bridge, and taking it vp againe: for the boates being prepared readie, as vsually they are in campe royals, such a bridge may be made in a day, which *Cæsar* could not do in tennes, but with great wonderment and admiration. And therein I hold well with *Brancatio*, that for the speedie transportation of an armie ouer a riuer, there is no readier means then a bridge of boates, presupposing the boates to be fitt in a readinesse. But that which he concludeth, is, that mens wits in these times are much sharper and readier, then those of former ages, forasmuch as they haue found out an easie and expedite course, which former times could neuer reach vnto. Wherein I will not go about to derogate any thing from the condition of the time in which we liue and breath, but do desire to find them better accomplished, then any other foregoing ages, howsoever I may suspect a greater weaknesse of wit in these dayes, wherein the temperature of the body is worse conditioned then it was in the time of our forefathers, as may appeare by many arguments, and serueth not so fitly to the working powers of the mind, as it did before this multiplicitie of mixture, when the state of mens bodies were compounded of those perfect elements which were in our first parents. But for this reason which *Brancatio* alledgeth, the Reader may be pleased to vnderstand, that the vse of boate bridges was both knowne and in practise, as well before the *Romaine* Empire, as in the time of their gouernment.

Hera-

Whether mens
wits be sharper
and readier
then in
former time.

Heraclitus relating the passage of *Zerxes* armie into *Greece*, describeth this bridge of boates, (which *Brancatio* would attribute to the inuention of our times) in the selfe same manner, or rather more artificially then hath bene accustomed in these later ages: for finding that no timber worke would serue the turne, to make a sufficient bridge ouer the streights of *Hellepont*, being seuen furlongs in breadth, he caused Biremes and Triremes to be placed in equall distance one from another, and fastened with anchors before and behind, and to be ioyned together with planks and boords, and then couered with sand and grauell, raising a hedge or blind on each side therof, to the end the horse and cattell might not be affraid at the working of the billow, and so made a bridge for the passage of his armie. And in the time of the *Romaine* Empire, *Tacitus* describeth the like bridge to be made ouer the riuer *Po*, by *Valens* and *Cecina* with as great skill as can be shewed at these times: for saith he, they placed boates a crosse the riuer, in equall distance one from another, and ioyned them together with strong planks, and fastened them with anchors: but in such sort, as *Anchorum funes non extenti fluitabant, ut aufertur flumine inoffensus ordo nauium attolleretur*. Whereby it appeareth how much *Brancatio* was deceiued in ascribing that to these latter times, which was the inuention of former ages, and may serue as a caueat to our out-languist humorists, that can indure no reading but that which foundeth with a straunge idiom: not to trust too much vpon their authors, lest whilst they stifle their memorie with straunge words, in the meane time they starue their vnderstanding.

Polimnia
Herodoti.

Hist. 3.

CHAP. VII.

The Factions in Gallia in Cæsars time.



BT here it shall not be amisse to deliuer somewhat touching the manner and fashion of life both of the Gaules, and of the Germanies, and wherein those two nations do differ. In Gallia not onely in euery citie, village, & precinct, but almost in euery particular house, there are parties and factions, the heads whereof are such as they thinke to be of greatest authoritie, according to whose opinion and commaund the maine course of their actions is directed. And this seemeth a custome instituted of old time, to the end that none of the common people how meane soeuer, might at any time want means to make their partie good against a greater man: for if they should suffer their parties and followers to be either oppressed or circumvented, they should neuer haue any rule or authoritie amongst them. And this is the course throughout all Gallia, for all their States are deuided into two factions. When *Cæsar* came into Gallia, the *Hedui* were chieftain-leaders of the one partie, and the *Sequan* of the other: those finding themselves to be the weaker side, (forasmuch as the principallitie and chieftest

Cæsar.

power was aunciently seated in the Hedui, hauing many and great adherents and clients) drew the Germanes and Ariouistus by many great promises on their party: and after many great victories at the Nobilitie of the Hedui being slaine, they went so far beyond them in power and authoritie, that they drew the greatest part of clients from the Hedui to themselves, and took the children of their Princes for pledges, and caused them to take a publike oath not to undertake any thing against the Sequani: besides a great part of their country which they tooke from them by force, and so they obtained the principalltie of Gallia. And thereupon Diuitiacus went vnto Rome to seeke ayde of the Senate, but returned without effecting any thing. Cæsars comming into Gallia brought an alteration of these things, for the pledges were restored backe againe to the Hedui, and their old followers and clients did likewise returne to their protection: besides other new followers which by Cæsars meanes did cleaue vnto them. Whereby their noblesse and dignity was so amplified and enlarged, that the Sequani lost their authority, whom the men of Rhemes succeeded. And forasmuch as the world took notice that they were no lesse fauoured of Cæsar then the Hedui, such as by reason of former enmities could not endure to ioyne with the Hedui, put themselves into the clientle of the men of Rhemes, & found respectiue protection from that State, which caused a new and sodaine raised authority of the men of Rhemes: so that at that time the Hedui went far beyond all the other States of Gallia in power and authority, and next vnto them were the men of Rhemes.

OBSERVATIONS.

Factions and parties.



FRACTIONS are generally the rent of a State, and a disioyn-
ting of those parts which common vnitie hath knit together for
the preseruatiue of good gouernement: but the *Gauls* main-
tained sides and parties throughout the whole bodie of their pol-
icie at home: and as it fell out in the course of these warres, rather a helpe then
otherwise in their generall defence against a forraigne enemy. The reason of the
former benefite was grounded vpon two causes, as *Cæsar* noteth; the one pro-
ceeding from the oppression vsed by the rich and mightie men towards the
poorer and meaner people; and the other from the impatiencie of those of in-
feriour condition, refusing to acknowledge any authoritie or preheminiencie at
all, rather then to endure the wrongs and contumelies of the mighty. And there-
fore to preuent the licentious might of the great ones, and to giue countenance
and respect to the lower sort, these factions and sides were deuised: wherein
the foote had alwayes a head sensible of the wrongs which were done vnto it.
Things of greater condition are alwayes iniurious to lesser natures, and cannot
endure any competence; not so much as in comparifon, or by way of relation.
In things without life, the prerogatiue of the mountaines doth swallow vp the
lesser rising of the downes, and the swelling of the downes, the vneuennesse of
the

the mole-hills: the Stars are dimmed at the rising of the Moone, and the Moone
loseth both her light and her beautie in the presence of the Sunne. So amongst
bruite beasts and fishes, the greater do alwayes deuour the lesse, and take them
as their due by the appointment of nature: and men more iniurious in this
point, then either mountaines or bruite beasts, inasmuch as they do alwayes oc-
cupie vale themselves beyond their owne greatnesse, haue in all ages verified the
old prouerbe, *Homo homini lupus*. And on the other side, as nature maketh no-
thing in vaine, but hath giuen a being to the least of her creatures: so do they
endeavour not to be aduallied, but to keepe themselves in being and continu-
ance, *Habet & musca splenem*, saith the Poet: and the Pismires and Bees haue
their common weales, though not equall to a Monarke. And therefore that the
mightie and great men of Gallia, might not deuoure the lowest of the people,
but that euery man might stand in his owne condition, and by the helpe of a
Rowland liue by an *Oliuer*. And againe, that the poorer sort might giue as a tri-
bute for their protection, that respect and obedience to their superiours, as be-
longeth to such high callings, these factions and bandies were ordained:
whereby the Nobles were restrained from oppressing the poore, and the poore
compelled to obey the Nobilitie, which is the best end that may be made of
any faction.

Concerning the aduantage which the *Gauls* receiued by these factions a-
gainst forraigne enemies, it was rather in regard of the multiplicitie of States
and Common-weales which were in the continent of Gallia then otherwise;
for it manifestly appeareth, that their factions and contentions for soueraigne
authoritie, caused one partie to bring in *Ariouistus* and the *Germanes*; and
the other partie, the *Romaines* to make good their bandy. But forasmuch as
Gallia had many diuisions, and contained many feuerall States, relying chiefly
vpon their owne strength, and esteeming the subuersion of their neighbour
cite, as a calamitie befalling their neighbour, from which the rest stood as yet
free, it was not so easily conquered as if it had bene all but one kingdom.
The battell which *Cæsar* had with the *Nervi*, which was fought so hard, that of
three score thousand men there were left but five hundred; nor of sixe hun-
dred Senators, but three; nor againe, the selling of three and fiftie thousand
Gauls for bond-slaves at one time, did not so much aduantage the conquest
of Gallia, as the battell of *Edward* the third, or that of *Henrie* the fifth, our two En-
glish *Cæsars*: in the former whereof were slaine at *Cressie* thirtie thousand of the
French, and in the latter at *Agincourt* but ten thousand. The reason was, for
that the former losses though farre greater concerned but particular States,
whereas these latter ouerthrowes extended to the members and branches
of the whole kingdom.

Lib. 2.

Lib. 3.

CHAP. VIII.

Two sortes of men in Gallia, Druides and Equites.

Cæsar.

Potest. as. vult.
& cur.

England.

THroughout all Gallia there are but two sorts of men that are of any reckoning or account; for the common people are in the nature of seruants, and of no worth of themselves, nor admitted to any Parliament: being kept vnder either by debts or by great tributes, or by the oppression of the mightie: do put themselves in the seruice of the Nobilitie, and are subiect to the authority which the master hath ouer his bondslauie: of these two sorts, the one are Druides, and the other Equites or gentlemen. The Druides which are alwayes present at their holy duties, do giue order for their publike and priuate sacrifices, and expound their Religion. To the Druides great numbers of the youth do resort for learnings sake, and haue them in great honour and reputation; for they do determine almost of all controuersies both publicke and priuate: for if any offence be committed, as murder or manslaughter, or any controuersie arise touching their lands or inheritance, they sentence it; rewarding the vertuous, and punishing the wicked. If any priuate man or State do not obey their decree, they interdict him from holy duty, which is the greatest punishment that is amongst them: such as are thus interdicted, are reputed in the number of impious and wicked men, euery man leaues their companie, and doth auyd to meete them, or speake with them, lest they should receive any hurt by their contagion: neither haue they law or iustice when they require it, nor any respect or honour that doth belong vnto them. Ouer all the Druides there is one Primat that hath authoritie of the rest: at his decesse if any one do excel the rest in dignitie he succedeth: if many equals are found they go to election, and sometimes they contend about the primacy with force and armes. They meet at a certaine time of the yeare in the confines of the Carnutes, which is the middle part of all Gallia, and there they sit in a sacred place: thither they resort fro all parts that haue controuersies, & do obey their orders & iudgements. The art & learning of the Druides was first found out in Britany, and from thence is thought to be brought into Gallia: and at this time such as will attaine to the perfect knowledge of that discipline, do for the most part traueile thither to learne it. The Druides are exempt from warfare and payments, and haue an immunitie from all other duties: whereby it falleth out, that many do betake themselves to that profession of their owne free will, and diuers others are sent to that schoole by their parents and friends: they are said to learne many verses, and that some do study therein twenty yeares. Neither is it lawfull for them to vntie any thing to writing, beside that in other publike and priuate busineses they onely vse the Greeke tongue: & that as I take it for two causes, first for that their learning may not become common and vulgar; secondly, that schollers might not trust so much to their writings as to their memorie, as it happeneth for the most part to such as rely vpon the trust of bookes and papers, & in the meane time omit the benefit of good remembrance.

They

They endeavour chiefly to teach men that their soules do not die, but that they do sleepe from one bodie to another, and this they thinke to be very important so stirre men up to vertue neglecting the feare of death: they dispute further, and giue many traditions to the youth, touching the starres and their motion, the magnitude of the earth and the world, and the might and power of the Gods.

OBSERVATIONS.

THE qualitie and condition of the Druides is in this place very particularly described by Cæsar, and may be reduced to these heads.

First, their office extending both to things diuine and things temporall, whereby they executed the place both of Priests and of Iudges. And for that purpose there was one knowne place appointed where they fate in iudgement: and as I vnderstand it, there was but one Terme in the yeare, which both began and ended their suites in law. The second thing is their authoritie, hauing power to reward vertue, and to punish vice. Thirdly, their Priuiledges and immunities, being free from contribution, from warfare and all other burthens of the state. Fourthly, their doctrine and learning which was partly Theologicall, concerning the might and power of the gods, the immortalitie of the Soule: and partly philosophicall, touching the starres and their motion, the earth and the magnitude thereof: and lastly, their manner of learning, which was altogether Pythagoricall, refusing the help of letters and bookes, and committing their doctrine to the tradition of their elders: but that which is specially to be obserued, is, that this learning was not onely found out here in Britannie, but such as would perfectly attaine to the knowledge thereof, came into England to studie the same, contrarie to the experience which heretofore hath bene obserued of the Northerne and Southerne parts of the world: for as the South giueth a temper to the bodie fit for the science and contemplation of Arts, whereby the mind being enlarged and purified in her faculties, doth diue into the secret depth of all learning, and censure the hidden mysteries thereof: so the Northerne climats do bind in the powers of the soule, and restraine all her vertues to the vse of the bodie, whereby they are said to haue *animam in digitis*, not affording her that delight and contentment which is vsually receiued by speculation. And thence it happeneth that all speculative arts and sciences, and what else soeuer concerneth the inward contemplation of the mind, was found out and perfected by such as border vpon the South, and from them it was brought by litle and litle into the Northerne regions. And such as would be maisters in the Arts they professed, went alwaies southward for the attaining therof: but here the South was beholding to the North, as well for their principles of Diuinitie, as for their Philosophie, and morall learning, being as pure, as that which any heathen people euer dranke of. Which proueth an auncient singularity in the inhabitants of this Iland, touching the studie of Arts & matter of learning, and may with like euidence be proued from age to age euen to this time. In witnesse whereof I

Druides.

England.

By reason of
the curious
and artificiall
workes.

appeale to the two Vniuersities of this land, as a demonstration of the loue which our nation hath euer borne to learning, being two such Magazines of arts and sciences, so beautified with curious buildings, and supplied with indowments for the liberall maintenance of the Muses, enriched with Libraries of learned Workes, adorned with pleasant places for the refreshing of wearied spirits, gardens, groues, walks, riuers, and arborets, as the like such *Athens* are not to be found in any part of the world.

CHAP. IX.

The second sort of men in Gallia, called
the Equites in Cæsar time.

Cæsar.



HE other sort of people are Equites or Gentlemen, these when there is occasion, or when any warre happeneth (as before Cæsar his coming was vsuall every yeare, that either they did offer iniuries, or resist iniuries) are alwaies parties therein, and as euery man excelleth other in birth or wealth, so is he attended with clients and followers, and this they take to be the only note of Nobilitie and greatnesse. The whole nation of the Gaules are much addicted to religions, and for that cause such as are either grieuously discaied or conuersant continually in the dangers of warre, do either sacrifice men for an oblation, or vow the oblation of themselves, vowing in such sacrifices the ministration of the Druides, forasmuch as they are perswaded that immortall Deitie cannot be pleased, but by giuing the life of one man for the life of another. And to that purpose they haue publike sacrifices appointed, others haue Images of a monstrous magnitude, whose limmes and parts being made of osiers, are filled with living men, and being set on fire the men are burned to death: the execution of such as are taken in theft or robberie or any other crime, they thinke to be best pleasing to the gods, but wanting such they spare not the innocent. They worship chiefly the god Mercurius, and haue many of his images amongst them, him they adore as the inventor of all arts, the conductor and guide in all voyages and iourneys, & they thinke him to haue great power in all merchandize and gaine of moneys. Next vnto him they preferre Apollo, Mars, Ioue and Minerva, and of these they carry the same opinion as other nations do: Apollo to be powerfull in healing diseases, Minerva in finding out artificiall workes, Ioue ruling the celestia Empire, and Mars for warre. When they are to encounter with an enemy, they vow all the spoile vnto him, and such beasts as are taken they sacrifice, other things they lay up in some one place: and many such heapes of things so taken, are to be seene in the holy places of diuerse of their cities. Neither doth it often happen that any man neglecting his religion in that point, dare either keepe backe any thing so taken, or take away ought laid up in their Repositories. The Gaules do all boast themselves in the spoile from whence they are descended, vnderstanding by the Druides, that they come of the god Dis. And therefore

therefore they end the space of all their times by the number of nights rather then by the number of dayes, observing the dayes of their natiuitie, the beginnings of their moneths, and their yeares, in such sort, as the day doth alwayes follow the night. And herein they differ from other nations, that they suffer not their children to come openly vnto them, but when they are growne fit for warre: thinking it shameful and dishonour, that a sonne in his childhood should in publike places stand in the sight of his father. To the portions which they haue with their wiues, they adde as much more of their owne goods, and the vse of this money thus added together, is kept apart, and the longer liuer hath both the principall and the interest for all the former time. The men haue power of life and death, both ouer their wiues and their children: and when a man of great place and parentage shal happen to decease, his kinsfolks assemble themselves together to enquire of his death, if there be any occasion of suspicion, they put his wife to torture after the maner of a seruant, and if it be found, she dies tormented with fire and all other tortures as may be imagined. Their funerals (according to the rest of their life) are magnificent and sumptuous, burying with the dead corpses all that he tooke delight in while he liued, not sparing liuing creatures: and not long out of memorie, the custome was to burie with the bodie such clients and seruants as were favoured by him in his life time. Such States as are careful in the gouernment of their common weales, do prohibite by a speciall law, that no man shall communicate a rumour or report touching the State to any man, sauing a Magistrate, forasmuch as it had bene often found, that rash and vnskilful men were so terrified with false reports, and moved to such desperate attempts, that they entred into resolutions touching the maine points of State. The Magistrates do keepe secret such things as they thinke fit, and that which they thinke expedient they publish: but it is not lawfull to speake of matter of State, but in assemblies of State.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



ONCERNING the beginning of dayes and times, which Cæsar noteth in this place to be observed by the Gaules after Sun setting: whereby it happened that in the naturall day of foure and twentie houres, the night alwayes preceded the day time, contrarie to the vse of Italy, where the day began at Sun rising, and the night followed the artificiall day as the second part of the day naturall: we are to vnderstand, that as all time, and the distinction of the parts thereof, dependeth vpon the two motions of the Sunne: the one as it moueth in it own orb from West to East, begetting the reuolution of yeares, and the seasons of Sommer and Winter, the Spring and the Autumne, with the measure of moneths as it passeth through the signes of the Zodiacke: and the other, as it is carried from East to West by the first moving sphere, making the distinction of nights and dayes, houres and minutes: so the beginnings of these times and seasons are diuersly taken amongst diuerse people and nations of the earth. The Iewes had the same computation touching the beginning of the day as the Gaules had, but vpon other grounds and reasons then could be alleaged for this cu-

The beginning of the day diuersly observed.

stone in *Gallia*: for they began their day in the evening at Sunne setting, as appeareth by many places of the Scripture: and *Moses* in the repetition of the first seven dayes worke, vpon the accomplishment of a day, faith, The evening and the morning were one day, giuing the evening precedencie before the morning, as though the day had begun in the evening. The *Bohemians* in like manner do obserue the beginning of their day in the evening, and do herein follow the vse of the *Iewes*. Other nations do begin at Sunne rising, and take the computation of their day naturall from the first appearing of the Sunne in the East. The *Greekes* begin and end their day at midnight, obseruing the certaintie of that time, and the correspondence betweene the equall and planetarie houres in the meridian Circle: whereas otherwise by reason of the inequalitye of the dayes and the nights, out of a right sphaere there is alwaies some difference betweene the said houres: and this vse also is obserued by vs in *England*.

This god *Ditis* whom he nameth for the father of that nation, is the same whome the heathen called *Pluto*, the god of hell and darkenesse, and for that cause they put darkenesse before light, touching the beginning of their naturall day.

But forasmuch as this circumstance giueth occasion to speake of dayes and times, giue me leaue to insert the reformation of the year, which *Cæsar* so happily established, that succeeding times haue had no cause to alter the same.

And although it neither concerneth the art of warre, nor happened within the compasse of these seven sommers: yet forasmuch as it was done by *Cæsar*, & deserueth as often memorie as any other of his noble acts, it shall not seeme impertinent to the reader to take this much by the way concerning that matter. There is no nation of any ciuill gouernement, but obserueth a course or revolution differenced with times and seasons, in such manner, as may be auersible to the motion of the Sunne, in the circuit which it maketh through the signes and degrees of the Zodiacke. But forasmuch as the gouernment of a ciuill yeare doth not well admit any other composition of parts, to make it absolute and complete then by naturall dayes; and on the other side the Sunne requireth odde houres and minutes to finish his race, and returne againe to the goale from whence it came, there hath alwaies bene found a difference betweene the ciuill and the Solar yeare. Before *Cæsar*'s time, the *Romaines* vsing the auncient computation of the year, had not only such vncertaintie and alteration in moneths and times, that the sacrifices & yearely feasts, came by litle and litle to seasons contrary for the purpose they were ordained: but also in the revolution of the Sun or Solare yeare, no other nation agreed with them in account; and of the *Romaines* themselves onely the Priests vnderstood it: and therefore when they pleased (no man being able to controule them) they would vpon the sodaine thrust in a moneth about the ordinary number, which as *Plutarch* noteth, was in old time time called *Mercedonius*, or *Menfis intercalaris*. To remedie this inconuenience, *Cæsar* calling together the best and most expert Astronomers of that time, made a Kalender more exactly calculated then any other that was before: and yet such a one as by long continuance of time

*Plutarch
Cæsar.*

hath

hath bred a difference, for the matter standeth thus.

It is found by certaine obseruation of Mathematicians of all ages, that the Sunne being caried from the West to the East by the motion of his owne Sphaere, finisheth his yearely course in the space of 365. dayes, five houres, nine and fortie minutes, and some odde seconds: whereupon it was then concluded that their ciuill yeare must necessarily containe three hundred threecore and five dayes, which maketh two and fiftie weekes and one day: and forasmuch as those five odde houres, nine and fortie minutes, and some seconds, did in foure yeares space amount vnto a naturall day (wanting two and fortie minutes, and fixe and fiftie seconds, which was thought nothing in comparison) they deuised euery fourth yeare to adde a day more then ordinarie, to answer that time which is vually added to February: whereby it happeneth that in euery fourth yeare February hath nine and twentie dayes; and so they made an order to reforme their yeare without any sensible error for a long time. But since that time, being one thousand fixe hundred yeares and more, those two and fortie minutes, and six and fiftie seconds, which as I said do want of the naturall day of foure and twentie houres which is incert in euery fourth yeare, haue bred a manifest and an apparant error: for whereas the ciuill yeare is by that meanes made greater then the solar yeares, the Sunne ending his taske before we can end our times, it happeneth that such feasts as haue relation to seasonable times, do as it were foreflow the oportunitie, and fall out further in the yeare, as though they had a motion towards the sommers solstice. And as these go forward, so doth the Equinoctiall returne backwards towards the beginning of the moneth. For *Cæsar* by the helpe of the Astronomers obserued the Equinoctium the five and twentieth of March. *Ptolomy* in his time obserued the Equinoctium the two and twentieth of March. And it was obserued the one and twentieth of March in the yeare from the incarnation 322. what time was holden the first generall Councell at *Nice* a citie of *Ponthus*, in respect whereof the Pascall tables and other rules were established for the celebration of Easter. But since that time there are passed 1281. yeares, and the Equinoctium cometh before the one and twentieth of March ten dayes.

As this error is reformed among other nations, and reduced to that state as it was at the *Nicens* Councell: so there might many reasons be alleaged to proue the reformation conuenient of a greater number of dayes then ten. For if the Kalender were so ordered, that euery moneth might begin when the Sun entred into that Signe which is for the moneth, and end when the Sunne goeth out of that signe, it would auoide much confusion, and be very easie to all sorts of people as haue occasion to obserue the same: which doubleste was the purport of the first institution of moneths; and was obserued (as it seemeth) by the old *Romaines*, who began the yeare at the winter solstice, as *Ouid* noteth:

*Bruma noui prima est, veterisq. nouissima solis,
Principium capiunt Phœbeus & annus idem.*

And therefore they called that moneth Ianuarie of *Ianus* that had two faces, and saw both the old and the new yeare: such therefore as would go about to reforme the yeare to this course, must not cut off ten dayes onely, but one and

twentie, and for one yeare make December to continue but tenne dayes, and then Januarie to begin, and so successiue to the rest of the moneths. But it may be said, that although we helpe our selues, and put off the inconuenience which is fallen vpon vs, yet in tract of time the like error will fall againe vpon succeeding ages, and put their yearly Feasts besides the dayes appointed for them. For remedie whereof it may be answered: That whereas this error hath happened by adding euery fourth yeare a naturall day, which in true calculation wanted two and fortie minutes and fixe and fiftie seconds of foure and twentie houres, and in euery 136. yeares hath accrued within one minute to a day more then needed: the onely way is euery 136. yeares, to omit the addition of that day, and to make that yeare to containe but 365. dayes, which by the order of *Cæsars* Kalender, is a leape yeare, and hath one day more, which hath brought this error. And so there would not happen the error of a day in the space of 11086. yeares, if the world should continue so long.

But lest we should seeme more curious in reforming the course of our ciuill yeare, then the manners of our ciuill life, I will proceede to that which followeth.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



THE second thing which I obserue in their manner of life, is the respect they had to matter of State, and the care which they took that no man should dispute of the Commonweale, but in assemblies appointed for the seruice of the Commonweale. Whereby they gained two speciall points for the maintenance of good gouernement. The first, that no man might speake of points of state, but the gouernours of State: for such I vnderstand to be admitted to their Councils and Parliaments. Secondly, that such matters of consequence as touched the so nearely, might not be handled, but at such places and at such times as might best aduantage the State. Concerning the former, we are to note, that Gouernment is defined, to be an establishing of order best fitting the maintenance of a people, in a peaceable and happie life. Order requireth degrees and distinctions inuesting severall parts in severall functions and duties: to these duties there belongeth a due obseruance according to the motion and place, which euery part holdeth in the generall order. Of these degrees and distinctions, Soberaigntie and Obedience are two maine relatives, the one inuested in the Prince or Magistrate, the other in the people and subiect, incommunicable in regard of their teares and subiects, and yet concurring in the maine drift of gouernment, intending the benefite of a happie life. And therefore the *Gauls* did carefully provide, that no man should exceed the limits of his owne rancke, but that such as fate at the helme might shape the course: & for the rest whose lot it was to be directed, they would haue them take notice of their mandates by obedience, and not by dispute.

Touching the second point, we are to consider the danger which may happen

*Their respect
to matter
of State.*

*This forme an
vnam dispute
deve, not is ob-
sequigloria
relata est
Tavittu.*

pen to a State, by common and ordinarie discourse of the Principles of that Gouernment, or of such circumstances as are incident to the same, (without respect of time or place, or any other due regard) which the wisdom of a well ordered policie, doth hold requisite thereunto: for whatsoever is deliuered by speech, without such helpfull attendance, is both vnseasonable and vnprofitable, and the Commonweale is alwaies a sufferer, when it falleth into such rash considerations: for our most serious cogitations assisted with the best circumstances, can but speake to purpose. And as the execution falleth short of the purport intended by discourse, so is our speech and discourse lame and wanting to our inward conceipt. And therefore as religious actions stand in neede of *hoc age*, so may politicke consultations vse the helpe of the same remembrancer.

CHAP. X.

The maner and life of the Germanes.



THE Germanes do much differ from the *Gauls* in their course of life, for they haue neither Priests nor sacrifices: they worship no Gods but such as are subiect to sense, and from whom they daily receiue profits and helpe, as the Sunne, the fire, and the Moon, for the rest they haue not so much as heard of: their life is onely spent in hunting, or in vse and practise of war, they inuere themselves to labor and hardnesse euen to their childhood: and such as continue beardless are most commended amongst them: for this some thinke to be very auailable to their stature, others to their strength and sinewes: they hold it a most dishonest part for one to touch a woman before he be twentie yeares of age, neither can any such matter be hid or dissembled: forasmuch as they bathe themselves together in riuers, and vse skinnies and other small coverings on the reines of their backs, the rest of their bodie being all naked. They vse no tillage, the greatest part of their food is milke, or cheese, or flesh: neither hath any man any certaine quantitie of land to his owne vse, but their Magistrates and Princes do euery yeare allot a certaine portion of land to kindreds and tribes that inhabite together, and in such places as they thinke fit, whereof they giue many reasons, lest they should be led away by continuall custome from the practise of war to the vse of husbandrie, or lest they should endeavour to get themselves great possessions, and so the weaker should be thrust out and dispossessed of their linings by the mightie, or lest they should build too delicately for the auoyding of cold or heate, or lest they should waxe couetous and thirst after money, which is the beginning of all factions and dissensions: and lastly that they might keepe the Commons in good contentment, considering the parity betwene their reuenues and the possessions of the great ones. It is the greatest honor to their States to haue their confines lie wast and desolate far and neare about them: for that they take to be an argument of valour, when their borderers are driven to forsake their country,

Cæsar.

and dare not abide neare them; and withall they thinke themselves by that means much safer from any sodaine incursion. When a State maketh war, either by way of attempt or defence, they chuse Magistrates to command that war, having power of life and death; but in time of peace they haue no common Magistrate, but the chiefeſt men in the country and the villages, do interpret the law and determine of controversies. The best committed out of the confines of their State is not infamous or dishonest, but commended as an exercise of the youth and a keeping them from sloth: when any one of their Princes and chiefe men shall in an assembly or counsell publish himselfe for a leader vpon some exploit, and desire to know who will follow him vpon the same, they that haue a good opinion of the man and the matter, and do promise him their helpe and assistance, are commended by the multitude: the rest that refuse to accompany him are held in the number of traitors, and neuer haue any credit afterwards. They hold it not lawfull to hurt a stranger that shall come vnto them vpon any occasion, but do protect him from iniuries: to such enery mans house is open & his table common. The time was when the Gauls excelled the Germanes in prowesse and valor, and made war vpon them of their own accord, and by reason of the multitude of their people and want of ground for habitatio, they sent many colonies ouer the Rheine into Germany. And therfore those fertile places of Germany, which are nerer vnto the wood Hercinia which Eratholenses & other Grecians tooke notice of by the name of Orcinia were possessed by the Volges and Teutoages, who dwelt there at this time, and keepe their ancient opinion of iustice and warlike praise. Now the Germanes stil continue in the same povertrie, want, and patience, as in former time; do vse the same diet and apparell for their bodies: but the neighborhood and knowledge of other nations hath made the Gauls live in a more plentifull manner, and by litle & litle haue bin weakened & overthrowen in duers battels, so that now they stand not in coparison with the Germanes. The breadth of the wood Hercinia is 9 dayes iourney ouer, for they haue no other differences of space but by means of dayes iourneys: it beginneth at the confines of the Helvetij, Numetj, and runs along the river Danubius to the territories of the Daci, thence it declineth to the left side from the said river, and by reason of the large extension thereof, it bordereth the confines of many other countries. Neither is there any Germane that can say, that either he durst adventure or did go, or had heard of the beginning of the same, although he had travelled therein threecore dayes iourney. In this wood are many sorts of wild beasts, which are not to be seene in any other place: amongst the rest there is an Oxe like vnto a Hart, that in the middlest of his forehead betwene his eares carieth a horne longer then vsuall, diuided at the end into many large branches: the female is in all respects like vnto the male, and beareth a horne of the same magnitude and fashion. There is likewise another sort of beasts called Alces, not vnlike vnto a Gaur, but somewhat bigger and without hornes, their legs are without toyns, that when they take their rest they neither sit nor lie vpon the ground, and if they chance to fall they cannot rise againe. When they take their rest in the night, they leane against trees: the hunters hauing found out their footstps and their haunts, do either vndermine the roote of such trees, or so cut them asunder that a small water will overthrow them, so that when they come according vnto their vse to rest themselves against those trees, they overthrow them with their weight, and fall with themselves and so are taken. The third kind of beast are those which are called Vrsi, some-

what

what lesſer then an Elephant, and in colour, kind and shape, not vnlike vnto a Bull, they are both strong and swift, and spare neither man nor beast that cometh in their sight: these they catch with greater labour and diligence in pits and ditches, and so kill them. The youth do inure and exercise themselves in this kind of hunting, and such as kill many of these beasts, and shew most hornes, are highly commended: but to make them tame or any their litle ones, was neuer yet seene. The largenesſe of their hornes, as also the fashion and kind thereof, doth much differ from the hornes of the Oxen, and are much sought after for cups to be vsed in their greatest banquets, being first bound about the brim and trimmed with siluer.

OBSERVATIONS.



CÆSAR in this Chapter describeth the course of life which the Germanes in his time held throughout the whole pollicie of their gouernement, the scope whereof was to make them warlike: to which he saith, that in times past the Gauls were as valiant and as warlike people as the Germanes: but the neighborhood and knowledge of other nations, had taught them a more plentifull manner of life, which by litle and litle had weakened their strength, and made them far inferiour to the Germanes. Which bringeth to our consideration that which is often attributed to a ciuill life, that such as tast of the sweetnesſe of ease, and are qualified with the complements of ciuilitie, haue alwayes an indisposition to warlike practises. The reason is grounded vpon vse and custome; for discontinuance doth alwayes cause a strangenesſe and alienation, benumbing the appetite parts with vnreadie and painefull gestures: and is so powerfull, that it doth not onely steale away naturall affection, and make parents forget to loue their children; but like a tyrant it is able to force vs to those things which naturally we are vnfit for, as though the decrees of nature were subiect to the controule of custome. Much more then, the things got by vse and practise, are as easily forgot by discontinuance, as they were obtained by studious exercise. On the other side, there is nothing so horrible or dreadfull, but vse maketh easie. The first time the Fox saw the Lion, he swounded for feare; the next time he trembled, but the third time he was so farr from feare, that he was ready to put a trick of craft vpon him: whereby it appeareth, that the Germanes had no further interest in deedes of armes about the Gauls, then what the vse of war had gained them: for as vsage continueth the property of a tenure, so nonusage implieth a forfeiture. Cato was wont to say, that the Romanes would loose their Empire, when they suffered the Greeke tongue to be taught amongst them: for by that meanes they would easily be drawne from the studie and practise of warre, to the bewitching delight of speculatiue thoughts. And Marcellus was blamed for being the first that corrupted Rome with the delicate and curious workes of Greece: for before that he brought from the sacking of Syracusa the wel wrought tables of pictures and imagery, Rome neuer knew any such delicacie, but stood full fraught with armor & weapons of barbarous people, of the

Whether a ciuill life do weaken a warlike disposition.

bloudy spoyles and monuments of victories and triumphs, which were rather fearefull shewes to inure their eyes to the horror of warre, then pleasant fights to allure their minds to affections of peace. Whereby it appeareth, that such as suffer themselves to be guided by the easie raigne of ciuill gouernement, or take a disposition to that course of life, can hardly indure the yoke of war, or vndergo the tediousnesse of martiall labours.

CHAP. XI.

Basilus his surprise vpon
Ambiorix.

Cæsar.



CÆSAR finding by the discoverers which the Vbij sent out, that the Sweui had all betaken themselves to the woods, and doubting want of corne, forasmuch as the Germanes of all other nations do least care for tillage, he determined to go no further. But that his returne might not altogether free the barbarous people from feare, nor hinder the helpes and succors which they were wont to send into Gallia, hauing brought backe his armie, he cut off so much of the furthest part of the bridge next vnto the Vbij, as came in measure to two hundred foote, and in the end of that which remained, he built a towre of foure stories, making other workes for the strengthening of that place, wherein he left a garrison of twelve cohorts vnder the command of young C. Volcatius Tullus: he himselfe as carne waxed ripe, went forward to the warre of Ambiorix by the way of the wood of Ardenne, which is the greatest in all Gallia, and extendeth it selfe from the banks of Rheine and the confines of the Treuiri, to the seat of the Neruij, carrying a breadth of five hundred miles. He sent L. M. Basilus before with all the horse, to see if he could effect any thing either by preuention and speedie arrivall, or by opportunitie, commanding him not to suffer any fires to be made in his campe, lest his coming might be discovered. Basilus followeth his directions, and coming vpon them contrarie to their expectation, tooke many of the enemy abroad in the fields, and by their conduction made towards Ambiorix, where he remained in a place with a few horsemen. As fortune is very powerfull in all things, so she challengeth a speciall interest in matter of warre: for as it happened by great lucke, that he should light vpon him vnawares and unprovided, and that his coming should sooner be seene then heard of: so was it great hap, that all the armes which he had about him, should be surpris'd, his horses and his charrets taken, and that he himselfe should escape death. But this happened by reason of the wood that was about his house, according to the manner of the Gaules, who for annoyding of beate, do commonly build neare vnto woods and riuers: his followers and friends sustaining a while the charge of the horsemen in a narrow place, while he himselfe escaped in the meane time on horsebacke, and in shyn was protected and sheltered by the woods, whereby Fortune seemed very powerfull both in drawing on a danger, and in annoyding it.

OBSER.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



FH E prerogative which Fortune hath alwayes challenged in the accidents of warre, and the speciall interest, which she hath in that course of life more then in other mens actions, hath made the best soldiars oftentimes to sing a song of complaint, the burden whereof yet remaineth, and serueth as a reason of all such misadventures, *Fortune de la guerre*. Such as haue obserued the course of things, and haue found one and the same man continuing the same meanes, this day happie, and the next day vnfortunate: and againe, two other men, the one aduised and respectiue, and the other violent and rash, and yet both attaine the like good fortune by two contrarie courses, or otherwise as oftentimes it falleth out, the more heedlesse, the more happie, haue bene perswaded that all things are so gouerned by fortune, that the wisdom of man can neither alter nor amend them: and therefore to spend much time or tedious labour, either in carefull circumspection, or heedfull preuention of that which is vnchangeable, they hold as vaine as the walking of an *Aethiopian* to make him white. Of this opinion *Sylla* seemed to be, professing himselfe better borne to fortune then to the warres, and acknowledging his happiest victories to haue proceeded from his most heedlesse and vnaduised resolutions. And the great *Alexander* so caried himselfe, as though he had bene of the same opinion, of whome *Curcius* saith: *Quoties illum fortuna, à morte renouauit? quoties temerè in pericula uictu perpetua felicitate protexit?* And *Plutarch* saith, that he had power of time and place.

Fortune.

Plutarche in
the life of
Sylla.In the life of
Alexander.

Others are not willing to ascribe so much to Fortune, as to make themselves the tennise ball to her racket: and yet they are content to allow her halfe of euery thing they go about, reseruing the other moitie to their owne directions. And so like partners in an aduenture, they labour to improue their share for their best aduantage.

Some other there are that will allow Fortune no part at all in their actions, but do confront her with a goddesse of greater power, and make Industrie the meanes to aduall her deitie. Of this opinion was *Timotheus* the *Athenian*, who hauing attieued many notable victories, would not allow of the conceipt of the painter, that had made a table wherein Fortune was taking in those cities, (which he had won) with a net, whilst he himselfe slept: but protested against her in that behalfe, and would not giue her any part in that businesse.

Plutarche in
the life of
Sylla.

And thus the heathen world varied as much in their opinions touching Fortune, as Fortune her selfe did in her euents to themward: which were so diuers and changeable, as were able to ensnare the deepest wits, and confound the wisdom of the greatest iudgements: whereby the word Fortune vsurped a deitie, and got an opinion of extraordinary power in the regiment of humane actions. But our Christian times haue a readier lesson, wherein is taught a foueraigne Providence, guiding and directing the thoughts of mens hearts, with the faculties and powers of the Soule, together with their externall actions, to

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such ends as shall seeme best to that omnipotent wisdome, to whom all our abilities serue as instruments and meanes to effect his purposes, notwithstanding our particular intendments, or what the heart of man may otherwise determine. And therefore such as will make their wayes prosperous vnto themselves, and receiue that contentment which their hope expecteth, or their labours would deserue, must vse those helpes which the rules of Christiannie do teach in that behalfe, and may better be learned from a Diuine, then from him that writeth Treatises of warre.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Celeritie and expedition.

QUINTVS Curtius speaking of Alexander saith: *Nullam virtutem Regis istius magis quam celeritatem laudauerim*: whereof this might be a ground, that he followed Darius with such speed after the second battell he gaue him, that in eleuen dayes he marched with his armie fixe hundred miles, which was a chafe well fitting Alexander the Great, and might rest vnexampled: notwithstanding Suetonius giueth this generall report of Cæsar, that in matter militarie, *aut æquans præstanti (simorum gloriam aut excedit*: and for this particular he saith *quid per se nuntius de se præuenit*. And to speake truly, he seemeth to challenge to himselfe expedition and speede as his peculiar commendation, grounding himselfe vpon the daunger which lingring and foreflowing of time, doth vsually bring to well aduised resolutions: according to that of Lucan the Poet,

Necuit semper differre paratis.

For by this speedie execution of well digested directions, he gained two maine aduantages: first the preuention of such helpes and meanes as the enemye would otherwise haue had, to make the warre dangerous and the cunct doubtful. And secondly, the confusion and feare, which doth consequently follow such maine disappointments, being the most dangerous accidents that can happen to any partie, and the chiefe points to be endeuoured to be cast vpon an enemye by him that would make an easie conquest.

Plutarke in the life of Pompey.

For prooffe whereof amongst many other examples, I will onely alledge his expedition to Rome, when he first came against Pompey, according to Plutarke's relation. In the meane time (saith he) newes came to Rome, that Cæsar had won Ariminum, a great citie in Italie, and that he came directly to Rome with a great power, which was not true: for he came but with 3000. horse and 5000. foote, and would not tarie for the rest of his armie, being on the other side of the Alpes in Gallia, but made hast rather to surpris his enemies vpon the sudden, being afraid and in gaiboile, not looking for him so soone, then to giue them time to be prouided, and so to fight with them in the best of their strength, which fell out accordingly: for this sudden and vnexpected approach of his, put all Italy and Rome it selfe into such a tumult and confusion, that no man knew what way to take for his safetie: for such as were out of Rome came flying thither from all parts, and those on the other side that were in Rome, went out

as fast, and forooke the citie. And the amazement was such, that Pompey and the Senate fled into Greece, whereby it hapned that Cæsar in threescore dayes, was Lord of all Italie without any bloodshed.

Besides this manner of preuention by sudden surprize, we may see the like expedition in the very cariage and forme of his warres: for if the enemye had taken the field, he laboured by all meanes to bring him to fight: or otherwise if he refused to take the field, he then endeuoured with the like speede to besiege him or blocke him vp in some hold, to the end he might bring the matter to a speedy vphor, as he did with Vercingetorix at Alesia. But that which is most memorable touching this point, at the first taking in of Spaine in the gaiboile of the ciuill warres, he defeated two armies, ouerthrew two Generals, and tooke in two Prouinces in the space of fortie dayes. Neither did he make vse of expedition onely in his cariage of a war, but also in the action and execution of battell: for he neuer forsooke an enemye ouerthrowne and discomfited, vntill he had taken their campe, and defeated them of their chiefe helpes, which Pompey felt to his vtter ouerthrow: for the same day he routed him at Pharsalia, he took his campe, and inclosed a hill with a ditch and a rampier, where 25000. Romanes, were fled for their safetie, and brought them to yeeld themselves vnto him: and so making vse (as he saith) of the benefite of fortune, and the terror and amazement of the enemye, he performed three notable seruises in one day.

And this he vsed with such dexteritie and depth of wisdome, that commonly the first victorie ended the warre, as by this at Pharsalia he made himselfe Commander of the East, and by that at Tapsa he made himselfe Lord of Africke, and by the battell at Monda he got all Spaine.

To conclude this point, I may not forget the like speed and expedition in his workes: in fiftene dayes he cast a ditch and a rampier of fiftene foote in height, betwene the lake at Geneva and S. Claudes hill, containing nineteene miles. He made his bridge ouer the Rheine in ten daies. At the siege of Marfeilles he made twelue galleies, and furnished them out to sea within thurte daies after the timber was cut downe. And the rest of his workes with the like expedition.

Veni, Vidi, Vici.

Lib. 2. bell. ciuili.

Lib. 1. bell. ciuili.

CHAP. XII.

Catiuulcus poisoneth himselfe: Cæsar deuideth his armie into three parts.



NOW whether Ambiorix did not make head & asseble his forces of purpose, for that he determined not to fight, or whether he were hindered by the shortnesse of the time, and the sudden coming of the horsemen, thinking the rest of the armie had followed after, it remaineth doubtfull: but certaine it is, that he sent priue messengers about the contrie, commaunding euery man to shift for himselfe, of whom some fled into the Forrest Arduenna, others into fennes and bogges, and such as

Cæsar.

were neare the Ocean, did hide themselves in such Islands as the tides do commonly make: and many forsooke their country, and committed themselves to their fortunes, to meete straungers and unknowne people. Catiuulcus the king of the one halfe of the Eburones, who was a partie with Ambiorix in this matter, being now growne old and unable to vndergo the labours either of warre or of slyfing, detesting Ambiorix with all manner of execrations, as the author of that matter, dranke the iuice of Tew (whereof there is great store in Gallia and Germanie) and so died. The Segni and Conderusi of thenation and number of the Germaines that dwell betwene the Eburones and the Treuiri, sent messengers to Cæsar to intreat him not to take them in the number of the enemy. And that he would not aduidge all the Germaines dwelling on this side of the Rhene, to haue one and the same cause: for their part, they neuer so much as thought of warre, nor gaue any aide to Ambiorix. Cæsar hauing examined the matter by the torture of the captiues, commaunded them, that if any of the Eburones should sue vnto them to bring them vnto him, and in so doing he wold spare their countrey: then deuiding his forces into three parts, he left the baggage of the whole armie at Vatuca a castle in the midst of the Eburones, where Titurius and Arminius were lodged. The winter before he made choice of this place, rather for that the fortifications made the yeare before continued perfect and good, to the end he might ease the souldier of some labour, and there left the fourteenth legion for a guard to the cariages, being one of the three which he had last enrolled in Italy, making Q. Tullius Cicero their Commander, and with him he left two thousand horse.

The armie being deuided, he commaunded Titus Labienus to carrie three Legions towards that part of the sea coast which bordereth vpon Henapii, and sent Trebonius with the like number of Legions to wast and harrie that countrey which consisteth the Aduatici: he himselfe with the other three determined to go to the riuer Scaldis, which runneth into the Mase, and to the furthest parts of the wood Ardenna: for that he vnderstood that Ambiorix with a few horsemen was fled to those parts. At his departure he assured them that he would returne after the seventh dayes absence: for at that day he knew that come was to be given to that legion which he had there left in garrison. He counselled Labienus and Trebonius to returne likewise by that day if they conveniently could, to the end that after communication of their discoveries and intelligence of the proiects of the enemy, they might thinke vpon a new beginning of warre.

OBSERVATIONS.

THIS sudden surprize vpon Ambiorix and the Treuiri, preuented (as I haue already noted) their making head together, and put the enemy to such shifts for their safetie, as occasion or opportunity would afford them in particular. And albeit the Treuiri were by this means disperfed, yet they were not ouerthrowne, nor vtterly vanquished, but continued still in the nature and qualitie of an enemy, although

though they were by this occasion defeated of their chiefeft means. And therefore the better to prosecute them in their particular flights, and to keepe the disioyned, he diuided his armie into 3 parts, and made three feveral inroads vpon their countrey, hoping thereby to meet with some new occasion, which might giue an ouerture of a more absolute conquest: for diuersitie of motions do breed diuersitie of occasions, whereof some may happily be such as being well managed may bring a man to the end of his desires. But herein let vs not forget to obserue the maner he vsed in this seruice: for first he left a Rêdez vous where all the cariages of the armie were bestowed, with a competent garrison for the safe keeping thereof, to the end the souldiers might be assured of a retreat, what difficulty soeuer might befall them in that action, according to that of *Sertorius*, that a good captaine should rather looke behind him then before him: and appointed withall a certaine day when all the troopes should meete there againe: *Vt rursus* (as he sayth) *communicato consilio, exploratisq; hostium rationibus, aliud initium belli capere possint.*

Plutarche in the life of Sertorius.

CHAP. XIII.

Cæsar sendeth messengers to the bordering States, to come out and sacke the Eburones.

THERE was (as I haue already declared) no certaine band or troope of the enemy, no garrison or towne to stand out in armes; but the multitude was disperfed into all parts, and euery man lay hid either in some secret and unknowne valley, or in some rough and wooddie place, or in some bog, or in such other places as gaue them hope of shelter or safetie: which places were well knowne to the States of that countrey, and the matter required great diligence and circumspection, not so much in regard of the generall safetie of the armie (for there could no danger happen vnto them, the enemy being all terrified and fled) but in preserving euery particular souldier; which notwithstanding did in part concerne the safetie of the whole armie: for hope of booty did draw many farre off out of their ranks, and the woods through vncertaine and vknownne passages would not suffer the souldiers to go in troopes. If he would haue the businesse take an end, and the very race of those wicked people rooted out, the armie must be diuided, and many small bands must be made for that purpose: but to keepe the Maniples at their ensignes, according to the custome and vse of the Romaine armie, the place it selfe was a sufficient guard for the barbarous people, who did not want courage in particular, both to lie in waite for them, and circumspect them as they were senered from their companies: as in extremities of that nature what diligence could attaine vnto was provided, but in such manner, that somewhat was omitted in

Cæsar.

the offensue part; rather then it should be done with any detriment or losse to the soldier. Cæsar sent messengers to the next bordering States, calling them out to sacke the Eburones in hope of bootie and pillage, to the end the Gauls should rather hazard their lives in the wood then the legionarie souldiers, as also that there might be many spoylers and destroyers, to the end that both the name and race of that State might be taken away. These things were acted in all parts and quarters of the Eburones, and the seventh day drew neare which he had appointed for his returne to the cariages.

OBSERVATIONS.

*The benefit of
open encounter.*

T is a commoditie which a Generall hath, when the enemy doth not refuse open encounter, for so he may be sure that the weight of the businesse will rest vpon militarie vertue and proves of armes, as ready way makes to a speedie victory: but when it shal happen that the country doth afford couert & protectiō to him that is more malicious then valorous; and through the fastnesse of the place refuseth to shew himselfe vnlesse it be vpon aduantage, the warre doubtlesse is like to prooue tedious, and the victory lesse honorable. In such cases there is no other way, then so to harry and wast a countrey, that the enemy may be famished out of his holds, and brought to subiection by scarcity and necessity: which is a meanes so powerfull, as well to supplant the greatest strength, as to meete with subterfuge and delay, that of it selfe it subdueth all opposition, and needeth no other help for attichuing of victory, as may appear by the sequel of this sommers action. And herein let vs further obserue the particular care which Cæsar had of his soldiers, adiudging the whole army to be intercessed in euery particular mans safetie, a matter strange in these times, and of small consequence in the iudgement of our commanders, to who particular fortunes are esteemed non-entities, and men in ferial of no valew: forasmuch as conquests are made with multitudes, concerning which point, I grant it to be as true, as it is often spoken in places besieged, that the losse of one man is not the losse of a towne; nor the defeating of twentie, the ouerthrow of a thousand: and yet it cannot be denied but the lesse is payd for the lawrell wreath, the more precious is the victorie: and it fitteth then at a hard rate, when it maketh the buyer bankrout, or inforceth him to confesse, that such another victorie would ouerthrow him. And therefore he that will buy much honour with litle blood, must endeavour by diligent and carefull labour to provide for the particular safetie of his souldiers. Wherein albeit he cannot valew an vnity at an equal rate with a number, yet he must consider, that without a vnity there can be no multitude: and not so only, but the life and strength of a multitude consisteth in vnities; for otherwise, neither had Nero needed to haue wished the people of Rome to haue had but one head, that he might haue cut it off at a stroke, nor Sertorius deuide had caried any grace, making a lustie fellow faile in plucking off the thinne taile of an old leane

*Plutarke in
the life of
Sertorius.*

jade;

jade; and a litle wearisf man leaue the stumpe bare of a great tayld horse, and that in a short time, by plucking haire by haire.

CHAP. XIII.

The Sicambri sent out two thousand horse against the Eburones, and by fortune they fall vpon Cicero at Vatuca.

HERE you shall perceiue the power that fortune hath, and what chaunces happen in the cariage of a war. There was (as I haue already said) the enemy being scattered and terrified, no troop or band which might giue the least cause of feare: the report came to the Germaines on the other side of the Rheine, that the Eburones were to be sacked, and that all men had libertie to make spoyle of them. The Sicambri dwelling next to the Rheine, set out two thousand horse, and sent them ouer the riuer some thirtie miles below that place where Cæsar had left the halfe bridge with a garrison: these horse made directly towards the confines of the Eubrones, tooke many prisoners and much castell, neither bog nor wood hindered their passage, being bred and borne in warre and theft. They inquire of the prisoners in what part Cæsar was, and found him to be gone farre off, and that all the armie was departed from thence: and one of the prisoners speaking to them, said, Why do yee seeke after so poore and so slender a bootie, when otherwise you may make your selues most fortunate? in 3 houres space you may go to Vatuca, where the Romaine armie hath left all their fortunes; the garrison in that place is no greater then can hardly furnish the walles about, neither dare any man go out of the trenches. The Germaines in this hope did hide the pillage which they had already taken, and went directly to Vatuca, taking him for their guide that gaue them first notice thereof.

Cæsar.

OBSERVATIONS.

T were as great a madnesse to beleue that a man were able to giue directions to meete with all chancs, as to thinke no foresight can preuent any casualtie: for as the soule of man is endued with a power of discouurse, whereby it concludeth either according to the certaintie of reason, or the learning of experience, bringing these directions as faultie and inconuenient, and approouing others as safe and to be followed: so we are to vnderstand, that this power of discouurse is limited to a certaine measure or proportion of strength, and inscribed in a

circle of lesser capacite, then the compasse of possibilitie, or the large extension of what may happen; for otherwise the course of destinie were subiect to our controulement, and our knowledge were equall to vniuersall entitie, where as the infinitie of accidents do farre exceede the reach of our shallow senses, and our greatest apprehension, is a small and vnperfect experience. And therefore as such as through the occasion of publike employment, are driuen to forsake the shore of minute and particular courses, and to stote in the Ocean of casualties and aduentures, may doubtlesse receiue strong directions, both from the loadstone of reason, and tramontane of experience to shape an easie and successful course: so notwithstanding they shall find themselves subiect to the contrarietie of winds and extremitie of tempests, besides many other lets and impediments beyond the compasse of their direction, to interrupt their course and diuert them from their haven, which made the Carthaginian that was more happie in conquering then in keeping to crie out: *Nūquam minus quam in bello cunctus rerum respondent*, as it happened in this accident.

Hanniball.

CHAP. XV.

The Sicambri come to Vatuca, and offer
to take the campe.

Cæsar.



CICERO having all the dayes before observed Cæsars direction with great diligence, and kept the souldiers within the campe, not suffering so much as a boy to go out of the trenches: the senenth day distrustful of Cæsars returne according to his promise, for that he understood he was gone further into the country and heard nothing of his returne: and withall being moued with the speeches of the souldiers, who termed their patient abiding within their trenches, a siege, forasmuch as no man was suffered to go out of them, and expecting no such chance within the compasse of three miles, which was the furthest, he purposed to send them for corne, especially considering that nine legions were abroad, besides great forces of horse, the enimie being already dispersed and almost extinguished; he sent five cohorts to gather corne in the next fields which were separated from the garrison onely with a little hill lying betweene the campe and the corne. There were many left in the campe of the other legions that were sicke, of whom such as were recovered to the number of three hundred, were sent with them all under one ensigne: besides a great companie of souldiers boyes, and great store of cattell which they had in the campe. In the meane time came these Germane Ritters, and with the same gallop as they came thither, they sought to enter in at the Decumane gate; neither were they discovered by reason of a wood which kept them out of sight untill they were almost at the trenches, insomuch as such trades men and merchants as kept their booths and shops vnder the rampier, had no

time

time to be receiued into the campe, and the cohort that kept watch did hardly sustaine the first assault. The enimie was quickly spread about the workes, to see if they could find entrance in any other part: our men did hardly keepe the gates: the rest was defended by the fortification and the place it selfe: the whole campe was in a great feare, and one inquired of another the reason of the tumult, neither could they tell which way to carie their ensignes, or how any man should dispose of himselfe: one gaue out, that the campe was taken, and another that the armie and General was overthrowne, and that the Barbarous people came thither as conquerours: many tooke occasion from the place to imagine new and superstitious Religions, recalling to mind the fatal calamitie of Cotta and Titurius that died in that place. Through this feare and confusion that had possessed the whole campe, the Germanes were confirmed in their opinion which they had receiued from the prisoner, that there was no garrison at all in the workes. They endeouored to breake in, and encouraged one another not to suffer so great a fortune to escape them. Publius Sextius Baculus that had bene Primpilus vnder Cæsar (of whom mention hath bene made in the former battels) was there left sicke, and had taken no sustenance of five dayes before: he hearing the danger they were in, went unarmed out of his cabbin, and seeing the enimie readie to force the gates, and the matter to be in great hazard, taking armes from one that stood next him, he went and stood in the port; the Centurions of the cohort that kept watch followed him, and they for awhile engaged the enimie. Sextius hauing receiued many great wounds fainted at length, and was hardly saued by those that stood next him. Upon this respite the rest did so far assure themselves, that they durst stand upon the workes, and make a shew of defence.

OBSERVATIONS.



IN the former obseruation I disputed the interest which the whole armie hath in one particular man, which out of Cæsars opinion I concluded to be such as was not to be neglected: but if we suppose a partie extraordinary, and tye him to such singular worth as was in Sextius, I then doubt by this example, whether I may not equall him to the multitude, or put him alone in the ballance to counterpoise the rest of his fellows. For doubtlesse if his valour had not exceeded any height of courage, elswhere then to be found within those wals, the whole garrison had bene vterly slaughtered, and the place had bene made fatal to the Romanes by two disastrous calamities. In consideration whereof, I will referre my selfe to the iudgement of the wise, how much it importeth a great Commander, not onely in honour as a rewarder of vertue, but in wisdom and good discretion, to make much of so gallant a spirit, and to giue that respect vnto him, as may both witnesse his valiant carriage, and the thankfull acceptance thereof on the behalfe of the Commonweale, wherein we need not doubt of Cæsars requital to this Sextius, hauing by diuerse honorable relations in these warres, touching his valiantnesse and prowesse in armes, made

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him partaker of his owne glorie, and recommended him to posteritie, for an example of true valour.

CHAP. XVI.

The Sicambri continue their purpose in taking the campe.

Cæsar.

IN the meane time the souldiers, hauing made an end of reaping and gathering corne, heard the crye: the horsemen hasted before, and found in what daunger the matter stood; there was in that place no fortifications to receiue the affrighted souldiers: such as were lately inrolled and had no experience in matter of warre set their faces towards the Tribunes of the souldiers, and to the Centurions, and expected directions from them. There was none so assured or valiant, but were troubled thereat. The barbarous people hauing spied the ensignes a farre off, left off their assault, and first they thought it had bene the legions that had returned: afterward contemning the smallnesse of their number, they set vpon them on all sides: the souldiers boyes tooke themselves vnto the next hill, and being quickly put from thence, they cast themselves headlong amongst the standards and ensignes, and so put the souldiers in a worse feare then they were before. Some were of opinion to put themselves into the forme of battell which resembled a wedge, and so (forasmuch as the campe was at hand) to breake speedily through the enemy. In which course if any part should be circumvented and cut a peeces, yet they hoped the rest might saue themselves: others thought it better to make good the hill, and all of them to attend one and the same fortune. This aduise the old souldiers did not like of, who (as I said before) went out with the others that were sent a harnessing all vnder one ensigne by themselves: and therefore encouraging one another, Caius Trebonius a Romaine horseman being their captain, and commanding them at that time, brake through the thickest of the enemy, and came all safe into the campe. The boyes and horsemen following hard after them were likewise saued by the valour of the souldiers: but those that tooke the hill, hauing neuer had any use of seruice, had neither the courage to continue in that resolution which they had before chosen, nor to imitate that force and speed which they had seene to haue helped their fellows: but in denouring to be receiued into the campe, fell into places of disadvantage: wherein diuers of their Centurions, who had lately bene taken from the lowest companies of other legions, and for their valours sake preferred to the highest and chiefeest companies of this legion, least they should lose the honour which they had before gotten, fighting valiantly died in the place. Part of the souldiers by the prouesse of these men that had remoued the enemy, beyond all hope, got safe into the campe, the rest were defeated and slaine by the Germanes.

Cinnæus.

THE

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



HIS circumstance doth afford vs two obseruable points: the one, how much an old experienced souldier, that hath the vse and knowledge of seruice, exceedeth the nouicie of such as are newly enrolled. The second, which dependeth vpon the former, that valour and militarie vertue, is a consequent of vse and practise, rather then any inherent gift of nature. Camillus being sent with an armie against the *Thuscanes*, the Romaine souldier was much affrighted at the greatnesse of the hoast which the enemy had put on foote, which Camillus perceiuing, he vied no other motiues of perswasion to strengthen their weakened minds, and to assure them of a happie day, but this: *Quod quisque didicit aut consuevit, faciat*, as well knowing where to rouze their valour, and in what part their greatest strength rested. For as men cannot preuaile in that wherein they are vnexperienced, but will be wanting in the supplies of their owne particular, and miscarie euen vnder the directions of another *Annibal*: so a known and beaten tracke is quickly taken, and the difficulties of a businesse are made easie by acquaintance. Vse maketh maisteries, saith our English Prouerbe, and practise and art do farre exceed nature. Which continuall exercise and vse of armes amongst the *Romaines*, attained to such perfection, as made *militum sine reitore stabili virtutē*, as *Linie* witnesseth. And as *Antiochus* confessed to *Scipio*: *Quod si vincuntur, non minuantur animis tamen*. Cæsar in all his battels, had a speciall respect to the inexperience of the new inrolled bands, placing them either behind the armie for a guard to their cariages, as he did in the *Helvetian* action, or leauing them as a defence to the campe, or shewing them aloofe off, signifying thereby, as *Linie* saith of the *Sicilians*: *Quod magis nomen quàm vires ad presidium adferebant*. Whereby it consequently followeth, that militarie vertue proceedeth not so much from nature, or any originall habite, as it doth from exercise and practise of armes. I graunt there is a disposition in nature, and a particular inclination to this or that art: according to that of the Poet,

Fortes creantur fortibus & bonis.

But this disposition must be perfected by vse, and filleth short of valour or militarie vertue, which consisteth of two parts. The first, in knowledge of the discipline of warre, and the rules of seruice: whereby they may vnderstand the course of things, and be able to iudge of particular resolutions. The second, is the faithfull inducure in executing such proiects, as the rules of warre do propound for their safetie: both which parts are gotten onely by vse. For as the knowledge of militarie discipline, is best learned by practise, so the often repetition thereof, begetteth assurance in action, which is nothing else but that which we call Valour. In which two parts, these new enrolled bands had small vnderstanding, for they were as ignorant what course to take in that extremitie, as they were vnassured in their worser resolutions.

Lib. 7.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

A Cuneus
described.

THIS Cuneus, or troupe of souldiers disposed into a Triangle, was the best and safest way to breake through an enemy, for an Angle hath a renting and deuiding propertie, and is so sharpe in the meeting of the two side lines, that the point thereof resembleth indiuisibilitie, and therefore is apt and proper to deuide a sunder, and to make a separation of any quantitie. Which forme Nature hath also obserued in the fashion of such creatures that haue a piercing and deuiding motion, as in fishes, that haue all heads for the most part sharpe, and thence Angles are enlarged into the grossefesse of their bodie. And birds likewise, the better to deuide the ayre, haue sharpe billes & litle heads, with a body annexed of a larger proportion. The manner of the *Romaines* was (as I haue already shewed) to strengthen the piercing Angle with thicke compacted targets, and then enlarging the sides as occasion serued, either to the quantitie of an acute, or a right, or an obtuse Angle: they gaue the charge in such sort, *ut quacunq; parte percutere impetu suo, sustineri nequeant*, as *Linie* saith.

CHAP. XVII.

The Sicambri giue ouer their
purpose and depart.

Cæsar.

THE Germans being out of hope of taking the campe, forasmuch as they saw our men to stand vpon the workes, they returned ouer the Rheine with the bootie which they had in the woods. And such was the feare of the *Romaine* souldier, euen after the enemy was gone, that *Caius Valensius* being sent that night to the campe with the horsemen, they would not beleue that *Cæsar* and the armie were returned in safetie: feare had so possest their minds, that they did not let to say, that all the legions were overthrowne and the horse had escaped by flight, and desired there to be receined: for they could not be perswaded the armie being safe, that the *Germanes* would haue attempted to surpriseth their campe: of which feare they were deliuered by *Cæsars* arrivall. He being returned not ignorant of the euents of warre, complained of one thing only, that the cohorts that kept the watch were sent from their Stations, forasmuch as no place ought to be given to the least casualtie. And there he saw how much fortune was able to do by the sudden coming of the enemy, and how much more in that he was put off from the rampier and the gates which he had so nearely taken: but of all the rest, this seemed the strangest, that the *Germanes* coming ouer the Rheine, to depopulate and spoile *Ambiorix* and his country, had like to haue taken the *Romaine*

maine campe, which would haue bene as acceptable to *Ambiorix* as any thing that could happen.

OBSERVATIONS.

IT is an old saying, auouched by *Plutarke*: *Fortuna id unum hominibus non auferit quod bene fuerit consultum*, which *Tiberius* the *Romaine* Emperour well understood: of whom *Suetonius* reporteth, *Quod minimum fortune, casibusque permittebat*: and is the same which *Cæsar* counselleth in this place, *Ne minimo quidem casus locum relinqui debuisset*. It were a hard condition to expose a naked partie to the malice of an enemy, or to disadvantage him with the losse of his sight: an armie without a guard at any time is meely naked, and more subiect to slaughter, then those that neuer tooke armes: and the rather where the watch is wanting, for there sudden chaunces can hardly be prevented: and if they happen to avoid any such vnexpected casualtie, they haue greater cause to thanke fortune for her fauour, then to be angrie with her for her malice: for preuention at such times is out of the way, and they are wholly at her mercy; as *Cæsar* hath rightly deliuered touching this accident. And therefore, whether an armie march forward or continue in a place, sleepe or wake, play or worke, go in hazard, or rest secure, let not so great a bodie be at any time without a competent strength, to answer the spite of such misaduentures.

Nothing
ought to be
left to the ha-
zard of for-
tune.

CHAP. XVIII.

Cæsar returneth to spoile the enemy:
punisheth *Acco*.

CÆSAR returning againe to trouble and vex the enemy, hauing called a great number of people from the bordering cities, he sent them out into all parts: all the villages and houses which were any where to be scene, were burned to the ground, pillage and bootie was taken in euery place, the corne was not onely consumed by so great a multitude of men and cattell, but beaten downe also by the vnseasonableness of the yeare and continuall raine: in somuch that albeit diners did bide themselves for the present, yet the armie being withdrawn, they must necessarily perish through want and scarcitye. And oftentimes they happened of the place (the horsemen being deuid. d into many quarters,) where they did not onely see *Ambiorix*, but kept him for the most part in sight: and in hoping still to take him, some that thought to demerit *Cæsars* highest fauour, tooke such infinite paines, as were almost beyond the power of nature. And euer there seemed but a litle betweene them and the thing they most desired, but he conveyed himselfe away through dens and woods,

Cæsar.

and dales, and in the night time sought other countreys and quarters, with no greater a guard of horse then foure, to whom onely he durst commit the safetie of his life. The countrey being in this manner haried and depopulated, Cæsar with the losse of two cohorts brought backe his armie to Durocortum in the state of the men of Rhemes, where a Parliament being summoned, he determined to call in question the conspiracie of the Senones and Carnutes, and especially Acco the principall author of that Councell, who being condemned was put to death more maiorum. Some other fearing the like iudgement, saued themselves by flight: these he interdicted fire and water, and leaving two legions to winter in the confines of the Treuiri, and two other amongst the Lingones, and the other sixe at Augendicum in the borders of the Senones, having made provision of corne for the armie, he went into Italy, ad conventus agendos.

OBSERVATIONS.

THE conclusion of this Sommers worke, was shut vp with the sacke and depopulation of the *Eburones*, as the extremitie of hostile furie, when the enemy lyeth in the fastnesse of the countrey, and refuseth to make open warre. That being done, Cæsar proceeded in a course of ciuill iudgement with such principal offenders as were of the conspiracie: and namely, with *Acco*, whom he punished in such manner as the old *Romaines* were accustomed to do with such offenders as had forfeited their loyaltie to their countrey, a kind of death which *Nero* knew not, although he had bene Emperour of Rome thirtene yeares, and put to death many thousand people. The partie condemned was to haue his necke locked in a forke, and to be whipped naked to death: and he that was put to death after that maner, was punished *more maiorum*. Such others as feared to vndergo the iudgement, and fled before they came to triall, were banished out of the countrey, and made vncapable of the benefit of fire and water in that Empire. And thus endeth the sixt Commentarie.



THE

THE SEVENTH AND LAST COMMENTARIE, VVRITTEN BY CÆSAR OF THE WARRE HE MADE IN GALLIA.

THE ARGUMENT.

THIS last Commentarie containeth the specialities of the warre which Cæsar made against all the States of Gallia vnited into one confederacie, for the expelling of the *Romaine* gouernement out of that continent, whom Cæsar ouerthrew in the end, *Horribili vigilantia, & proditijs operibus*.

CHAP. I.

The Gaules enter into new deliberations of revolt.



GALLIA being in quiet, Cæsar according to his determination went into Italy to keep Courts and Sessions: there he vnderstood that *P. Clodius* was slaine, and of a decree which the Senate had made, touching the assembly of all the youth of Italy, and thereupon he purposed to inrole new bands throughout the whole Province. These newes were quickly caried over the Alpes into Gallia, and the Gaules themselves added such rumors to it, as the matter seemed well to beare, that Cæsar was now detained by the troubles at Rome, and in such dissensions could not returne to his army. Being stirred up by this occasion, such as before were inwardly grieved, that they were subiect to the Empire of the people of Rome, did now more freely and boldly enter into the consideration of warre. The Princes and chiefeft men of Gallia hauing appointed counells and meetings in remote and wooddie places, complained of the death of *Acco*, and shewed it to be a fortune which might concerne themselves: they pity the common misery of Gallia, and do propound all maner of promises and rewards to such as will begin the warre, and with the danger of their lines redeme the libertie of their countrey: wherein they are to be very carefull not to forswear any time, to the end that Cæsar may be stopped from comming to his armie before their secret conferences be discouraged: which might easily be done, forasmuch as neither the Legions

Cæsar.

durst go out of their wintering camps in the absence of their Generall, nor the Generall come to the Legions without a conuoy. To conclude, they held it better to die in fight, then to lose their ancient honour in matter of warre, and the libertie left them by their predecessors.

OBSERVATIONS.

Livie, lib. 3.

Plutarke in the life of Marcellus.

Plutarke in the life of Cicero.

Ne quid resp. detrimenti capiat.

Gallia Cisalpina & Transalpina.

THIS Chapter discovereth such sparkles of reuolt, rising from the discontentment of the conquered *Gaules*, as were like to breake out into an vniuersall burning; and within a while proued such a fire, as the like hath not bin seene in the continent of *Gallia*: for this summers worke verified the saying of the *Samnites*, *Quid pax seruitibus grauior quam liberis bellum esset*, and was caried on either part with such a resolution, as in respect of this seruice, neither the *Gaules* did before that time ingage themselves seriously in their countries cause, nor did the *Romaines* know the difficultie of their taske. But as *Epaminondas* called the fields of *Beotia*, *Mars* his scaffold where he kept his games; or as *Zenophon* nameth the city of *Ephesus* the Armors shop: so might *Gallia* for this yeare be called the Theater of war. The chiefest encouragement of the *Gaules* at this time, was the trouble and dissention at *Rome* about the death of *Clodius*, and the accusation of *Milo* for killing *Clodius*.

This *Clodius* (as *Plutarke* reporteth) was a yong man of a noble house, but wild and insolent, and much condemned for profaning a secret sacrifice, which the Ladies of *Rome* did celebrate in *Cæsars* house, by comming amongst them disguised in the habite of a young singing wench, which he did for the loue of *Pompeia*, *Cæsars* wife: whereof being openly accused, was quitted by secret meanes which he made to the Iudges: and afterwards obtained the Tribuneship of the people, and caused *Cicero* to be banished, and did many outrages and insolencies in his Tribuneship: which caused *Milo* to kill him, for which he was also accused. And the Senate fearing that this accusation of *Milo*, being a bold spirited man and of good quality, would moue some vproare or sedition in the citie, they gaue commission to *Pompey* to see iustice executed, as well in this cause as for other offences, that the citie might be quiet and the commonwealth suffer no detriment: whereupon *Pompey* posselt the market place, where the cause was to be heard with bands of souldiers and troopes of armed men. And these were the troubles in *Rome* vpon the death of *Clodius*, which the *Gaules* did take as an occasion of reuolt, hoping thereby that *Cæsar* (being in *Gallia Cisalpina*, which prouince was allotted to his gouernement, as well as that *Gallia* Northward the *Alpes*) would haue bene detained from his armie.

The

CHAP. II.

The men of Chartres take vpon them the beginning of a reuolt, vnder the condution of Cotuatus and Conetodunus.

THES E things being thus disputed, the men of Chartres did make themselves the chiefe of that warre, refusing no daunger for the common safetie of their countrey: and forasmuch as at that present they could not giue caution by hostage, lest the matter should be discovered, they desire to haue their covenants strengthened by oath, and by mutual collation of their military ensignes, which was the most religious ceremony they could use to bind the rest not to forsake them, hauing made an entrance and beginning to that warre. The men of Chartres being commended by the rest, and the oathes of all them that were present being taken, and a time appointed to begin, they brake vp the assembly. When the day came, they of Chartres vnder the condution of Cotuatus and Conetodunus, two desperat fellows, vpon a watchword giuen, ranne speedily to * *Genabum*; and such *Romaine* citizens as were there vpon businesse, namely *C. Fufius Cotta* a knight of *Rome*, whom *Cæsar* had left ouerser of the prouision of corne, they slue, and tooke their goods. The report thereof was quickly spread ouer all the States of *Gallia*: for when any such great or extraordinary matter happeneth, they signifie it through the country by an out cry and shout, which is taken by others, and deliuered to the next, and so goeth from hand to hand, as it happened at this time: for that which was done at *Genabum* at Sunne rising, was before the first watch of the night was ended, heard in the confines of the *Aruerni*, which is about a hundred and threescore miles distant.

Cæsar.

* *Orleans.*

OBSERVATIONS.

THIS manner of out-cry here mentioned to be vsuall in *Gallia*, was the same which remaineth in vse at this present in *Wales*, although not so frequent as in former times. For the custome is there, as often as any robbrie happeneth to be committed, or any man to be slaine, or what other outrage or riot is done, the next at hand do go to some eminent place where they may be best heard, and there they make an outcrie or howling, which they call a *Hoabonb*, signifying the fact to the next inhabitants, who take it as passionately, and deliuer it further, and so from hand to hand it quickly preadeth ouer all the countrey. It is a very readie way to put the countrey in armes, and was first deuised (as it seemeth) for the stay and apprehension of robbers and outlawes, who kept in

The Welch Hoabonb.

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strong holds, and liued vpon the spoile of the bordering inhabitants, but otherwise it fauoueth of Barbarisme, rather then of any ciuill gouernment.

CHAP. III.

Vercingetorix stirreth vp the Aruerni
to the like commotion and reuolt.

Cæsar.

Like manner Vercingetorix the sonne of Celtillus of the nation of the Aruerni, a young man of great power and authority, whose father was the Commander of all Gallia, and because he sought a kingdome, was slaine by those of his owne State, calling together his followers and clients, did easily incense them to rebellion; his purpose being knowne, euery man tooke armes, and so he was driven out of the towne of Gergonia by Gabonitio his vnkle and other Princes, who thought it not safe to make triall of that fortune. And yet he desisted not, but enrolled needie and desperate people, and with such troupes, whomsoever he met withall of the State, he did easily draw them to his partie: perswading them to take armes for the defence of common libertie: and hauing at length got great forces together, he expelled his aduersaries out of the towne: by whom he was himselfe before thrust out. He was called of his men by the title of King, and sent Embassages into all parts, aduising them to continue constant and faithfull. The Senones, the Parisij, the Pictones, the Carduci, the Turones, the Aulerci, the Lemouices, the Andes, and all the rest that border vpon the Ocean were quickly made on his partie: and by all their consents the chiefe command was conferred vpon him. Which authoritie being offered him, he commanded hostages, to be brought in vnto him from all those states, and a certaine number of souldiers to be sent him with all speed: he rated euery citie what proportion of armes they should haue ready, and specially he laboured to raise great store of horse: to extraordinary diligence he added extraordinary severity, compelling such as stood doubtful by hard and severe punishments: for such as had committed a great offence, he put to death by fire and torture: lesser faults he punished with the losse of their nose or their eies, and so sent them home that by their example others might be terrified. By these practises & severity, hauing speedily raised a great army, he sent Luciterius Carducus, a man of great spirit and boldnes, with part of the forces towards the Rutheni, & he himselfe made towards the Bituriges. Vpon his coming the Bituriges sent to the Hedui, in whose protection they were to require aide against Vercingetorix. The Hedui by the aduice of the Legats which Cæsar had left with the army, sent forces of horse and foote to the aid of the Bituriges, who coming to the riuer Loyer, which diuideth the Bituriges from the Hedui, after a few dayes stay, not daring to passe ouer the riuer, returned home againe, bringing word to our Legats that they durst not commit themselves to the Bituriges, and so returned: for if they had

had passed ouer the riuer, the Bituriges had inclosed them in on the one side, and the Aruerni on the other. But whether they did returne vpon that occasion, or through perfidious trecherie, it remaineth doubtful. The Bituriges vpon departure, did presently ioine themselves with the Aruerni.

OBSERVATIONS.

Tis obserued by such as are acquainted with matter of Gouernement, that there ought to be alwaies a proportion of qualitie betweene him that commaundeth, and them that obey: for if a man of *Sardanapalus* condition should take vpon him the charge of *Marius* armie, it were like to take no better effect, then if *Manlius* had the leading of lasciuious *Cinades*. And as we may obserue in oconomicall pollicie, a dissolute maister may as soone command haire to grow on the palme of his hand, as to make a vertuous seruant: but the respect of dutie betweene such relatives doth likewise inferre the like respect of qualitie: so in all sorts and conditions of command, there must be sympathising means to vnite the diuersitie of the parts, in the happie end of perfect Gouernement. In this new Empire which befall *Vercingetorix*, we may obserue a double proportion betweene him and his people. The first, of strength and abilitie: and the other of qualitie and resemblance of affection: vpon the assurance of which proportion he grounded the austeritie of his command. For it appeareth that his first beginning was by perswasion and intreatie, and would indure no direction, but that which was guided by a loose and easie raine, holding it neither safe nor seemely, but rather a straine of extreame madnesse, first to punish or threaten, and then to want power to make good his iudgements: but being strengthened by authoritie from themselves, and backed with an armie, able to controule their disobedience, he then added punishment as the ensigne of magistracie, and confirmed his power by rigorous commaunds; which is as necessary a demonstration of a well setled gouernment, as any circumstance belonging thereunto.

Touching the resemblance and proportion of their qualities, it is manifestly shewed by the sequels of this historie, that euery man desired to redeme the common libertie of their countrey, in that measure of indouour as was fitting for great a cause. Amongst whom *Vercingetorix* being their chiefe Commander, *summæ diligentie* (as the storie saith) added *summam severitatem*, as well assured, that the greater part would approue his iustice, and condemn the vncertainie of doubtfull resolutions, desiring no further seruice at their hands, then that wherein himselfe would be the foremost. In imitation of *Valerius Corvinus*: *Falsa mea non dicta, vos milites sequi volo, nec disciplinam modo sed exemplum etiam a me petere*. And therefore the partie was like to be well vpheld, forasmuch as both the Prince and the people were so farre engaged in the matter intended, as by the resemblance of an earnest desire might answer the measure of due proportion.

There ought to be a proportion of quality betweene a Commander and his souldiers.

Meli Mariani.

Such a maister, such a seruant.

Linie.

CHAP. III.

Cæsar commeth into Gallia, and by a
deuice getteth to his armie.

Cæsar.



H E S E things being told Cæsar in Italie, as soone as he understood that the matters in the citie were by the wisdom of Pompey brought into better state, he tooke his journey into Gallia, and being come thither he was much troubled how to get to his armie: for if he should send for the Legions into the Prouince, he understood that they should be certainly fought withall by the way in his absence. If he himselfe should go vnto them, he doubted how he might safely commit his person to any, although they were such as were yet in peace. In the meane time Lucærius Cadurcus being sent against the Rutheni, doth easily unite that State to the Aruerni: and proceeding further against the Nitiobriges and the Gabales, he received hostages of both of them, and having raised a great power he laboured to breake into the Prouince, and to make towards Narbo. Which being knowne, Cæsar resolued by all meanes to put him by that purpose, and went himselfe to Narbo: at his coming he encouraged such as stood doubtfull or timorous, and placed garrisons amongst the Rutheni, the Volsci, and about Narbo, which were frontier places and neare vnto the enemy, and commaunded part of the forces which were in the Prouince, together with those supplies which he had brought out of Italy, to go against the Heluij which are adioyning vpo the Aruerni. Things being thus ordered, Lucærius being now suppressed and removed, holding it to be dangerous to enter among the garrisons, he himselfe went towards the Heluij. And albeit the hill Gebenna which denideth the Aruernij from the Heluij, by reason of the hard time of winter and the depth of the snow, did hinder their passage, yet by the industrie of the souldier making way through snow of sixe footes deepe, they came into the confines of the Aruerni who being suddenly and vnawares suppressed, little mistrusting an invasion over the hill Gebenna, which incloseth them in as a wall, and at that time of the yeare doth not affoord a path to a single man alone, he commaunded the horsemen to scatter themselves farre and neare, to make the enemy the more afraid. These things being speedily caried to Vercingetorix, all the Aruerni full of feare and amazement, flocked about him, beseeching him to haue a care of their State, and not to suffer themselves to be sacked by the enemy, especially now at this time, when as all the warre was transferred vpon them. Vpon their instant intreatie he removed his campe out of the territories of the Bituriges, and marched towards the country of the Aruerni. But Cæsar having continued two dayes in those places, forasmuch as he understood both by use and opinion what course Vercingetorix was like to take, he left the armie, pretending some supplies of horse, which he went to raise, and appointed young Brutus to commaund those forces, admonishing him to send out the horsemen into all quarters, and that he himselfe would not be absent from the campe about three dayes. These things being thus sated, none of his followers

followers knowing his determination, by great iourneys he came to Vienna, where taking fresh horse which he had layd there many dayes before, he ceased neither night nor day, vntill he came through the confines of the Hedui to the Lingones, where two legions wintered, to the end if the Hedui should undertake any thing against him he might with speed prevent it: being there, he sent to the rest of the Legions, and brought them all to one place, before the Aruernij could possibly haue notice of it.

OBSERVATIONS.



CÆSAR vpon his first entrance into Gallia, was perplexed how to get to his armie: and the matter stood in such tearmes, as brought either the legions or his owne person into hazard. For (as he saith) if he should send for the legions to come vnto him, they should doubtlesse be fought withall by the way, which he was loath to adventure, vnlesse himselfe had bene present: or otherwise if he himselfe had gone vnto them, he doubted of the ententment of the reuolting Gauls, and might haue ouerthrowne his armie, by the losse of his owne person. In this extremitie of choice, he resolued vpon his owne passage to the armie, as lesse dangerous and more honorable, rather then to call the legions out of their wintering camps, where they stood as a checke to bridle the insolencie of the mutinous Gauls, and so to bring them to the hazard of battell in fetching their Generall into the field: whereby he might haue lost the victorie before he had begun the warres. And for his better safetie in this passage, he used this cunning. Having assured the Romaine Prouince by strong and frequent garrisons on the frontiers, and removed Lucærius from those parts, gathering together such supplies as he had brought with him out of Italy, with other forces which he found in the Prouince, he went speedily into the territories of the* Aruerni, making a way over the hill* Gebenna, at such a time of the yeare as made it vnpassable for any forces, had they not bene led by Cæsar, onely for this purpose, to haue it noised abroad, that whereas Vercingetorix and the Aruerni had principally vndertooke the quarrell against the Romaines, and made the beginning of a new warre, Cæsar would first deale with them, and lay the weight thereof vpon their shoulders by calling their fortunes first in question, to the end he might possesse the world with an opinion of his presence in that country, and draw Vercingetorix back againe to defend his state, whilst he in the meane time did slip to his armie without suspicion or feare of perill: for staying there no longer then might serue to giue a sufficient colour to that pretence, and leauing those forces to execute the rest, and to make good the secret of the proiect, he conueyed himselfe to his armie with such speed and celeritie, as doth verifie the saying of Sæctonius: quod sepe nuncios de se præuenit.

These blinds and false intendments, are of speciall vse in matter of warre and serue aswell to get aduantages vpon an enemy, as to cleare a difficultie by cleanly euasion: neither is a Commaunder the lesse valued for fine conuey-

To abuse an enemy by way of stratagemme commendable in a Commaunder.

* Auergne.
La montagne de Genesie.

* Via Cæsaris.

ance in militarie proiects, but deserueth rather greater honour for adding art vnto valour, and supplanting the strength of opposition, with the sleight of wit. *Dolus an virtus quis in hoste requirit?* hath alwayes bene held a principall amongst men of warre. And *Lisander* his counsell is the same in effect, that where the Lions skin wil not serue the turne, there take the foxes. *Carbo* spake it to the commendation of *Silla*, that he had to do both with a Lion and a Fox, but he feared more his Foxes pate then his Lions skin. It is reported that *Anibal* excelled all other of his time for abusing the enemy in matter of stratageme, for he neuer made fight but with an addition of assistants, supporting force with art, and the furie of armies with the subtiltie of wit.

Of late time amongst other practises of this nature, the treatie at *Onstend* is most memorabile, entertained onely to gaine time, that while speeche of parole was continued, and pledges deliuered to the Archduke *Albertus* for the safetie of such as were sent into the towne to capitulare with the Generall, there might be time gained for the sending in of such supplies of men and munition as were wanting, to make good the defence thereof: which were no sooner taken in, but the treatie proued a stratageme of warre.

In these foyles and trickes of wit, which at all times and in all ages haue bene highly esteemed in men of warre, as speciall vertues becoming the condition of a great Commaunder, if it be demanded how farre a Generall may proceede in abusing an enemy by deedes or wordes? I cannot speake distinctly to the question, but sure I am, that *Surena* Licutenant generall of the *Parthian* armie did his maister good seruice in abusing *Crassus* the *Romaine* Generall by faire promises, or as *Plutarch* saith by foule periuiric, till in the end he brought his head to be an actor in a Tragedie: albeit *Surena* neuer deserued well of good report since that time. Howsoeuer men of ciuill societie ought not to draw this into vse from the example of souldiers, forasmuch as it is a part of the profession of cutting of throates, and hath no prescription but in extremities of warre.

Plut. Crassus.

CHAP. V.

Vercingetorix besiegeth Gergouia: Cæsar taketh in Vellaunodunum and Genabum.

Cæsar.

THIS being knowne, Vercingetorix brought back his army againe into the country of the *Bituriges*, and thence marched to besiege *Gergouia* a towne held by the *Boij*, whom Cæsar had left there after the *Heluctian* warre, and given the iurisdiction of the towne to the *Hedui*, which brought Cæsar into great perplexitie, whether he should keepe the Legions in one place for that time of winter which remained, and so suffer the

stipenda-

stipendaries of the *Hedui* to be taken and spoiled, whereby all *Gallia* might take occasion to reuolt: forasmuch as the *Romaines* should seeme to afford no protection or countenance to their friends, or otherwise draw his army out of their wintering camps sooner then was vsuall, and thereby become subiect to the difficulties of prouision and cariage of corne. Notwithstanding it seemed better, and so he resolved rather to vndergo all difficulties, then by taking such a corne to lose the good wils of all his followers. And therefore perswading the *Hedui* diligently to make supply of necessarie provisions, he sent to the *Boij* to aduertise them of his coming, to encourage them to continue loyall, and nobly to resist the assaults of the enemy: and leaning two Legions with the carriages of the whole armie at *Agendicum*, he marched towards the *Boij*. The next day coming to a Towne of the *Senones* called *Vellaunodunum*, he determined to take it in, to the end he might leane no enemy behind him, which might hinder a speedie supply of victuals: and in two dayes he inclosed it about with a ditch and a rampier: the third day some being sent out touching the giuing vp of the towne, he commanded all their armes and their cattell to be brought out, and fix hundred pledges to be deliuered. Leaning *C. Tribonius* a Legate to see it performed, he himselfe made all speed towards *Genabum* in the territories of the men of *Chartres*, who as soone as they heard of the taking in of *Vellaunodunum*, perswading them selues the matter would not rest so, they resolved to put a strong garrison into *Genabum*. Thither came Cæsar within two dayes, and incamping himselfe before the towne, the evening drawing on, he put off the assault vnto the next day, commanding the souldiers to prepare in a readinesse such things as should be necessary for that seruice. And forasmuch as the towne of *Genabum* had a bridge leading ouer the river *Loier*, he feared lest they of the towne would steale away in the night, for prevention whereof, he commanded two Legions to watch all night in armes. The townsmen a litle before midnight went out quietly and began to passe ouer the riuer, which being discovered by the skouts, Cæsar with the Legions which he had ready in armes burnt the gates, and cutting the towne took it. The greatest number of the enemy being taken, and a very few escaping by reason of the narrownesse of the bridge, and the way which shut in the multitude, the towne being sacked and burned, and giuen for a bootie to the souldiers, he caried his armie ouer the riuer *Loier* into the territories of the *Bituriges*.

Ligeris.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

TIS a knowne and an approued saying, *E malis minimum est eligendum*, but in a presentment of evils to be able to discern the difference and to chuse the least, *Hic labor, hoc opus*. Vercingetorix besieging *Gergouia* (a stipendarie towne belonging to the *Hedui*, that of long time had serued the *Romaine* Empire) at such a time of the yeare as would not afford prouision of victuall for the maintenance of an armie, but with great difficultie and inconuenience of cariage and conuoy; Cæsar was much perplexed, whether he should forbear to succour the towne and raise the siege, or vndergo the hazard of long and tedious conuoyes.

Clairmont en Auvergne.

A matter often falling into dispute, although it be in other termes, whether honesty or honourable respect ought to be preferred before priuate ease and particular commoditie: *Cæsar* hath declared himselfe touching this point, preferring the honour of the people of *Rome*, as the maiestie of their Empire, and the reputation which they desired to hold, touching assistance and protection of their friends, before any inconuenience which might happen to their armie. And not without good reasons, which may be drawne as well from the worthinesse of the cause, as from the danger of the effect: for duties of vertue and respects of honesty, as the noblest parts of the mind, do not onely challenge the seruice of the inferiour faculties of the soule, but do also command the bodie and the casualties thereof, in such sort as is fitting the excellencie of their prerogative, for other wise vertue would find but bare attendance, and might leaue her scepter for want of lawfull authoritie. And therefore *Cæsar* chose rather to adventure the armie vpon the casualties of hard prouision, then to blemish the *Romaine* name with the infamie of disloyaltie. Which was lesse dangerous also in regard of the effect: for where the bond is of valew, there the forfeiture is great: and if that tie had bene broken, and their opinion deceiued touching the expectation of assistance and help, all *Gallia* might haue had iust cause of reuolt, and disclaimed the *Romaine* gouernement for non protection. To conclude then, let no man deceiue himselfe in the present benefit, which priuate respect may bring vpon the refusal of honest regard, for the end will be a winnesse of the error, and proue honesty to be best policie.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

It is obserued by some writers, that *Cæsar* neuer vnderooke any action, or at the least brought it not to triall, but he first assured himselfe of these foure things: the first was prouision of victuals, as the very foundation of warlike expeditions, whereof I haue already treated in the first Commentarie: the difficultie whereof, made him so doubtfull to vndertake the releefe of *Gergonia*. And doubtlesse whose euergo thought about any enterprize of waire, without certaine meanes of victuall and prouision, must either carie an armie of Camelions that may liue by the aire, or intend nothing but to build castles in the aire, or otherwise shall be sure to find his enemy either in his bosome, or as the prouerb is in *Plutarche*, to leape on his belly with both his feete.

The second thing was prouision of all necessaries, which might be of vse in that seruice: wherewith he alwayes so abounded, that there might rather want occasion to vse them, then he be wanting to answer occasion. And these were the instruments whereby he made such admirable workes, such bridges, such mounts, such trenches, such huge armades, as appeareth by the sea fight with the maritime cities of *Gallia*: according to which his former custome, forasmuch as the day was farre spent before he came to *Genabum*, he commaunded such

Cæsar ment
where prouided
of foure
thousand.

Plutarche is
the life of
Lucullus.

Comment. 3.

such things to be fitted and had in a readinesse, as might serue for the siege the next day.

The third thing was an armie for the most part of old souldiers, whom the *Romains* called *Veterani*, whereof he was likewise at this time prouided, for the two legions which were fresh and lately inrolled, he left at *Agendicum* with the carriages, taking onely the old souldiers for this seruice, as knowing that in *Pugna visum amplius prodesse quam vires*.

The fourth thing was the triall and experience of the enemies forces, which the former victories assured him to be inferiour to the *Romains*, being alwayes a rule in the *Romaine* discipline (as I haue already noted) by light and easie skirmishes, to acquaint the souldiers with the manner of the enemies fight: *Ne eos nouum bellum, nouus hostis terreret*, as *Livy* saith.

Comment. 1.

CHAP. VI.

Cæsar taketh in *Noviodunum*, and beateth
the enemy comming to rescue
the Towne.

VERCINGETORIX vnderstanding of *Cæsars* coming, left the siege and went to meete him. *Cæsar* resolved to take a towne lying in his way in the territories of the *Bituriges*, called *Noviodunum*: which they of the towne perceiuing, sent out vnto him to beseech him to spare them, and to giue order for their safetie: and to the end he might speed that businesse with as much celeritie as he had accomplished former seruices, he commaunded them to bring out their armes, their horse, and to deliuer pledges. Part of the hostages being giuen, while the rest were in deliuering over, diuers Centurions and a few souldiers being admitted into the towne to seeke out their weapons and their horses, the horsemen of the enemy which marched before *Vercingetorix* armie were discovered a farre off, which the townesmen had no sooner perceiued, and thereby conceived some hope of releefe, but they presently took vp a shout and betooke themselves to their armes, shut the gates, and began to make good the walls. The Centurions that were in the towne perceiuing some new resolution of the Gauls with their swords drawne, possessed themselves of the gates, and saved both themselves and their men that were in the towne. *Cæsar* commanded the horsemen to be drawne out of the campe, and to begin the charge, and as they began to giue ground, he sent foure hundred Germane horsemen to second them, whom he had resolved to keepe with him from the first, who charged the enemy with such furie, that the Gauls could no way endure the assault, but were presently put to flight; many of them being slaine, the rest retired backe to the armie. Upon their overthrow, the townesmen were worse affrighted then they were before, and hauing apprehended such as were thought

Cæsar.

to haue stirred up the people, they brought them to Cæsar and yielded themselves vnto him: which being ended, Cæsar marched towards the towne of Auaricum, which was the greatest and best fortified of all the townes in the territories of the Bituriges; for that being taken in, he doubted not to bring the whole State of the Bituriges easily into his subiection.

OBSERVATIONS.

The meanes
which the Ro-
maines vsed
to weaken an
emie.

Inasmuch as nothing is more changeable then the minde of man, which (notwithstanding the low degree of basenes wherein it often sitteth) will as occasion giueth way to reuenge, readily amount to the height of tyrannie, and spare no labour to ere quittance with an enimie: it hath bin thought expedient in the wisdom of foregoiing ages, to plucke the wings of so mounting a bird, and to deprive an enimie of such meanes, as may giue hope of libertie by mutinie and reuolt.

The practise of the *Romaines* in taking in any towne, was to leaue them forcelesse, that howsoeuer they might stand affected, their nailes should be surely pared for scratching, and their power confined to the circuit of their mind: for as it appeareth by this and many other places of *Cæsar*, no rendrie of any towne was accepted, vntill they had deliuered all their armes, both offensive and defensive, with such engines and instruments of warre, as might any way make for the defence of the same. Neither that onely, but such beasts also, whether horse or Elephant or any other whatsoeuer, as might any way aduantage the vse of those weapons: which as it was a great dismay and weakning to the enimie, so was it short of the third condition, commaunding the deliuey of so many hostages or pledges as were thought conuenient, being the prime of their youth, & the flower of their manhood, and were as the marrow to their bones, and the sinewes to that bodie. Whereby it came to passe, that the remnant was much disabled in strength, concerning their number of fighting men, and such as were left had neither armes nor meanes to make resistance.

The Turke obserueth the same course with the Christians, but in a more cruell and barbarous manner; for he commeth duely at a certaine time, not regarding any former demeanour, and leadeth away the flower of their youth, to be inuested in impietie and infidelitie, and to be made vassalles of heathenish impuritie.

Ofentimes we reade, that a conquered people were not onely interdicted armes, but the matter also and the art whereby such armes were made and wrought; for where the people are great, and mettall and matter plentie, it is a chaunce if artificers be wanting to repaire their losse, and to refurbish their armourie. At the siege of *Carthage* the *Romaines* hauing taken away their armes, they notwithstanding finding store of mettall within the towne, caused workemen to make euery day a hundred targets and three hundred swords, besides

besides arrowes and casting slings, vsing womens haire for want of hempe, and pulling downe their houses for timber to build shipping. Whereby we may perceiue, that a General cannot be too carefull to deprive an enimie of all such helps as may any way strengthen his hand, or make way to resistance.

CHAP. VII.

Vercingetorix perswadeth the Gaules
to a new course of warre.



VERCINGETORIX hauing receiued so many lesse one in the necke of another, *Vellaunodunum, *Genabum & *Nouiodunum being taken, he calleth his men to counsell and selleth them that the war must be caried in another course then it hath bin heretofore: for they must endeuor by all means to keepe the *Romaines* from forrage and conuoy of victuall: which would easily be brought to passe, forasmuch as they themselves did abound in horsemen: & for that the time of the yeare did not yet serue to get forrage in the field, the enemy must necessarily seek it in houses and barnes, whereby the forragers would dayly be cut off by their horsemen. Moreover, for their safety and defence they were to neglect their private commoditie: their houses and their villages were to be burnt vp round about as far as Boia, that the *Romaines* might fetch their forrage thence. For themselves they thought it reason that they should make supply of victuall and provision, in whose possessions they were, and for whom they fought. By this meanes the *Romaines* would neuer be able to endure that want as would befall them, or at the least be constrained to fetch their provisions farre off, with great daunger and perill to themselves, neither did it make any matter whether they killed them or put them besides their cariages. for without necessary supplies they were neuer able to hold war. And so conclude, such towns were likeliest to be set on fire, as by the strength of their situation were not safe from daunger, lest they should proue receptacles to linger and detract the war, and serue the *Romaines* for booty and supplies of provision. And albeit these things might seem heauy and bitter, yet they ought to esteem it more grieuous to haue their wives and their children led away into seruitude, and themselves to be slaine by the sword of the enimie, which doth necessarily fall vpon a conquered people. This opinion was generally approved by the consent of all men, and more then twenty cities of the *Bituriges* were burnt in one day; the like was done in other States, great fires were to be seene in all parts: and although all men tooke it very grieuouly, yet they propounded this comfort vnto themselves, that the enimie being by this meanes defeated, they should quickly recover their losses. Touching *Auaricum* they disposed it in comon counsell, whether it should be burnt or defended: the *Bituriges* do prostrate themselves at the feete of all the *Gaules*, that they might not be forced to set on fire with their owne hands, the

Cæsar.
*Velle nansue
en la franch
conte.
*Orleans.
*Noyon.

fairest citie in all Gallia, being both an ornament and a strength to their state: they would easily defend it by the site of the place, being incircled round about with a river and a bogge, and being accessible by one narrow passage. At length leave being granted them to keepe it, Vercingetorix at first dissuading them from it, and afterwards yielding vnto it, moued by the intreatie of the Gauls, and the commiseration of the common multitude; and so a fit garriſon was choſen to defend the towne.

OBSERVATIONS.

It is a hard matter in following a business, to hit that course which may most advantage it.

I HAVE ſcene an Impreſſe with a circle, and a hand with a ſharp ſtile pointing towards the center with this motto: *Hic labor, hoc opus*, ſignifying thereby, that albeit the Area thereof were plainly and diſtinctly bounded, and the Diameter of no great length, yet it was not an eaſie matter to find the Center, which is the heart and chiefeſt part of that figure. In like manner there is no buſineſſe or other courſe ſo eaſie or plaine, but the center may be miſtaken, and the difficultie commonly reſteth in hitting that point, which giueth the circumference an equall and regular motion.

The Gauls were reſolued to vndertake the defence of their countrey, and to redeem their libertie with the hazard of their liues: but it ſeemeth they were miſtaken in the means, and ran a courſe farre ſhort of the center. For Vercingetorix perceiuing the Romaines daily to get vpon the Gauls, firſt by taking in one towne, ſecondly another, and laſtly of a third, he aduiſed them to ſet on fire all the countrey houſes, villages and townes for a great circuit round about, and ſo force the Romaines to fetch their forrage and prouiſions farre off, and vndergo the difficulties of long conuoyes, whereby the Gauls might make uſe of their multitude of horſe, and keepe the Romaines without ſupplies of neceſſarie prouiſions: and ſo they doubted not but to giue a ſpeedie end to that warre. And this he tooke to be the center of that buſineſſe, and the true uſe of their aduantage.

Lib. A.

Polybius writeth, that M. Regulus hauing diuerſe times ouerthrowne the Carthaginians in battell, one Sanitippus a Lacedæmonian clearly perceiuing the cauſe of their often routs, began openly to ſay, that the Carthaginians were not ouerthrowne by the valour of the Romaines, but by their owne ignorance: for they exceeding the Romaines in horſe and Elephants, had neglected to fight in the champion, where their caualrie might ſhew it ſelfe, but in hills and woodie places where the foote troupes were of more force, and ſo the Romains had the aduantage. Whereby the manner of the warre being changed, and by the counſell of the pregnant Greeke, brought from the hills into the leuell of the plaine, the Carthaginians recovered all their former loſſes by one absolute victorie. In like manner Anniball finding himſelfe to exceede the Romains in ſtrength of caualrie, did alwaies endeavour to affront them in open and champion countries, and as often as the Romaines durſt meete him, he put them to the worſe: but Fabius perceiuing the diſaduantage, kept himſelfe alwaies vpo

Plutarke in the life of Fabius.

the

the hills, and in couert and vneuen places, and ſo made the aduantage of the place equall the multitude of the enemies horſemen.

There is no greater ſcore can touch a man of reputation and place, then to be thought not to vnderſtand his owne buſineſſe. For as wiſedome is the excellencie of humane nature, ſo doth want of iudgement deiection men to the condition of ſuch as Ariſtotele calleth Seruants by nature: whoſe wit being too weake to ſupport any waight, do recompence that want with the ſeruice of their bodie, and are wholly employed in a Porters occupation. Which Homer layeth vpon Diomedes ſhoulders, with as fine conueyance as he doth the reſt of his inuentions: for *Uliſſes* and he going out on a partie to do ſome exploit vpon the Troians, they caried themſelues ſo gallantly, that they fell to ſharing *Rheſus* charret and horſes: *Uliſſes* preſently ſeized vpon the horſes, being of a delicate Thracian breed, and *Diomedes* ſeemed well contented with the charret: but being to carie it away, *Pallas* aduiſed him to let it alone, left he might proue his ſtrength to be greater then his wit, and yet not find ſo much neither as would carie it away.

But for theſe directions which Vercingetorix gaue vnto the Gauls, I reſerre the reader to the ſequelle of the Hiſtorie, wherein he ſhall find how they preuailed.

CHAP. VIII.

Cæſar beſiegeth Auaricum, and is diſtreſſed for want of corne.



VERCINGETORIX followeth Cæſar by ſmall and eaſie iourneys, and choſe a place to incampe in, fortified about with bogges and woods, fifteene miles diſtant from Auaricum, there he vnderſtood what was done at Auaricum euery houre of the day, and commanded likewiſe what he would haue done. He obſerued all our forraging and harneſting, and did ſerue vpon ſuch as went farre off vpon any ſuch occaſion, and incurred them with great inconueniences: albeit they tooke what courſe they could to meete with it, as to go out at vncertaine times, and by vnknewne and vniſual waies. Cæſar incamping himſelfe before that part of the towne which was not ſhut in with the river nor the bogge, and afforded but a narrow and ſtreights paſſage, began to make a mount, to drie vines, and to raiſe two towers: for the nature of the place wold not ſuffer him to incloſe it round about with a ditch and a rampier: and neuer reſted to admoniſh the Hedui and the Boii to bring in ſupplies of corne: of whom the one by reaſon of the ſmall care and paines they tooke, did little helpe him, the other being of no great abilitie, being a ſmall and a weake ſtate, did quickly conſume all that they had. The armie was diſtreſſed for want of corne, by reaſon of the povertie of the Boii, and the indigence of the Hedui, together with

Servus à natura. Polit. I. Illiad. 10.

Cæſar.

the burnings of the houses in the country, in such manner as they wanted corne for many dayes together, and sustained their lues with beasts and castell which they had fetched a great way off: and yet no one voice as all was heard to come from them, unworthie the maiestic of the Romaine Empire, and their former victories. And albeit Cæsar did speake vnto the legions seuerally as they were in the works, that if their wants were heauie and bitter vnto them, he would leaue off the siege. But all of them with one voyce desired him not to do so: for they had so serued many yeares vnder his command, as they neuer had receiued any dishonour, neither had they at any time departed and left the businesse vndone: it would be imputed vnto them as an ignominie and disgrace to leaue the siege, they had rather vndergo all difficulties, then not to reuenge the death of the citizens of Rome that by trechery were slaine at Genabum. The same speeches they deliuered to the Centurions and Tribunes, so be told Cæsar.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Patience in a
souldier ex-
celleth valor.



HE worth of a Souldier consisteth in a disposition of mind and bodie, which maketh him apt to suffer and to vndergo the difficulties of warre: for let his resolution otherwise be neuer so great, and his courage inuincible in the day of battell, yet if he faint vnder the burthen of such tediousnesse as vsually attendeth vpon warlike designements, he is no way fit for any great enterprise. Pindarus saith, that he vnderstandeth not the warre, that knoweth not that the atchieuing of one peece of seruice, is alwaies accompanied with the sufferance of another difficultie as great as that which was first intended: *Et facere, & pati fortia, Romanum est.* It was the peculiar commendation of the Romaine people, patiently to indure the extremities of warfare: which made the *Volsi* to crie out, That either they must forswear armes, and forget to make warre, and receiue the yoke of thraldome and bondage, *aut ijs quibuscum de imperio cersetur, nec virtute, nec patientia, nec disciplina rei militaris cedendum.* Appian forgetteth not to say, that the Romaine Empire was raised to such greatnesse, not by fortune or good lucke, but by meere valour, and patient induring of hardnesse and want. Which is the selfe same which *Craſſus* in his sorrow vttered to his soldiers, who neither did nor spake many things well: foras *Plutarke* rightly censureth him out of the Comickall Poet, he was

Liv. lib. 6.

Plut. Craſſus.

A good man, any way else but in warres.

The Empire of Rome (saith he) came not to that greatnesse which it now possesseth, by good fortune onely, but by patient and constant suffering of trouble and aduersitie, neuer yeelding or giuing place to any daunger.

Some Italian writers are of an opinion, that the two chiefeſt parts of a soldier, Valour and Sufferance, are in these times deuided vnto two nations, the French and the Spaniard: the Spaniard making warre rather by sufferance then by violence of assaults; and the French impatient of delay, and furious in assaults: so that according to his opinion, a Spaniard and a French man, will make

Boterus de Principe.

one

one good souldier. Touching the Spaniard, I cannot deny, but that he hath the name of one of the best souldiers in Christendome, and I do gladly allow all that vertue can challenge, for truth will preuaile against all affection: yet I may say thus much on the behalfe of our owne people, that we haue seldome lost honour in confronting any nation. Concerning the sufferance, and patient induring of hardnesse, which is said to be in the Spaniard, being able to liue long with a litle, it may peraduenture not vnjustly be attributed to the property of their country, and the nature of their climate, which will not beare nor digest such plentie of foode, as is required in colder countries: and thereupon being borne to so weake a digestion, they are as well fatished with a roote or a faller, as others with better plentie of foode: and therein they go beyond other nations. Of the French I say nothing, but leaue them to make good the opinion of the Italian Writer.

Snetonius witnesseth of Cæsar, that he himselfe was *laboris ultra fidem patiens*, whereby he might the better moue his armie to indure with patience the difficulties of the siege: and yet so artificially, as he seemed rather willing to leaue it vnaffected, then to impose any burthen vpon them, which they themselves should be vnwilling to beare, the rather to draw the legions to ingage themselves therein, by denying to forsake it, then to cast that vpon them, which their vnwillingnesse might easily haue put off.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



HE may further obserue, the meanes the souldiers vsed to acquaint Cæsar with their desires, which was by the Tribunes and Centurions: for as these were mediate officers betweene the Generall and them, and deliuered the mandates and directions of the Emperour to the souldier: so did the souldiers vse their helpe to make knowne vnto him their requests: as besides this place may appeare in the first Commentarie, wherethey desired to giue him satisfaction touching the feare they had conceiued of *Ariouſtus* and the *Germanies*, which they likewise did by the Centurions and Tribunes.



CHAP. IX.

Cæsar leaueth the siege, and goeth to take the
enemie vpon aduantage, but returneth againe
 without fighting.

Cæsar.



WHEN the towers began to approach neare vnto the walles, Cæsar vnderstood by the captiues, that Vercingetorix hauing consumed all his prouision of forage, had removed his campe nearer to Auaricum, and that he himselfe was gone with the caualrie, and such readie footemen as were accustomed to fight among the horsemen to lye in ambush in that place where he thought our men would come a forraging the next day: which being knowne, setting forward about midnight in silence, in the morning he came to the enemies campe. They hauing speedie aduertisement by their skoutes of Cæsars comming, did hide their cariages in the woods, and imbatelled all their forces in an eminent and open place. Which being told Cæsar, he commaunded the baggage to be speedily laid together, and their arms to be made readie. There was a hill of a gentlerising from the bottome to the toppe, incompassed round about with a difficult & troublesome bog of siltie foot in breadith, vpon this hill the bridge being broken, the Gauls kept themselves trusting to the strength of the place, and were distributed into companies according to their severall states, with this resolution, that if the Romaines did passe ouer the bog, they might easily from the higher ground keepe them vnder, as they stucke in the mire, who litle reckoning of so small a distance, would deeme the fight to be vpon equall tearmes, whereas they themselves well knowing the inequalitye of the condition, did make but a vaine and idle ostentation. The souldiers disdainig that the enemie could indure their presence so neare at hand, and requiring the signe of battell, Cæsar acquainted them with what deuiment and losse of many valiant men, the victorie must at that time be bought, who being so resolute that they refused no danger to purchase him honour, he might well be condemned of great ingratitude and villanie, if their liues were not deauer vnto him, then his owne safetie: and so comforting the souldiers he brought them backe againe the same day into the campe, and gaue order for such things as were requisite for the siege of the towne.

OBSERVATIONS.



THIS Chapter hath diuers special particulars worthy obseruatiō. The first is, the oportunitie which Cæsar tooke to visite the army of the Gauls, when Vercingetorix was absent and gone to lye in ambush for the Romaine forragers, which was a caueat to Vercingetorix, not to be too buisie with the Romain conuoyes, lest his absence

absence might draw on such an inconuenience, as might make him repent for going a birding.

The second is, the inequalitye which the aduantage of the place giueth to a partie: which I haue alreadie so often spoken of, as I am almost wearie to repeat it, and the rather, for that I haue produced this passage in the former booke, to signifie the benefite of such an aduantage: yet forasmuch as it is so pregnant to that effect, as may well deserue a double consideration, and was also produced by Cæsar himselfe vpon occasion at *Gergonia*, giue me leaue to note how much it swayeth to counterpoise the want of the aduerse partie. Wherein as it cannot be denied, but that it may giue such help as may make a small number equall a farre greater proportion of men, so in Cæsars iudgement it counteruaileth the absence of the Generall, and maketh the bodie perfect without the head. Neither were they weakened onely with the absence of their Generall: but their caualtie wherein they so much trusted was absent likewise: and yet more then that too, by how much the Romaine legions excelled the Gauls in valour and prowesse of armes, which being all put together is no small aduantage. For doubtlesse if the matter had stood vpon equall tearmes touching the place, neither the presence of Vercingetorix, nor the addition of their caualrie to assist them, had hindered the battell, or turned the Romaines backe to their campe.

The third thing is the moderation which he shewed, forbearing to fight, the Gauls insolently vaunting, and the Romaine souldiers fretting and disdainig the enemies pride: whereby he settled such a confidence of his directions in the minds of his men, by shunning the perill of apparant daunger which might fall vpon them in particular, as afterwards they would make no question of his commands, but take them as the onely meanes of their safetie, being neuer better assured then in performing what he commaunded. The practise of latter times, hath not so well deserued of that vertue, but hath often shewed it selfe more prodigall of bloud, as though men were made onely to fill vp ditches, and to be the wofull executioners of other mens rashnesse.

The last thing is the making readie of their weapons, *arma expediri iussit*. Concerning which point, we must vnderstand that the Romaines alwaies carried their targets in cases, and did hang their helmets at their backs, and fitted their piles as might be most conuenient with the rest of their cariages. And therefore whensoever they were to giue battell, they were first to put on their helmets, to vncase their targets, to fit their piles, and to make them readie for the charge: and this was called *Arma expediri*.

The aduantage of the place doth counteruaile the absence of the Generall.

CHAP. X.

Vercingetorix excuseth himselfe to the
Gaules for his absence.

Cæsar.

VERCINGETORIX returning backe to the armie was accused of treason; first in that he had remoued his campe neare vnto the Romaines, and further that he had gone away from it, and tooke all the caualry with him: that he had left so great an armie without any one to commaund it: that vpon his departure the Romaines should come so oportunely and so speedily for all these things could not fall out by chance without counsell and directions: it seemed he had rather haue the kingdome of Gallia by a graunt from Cæsar, then by their meanes and gift. Being thus charged, he answereth, that he remoued the campe for want of forrage, they themselves desiring it. He came neare vnto the Romaines being led thereunto by the opportunity of the place, which was such as might defend it selfe by it owne strength; the caualry was of no use in a boggie place, but might do good seruice there where it went. He left no man to commaund the army of purpose, left by the perswasion of the multitude he should be forced to fight, which he knew they all desired, as not able long to indure any labour: if the Romaines came by chance, they were to thanke fortune, if by any mans direction, they were beholding vnto him that had brought them where they might from the higher ground both see how small a number they were, and contemne their valour, who not daring to fight did thankfully returne into their campe: he desired to receiue no imperial dignitie by treachery from Cæsar, which he might otherwise haue by lawfull victory, which was now most certaine and sure, both to himselfe and the rest of the Gaules. And for that authoritie which he had receiued from them, he was ready to giue it vp into their hands againe, if they thought the honour which they gaue him to be greater then help and safetie which they receiued from him. And to the end you may vnderstand these things to be truly deliuered by me (saith he) heare the Romaine souldiers, and therewithal he brought forth seruants which were taken forraging a few daies before, miserably tormented with famine and irons: they being taught before hand what to answer, said they were legionary souldiers, and had stole out of the camp to see if they could meet with any corne or cattell in the fields: the whole army suffered the like penury, and mens strength began to faile them, in such that they were not able to vndergo any labour: and therefore their Generall had resolu'd, that if he preuailed not against the Towne, he would withdraw his army within three daies. These benefits (saith Vercingetorix) you haue of me, when you accuse of treason for by my means without shedding of your blood, you see so great a conquering army almost consumed with hunger, and by me it is provided, that when they flee from hence, no State shall receiue them into their territories. The whole multitude applauded his speech, by shaking and striking their hands together, as their manner is in such cases, commending Vercingetorix for a great souldier, whose loyalty as it was

not to be distrusted, so the war could not haue bin caried with better directions. They agreed further to send 10000. choise men out of all their forces into the towne, as not thinking it fit to commit the common safety of Gallia onely to the Bituriges, for they were perfwaded that the summe of all the victory consisted in making good that towne against the Romaines.

OBSERVATIONS.



Multitude is *Bellua multorum capitum* (as one saith) an vnreasonable beast of many heads, apt to receiue froward and peruerse incitements, and hard to be drawne to better vnderstanding, iea- lous, impatient, trecherous, vnconstant, an instrument for a wicked spirit, and sooner moued to mischief by *Thersites*, then reclaimed to vertue by the authoritie of *Agamemnon*, or the eloquence of *Ulysses*, or the wisdome of *Nestor*, more turbulent then the raging either of the sea or of a deuouring fire. And therefore they may well go together to make a triplie of euils, according to the saying, *Ignis, mare, populus, tria mala*.

Vercingetorix had both his hands full in this seruice, for his care was no lesse to keepe the Gaules from being distastd, then to make his partie good against Cæsar. It is disputed touching the gouernement of a multitude, whether it be fitter to be seuerer or obsequious: *Tacitus* saith preemptorily, that *In multitudine regenda, plus pæna quam obsequium valet*. But he vnderstandeth such a multitude as are subiect to their commaunder, either by auncient seruice or the interest of regall authoritie, whereby they are tied to obedience by hereditarie dutie, and cannot refuse that which custome prescribeth. For otherwise where the people stand free frõ such bonds, & haue submitted themselves to gouernment for some speciall seruice, there, clemencie or obsequious fawning preuaileth more then the seueritie of commaund: according to the saying, *Homines duci volunt, non cogi*. Vpon a dissention which happened at Rome betweene the people and the Senate, the people were presently sent into the field vnder the leading of two Senators, *Quintius* and *Appius Claudius*: *Appius* by reason of his crueltie and seueritie, was not obeyed by his souldiers, but forsooke his prouince and returned *non proficiens*: *Quintius* being courteous and benigne, had an obedient armie, and came home a conqueror. In the like termes did Vercingetorix stand with the Gaules, who not long before were all of equal authoritie, and for the defence of the common cause had submitted themselves to order and gouernement: and therefore he caried himselfe accordingly, but with some cunning too, for he made no scruple to abuse the beast, & to present them with a lesson of deceit, taught to seruants and Romaine slaues, as the confession of legionarie souldiers, which is a libertie that hath euer bin allowed to such as had the managing of an vnruely multitude, who haue made as much vse of the false raine, as the bit, or the spur, or any other helpe belonging to that art.

Horace.

Whether severity or clemency do more avail in governing a multitude.

CHAP. XI.

Cæsar continueth the siege at Auaricum, and describeth the walles of the Townes in Gallia.

Cæsar.

The singular valor of our soldiers all the counsels and deuises of the Gauls were made void and of none effect: for they are a nation of great dexterity apt to imitate and make any thing which they see other men do before them, for they turned aside the hookes with ropes, and drew them into the towne with engines: they withdrew the earth from the mount with mines with their great skill, by reason of their iron mines wherein they are much practised: they set up towers vpon every part of the wal, and couered them with raw hides: they sallied out of the towne night and day, and either set fire to the mount, or assaulted the soldiers as they were at worke: they did every day make their towers equal to that height of our towers, which the daily increase of the mount had added to their height. They hindred the open trenches, and kept them from approaching the wals with sharp burned stakes, cast into them with hot pitch and with great stones. All their walles are almost of this fashion, long strait beames are placed vpon the ground, with an equall distance of two foote one from another, and bound together on the inside of the wall, and fastened with great store of earth, the distances betweene the beames are filled and sited with great stones in the front of the wal: these being thus placed and fastened with mortar, another such a course is laid vpon that, keeping alwayes the same distance, so as one beame be not laid vpon another, but in the second ranke placing them vpon the distances filled up with stones, and so forward vntill the wall be raised to the due height. This fashion as it is a worke not deformed either in show or variety, observing alternate courses of beames & stones which keepe their order by euen lines, so is it profitable also and very much aduancing the defence of the towne, for as the stone keeps it from burning so doth the wood from the violence of the ranime, forasmuch as the beames are for the most part fortie foote long, and can neither be broken nor pulled out.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

The use and practise of ancient time in besieging & defending townes.

THIS Chapter doth in some part expresse the manner of their siege in auncient time, and the meanes which the defendant had to frustrate the assaults and approaches of the enemy. Besides the Ram which the Romaines vsed to shake and ouerthrow the wall (whereof I haue already spoken) they had commonly great hookes of iron to catch

held

hold of a turret, and to pull it ouer the wall, or to pull downe the parapet, or to disturbe any worke which was to be made vpon the wall. These hookes were vsed by the legionario souldiers, being couered with vines in the same maner as they handled the Ram: and were auerted and put off by the ingenious practises of the Gauls, with ropes cast and insnared about them, and then by force of engines drawne into the towne. In like maner the open trenches, by which the Romaines made their approaches to the wall, were answered from the towne with stakes or piles, hardened at the end with fire, and then cast into them to hinder such as were at worke, together with seething pitch and great stones. Furthermore as the Romaines raised their mount, and brought matter vnto it to enlarge it in breadth and height, so did the Gauls vndermine it, and drew the earth away, or set it on fire to burne it: for as I haue already noted in the description of a mount, it was made awell with wood and timber, as with earth and stones. They strengthened their walles with turrets and towers, and couered them with raw hides to keepe them from burning, and as the Romaines mounted in height with their turrets and engines, so the Gauls raised their towers answerable vnto them, that in the defence of the towne they might fight with equall aduantage. And thus they proceeded both in the offensive and defensue part, as farre as either valour or wit could improoue those meanes which were then in vse in besieging a towne.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

IT was the vse of all nations, to fortifie their strong townes with such wals as might make best defence against the practise of those times wherein they liued, touching the taking and besieging of townes: so the Gauls as it appeareth by Cæsar raised their walles of wood and stone, laid in mutual courses one with another, that the wood might make voide the violence of the Ram, and the stone keepe it from burning with fire, which in those dayes were the meanes to assault and ouerthrow a wall. In these times the walles of strong and fortified townes, are onely made and raised of earth, as the best defence against the furie of the artillerie. But forasmuch as the old maner of fortification is here in part deliuered by Cæsar, giue me leaue to haue a word or two touching the fortifications of these times.

And first touching the art it selfe, in respect of the matter and the maner, it is a member of architecture, but the end is militaric: for to fortifie is nothing els but to make a building answerable to necessitie and the occurrences of war. Neither is it the end of fortification to make a place inexpugnable, or vnpossible to be taken, for so it were *Ars artium*, but to reduce it to a good and reasonable defence.

Wherefoeuer then any such defence is required, the mysterie of fortification is to raise such a fort, and to apply such a figure, answering the qualitie and

k 3

The manner of fortification in vse in these dayes.

Fortification defined.

70 OBSERVATIONS VPON CÆSARS

Circular forts

site of that place, as may giue greatest strength thereunto: for as all places are not capable in the dispositiō of their best strength of all sorts of figures, so there is a difference of strength between this and that figure. And as the place wanteth the aduantage of motion and agilitie for it owne defence, so is it requisite it should be furnished with the best meanes and commodities both to annoy the enemy, and to defend it owne people. And in that respect all circular formes as compounded of parts of one and the same nature, are vsuit for fortification: for where a fort ought so to be disposed, that it may haue as many hands to strike as *Briareus*, and as a *Hydra* neuer to want a head, it is necessary that the figure thereof be of different and vnlike parts, as apt to worke diuers effects. For vnlesse it be able to discouer a far off, to commaund the countrey about as farre as the artillerie will play, to stop the passages, to hinder approaches and assaults, to damnishe the enemy at hand and farre off, sometimes with the artillerie, sometimes with small shot, sometimes with fire-workes, and other times by sallies, it hath not that perfection as is requisite.

Triangular forts

Admitting therefore composition of parts, next vnto the circle the triangular fortresse is most vnperfect, first in regard it is a figure of lesse capacite then any other of equall bounds, which is a great inconuenience in a hold, when the souldiers shal be pind vp for want of roome, and through the straightnes of the place, not to be able to auoid confusion. Secondly the bulworkes of all such triangular fortresses, haue alwayes such sharpe cantons as are easily subiect to breaking, which giueth the enemy meanes to approach them without disturbance from the fort.

Quadrangle forts. Five sided and fixe sided fortresses.

The quadrangle fortresse hath almost the same imperfection of angles as the triangle hath, but is more spacious within, and of greater capacite.

And therefore Pentagons or Hexagons or any other that hath more angles, is fittest for fortification (vnderstanding the place to be capable of them) as being of a greater content, and hauing their angles more obtuse, and by consequence more solide and strong.

Fortes in a plane leuell. Aduantages.

A plaine champio leuell doth admit all sorts of figures, and may take the best, hauing these aduantages, it easily hindereth an enemy from approaching nere vnto it, or incamping before it, and is not subiect to mines by reason of the water rising in such leuels. But on the other side, a small troope will besiege it, and batterie may be laid to diuers places of it: it is alwayes subiect to mounts of earth, and needeth many bulworkes, ditches, and much cost to keepe it.

Disaduantages.

Fortes vpon a hill. Aduantages. Disaduantages.

A fortresse vpon a hill hath these aduantages, an enemy can hardly lodge nere vnto it, or lay batterie against it, it requireth more men to besiege it, and is not subiect to mounts. The disaduantages, are that it is not in our choice to make it in the best form of strength, but must giue it such a figure as may best fitt the place, being sometimes too large and spacious, and sometime too strait. The enemies artillerie hath greater force against it playing vpward, and the artillerie of the fort playeth not so sure downward.

The hands of all forts.

The hands of all forts are the bulworkes from whence the artillerie playeth, the supplements to the bulworkes are the ruelins, the platformes, the casmates, and the caualeros. The walles are made in scarpe canting inwards, the better to beare

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bear the weight of the earth, with this proportion, that to euery fūe foote; or fixe foote in height, there be one foote allowed in scarpe. The counterscarpe is another wall outward to the first, and slopeth inward in the same maner as the former.

And thus much touching the general view of fortification, which is as much as may wel be comprehended in these short obseruations, refering the further consideration thereof to a particular treatise by it selfe.

CHAP. XII.

The siege of Auaricum continued.



*H*E siege being hindered by so many disturbances, and the soldiers afflicted all the time with cold and continuall raine, yet they ouercame all these lets with continuall labour, and in fixe and twentie dayes they raised a mount of three hundred and thirtie foot in breadth, and fourescore in height. When it came almost to touch the wall, Cæsar himselfe attending the worke as his custome was, and encouraging the souldiers to omit no time from the same: a litle before the third watch of the night, the mount was scene to smoke, the enemy hauing set it on fire with amine. And at the same instant of time, a shout being taken vp by them that stood vpon the wall, they made a sally out at two gates on both sides the towers: some cast firebrands and drie matter from the wall vnto the mount, pouring pitch and other things to nourish the fire; that no man knew whither to run first, or where to giue helpe. Notwithstanding forasmuch as Cæsar had appointed two legions by turne to watch before the campe, and two other to follow the workes, it happened, and that quickly, that some were readie to confront the sallies, and others to draw backe the towers from the front of the mount, and to cut the mount asunder, the whole multitude coming out of the campe to quench the fire. The rest of the night being now spent, the fight continued euery where, and euer the enemy tooke new spirits, and had hope of victorie, the rather because they saw the shadders or bouels belonging to the towers burnt; and that the souldiers could not come nere the said towers to manage them, as was sitting without shelter and couert, and that they euer sent fresh men to take the roomes of such as were wearie and ouer laboured: supposing the safetie of all Gallia to consist in that instant of time. There happened my selfe beholding it, an accident worthe memorie, which I thinke not fit to omit. A certaine Gaulle before the gate of the towne, casting with his hands balles of tallow and pitch to increase the fire, right ouer against the tower was shot through the right side with a crof-bow, and fell downe dead: one that stood next him stepped ouer him and began to do the like service: he likewise was slaine with a shot out of a crof-bow: him a third man succeeded, and the third, a fourth: neither was the place forsaken vntill the mount was quenched, the enemy remoued, and the fight ceased.

Cæsar.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Whether
there need
not as many
men to defend
a towne, as to
besiege it.

The defence
of a towne co-
sisteth in foure
points.

IT were a matter worthie obseruation to consider, whether there neede not as many men to defend a towne, as to besiege it: Which at the first sight may peradventure seeme fruitles: forasmuch as the defendants are but to make good the place which they hold, and to stand onely vpon their defensue guard, hauing the aduantage of the place, the shelter of the wals, the strength of the ditch, and many other like helps for their defence and safetie: whereas the assailant is to strue against all these aduantages, and to oppose himselfe to the daunger of so many difficulties. But if we looke a litle nearer into the matter, and consider the seruice to be performed on either part, we shall find, that to say, as many men are necessarie to defend a towne as to besiege it, is no Paradoxe.

For the better vnderstanding thereof, we are to know, that the defence of a towne touching matter of fight, consisteth chiefly in these foure points. First, in manning and making good all parts of the wall: for if the defendant be not able to strengthen all parts with a competent force, then he hath not men enough to defend the town, forasmuch as all parts are subiect to assault, & what part soeuer is not made good, that lyeth open to an enemy: or otherwise if the assault be onely to be made at a breach, the rest of the wall being strong enough to defend it selfe, there is required a competent strength within the towne to defend that breach. In this point there is litle difference touching a competent number of men betwene the assailant and the defendant: for if he that layeth siege to a towne hath men enough to assault all parts at one instant, the enemy must haue an answerable proportion to defend all, or if he haue no vse of more men then may serue to giue an assault at a breach, the defendant must haue the like proportion for the defence of the breach.

The second point is, in releeuing wearied men, either fighting or working, with fresh supplies to continue that businesse, as oftentimes it falleth out in the siege of a towne. Wherein likewise there is small or no difference touching an equalitie betwene both parties: for if the defendant be not aswell able to releeue his wearied souldiers with fresh supplies, as the enemy is to continue the assault, the towne may quickly haue a new maister.

The third point, is in defeating and making void such workes as the enemy shall make against the towne, as mounts, mines, approches, and such like inconueniences, which being suffered to go on without opposition and preuention, the towne cannot hold out long. In this point the defendant hath the aduantage, hauing need of more men to ouerthrow and prevent the workes, then the assailant hath to make them good: for there he that besiegeth the place fighteth with the aduantage, and hath the same helps as the defendant hath in the fastnesse of his hold: which caused this extraordinary accident which Caesar noteth touching the successefull slaughter of so many Gaules, who labouring

to

to burne the *Romaine* workes with balles of tallow and pitch, were all slaine with the blow of one mans bow.

The last point is in sallies, which is as necessarie for the defence of a towne as any thing else whatsoeuer: for if the defendant be not able to sallie out, the enemy will quickly coope him vp, and tread vpon his belly. And herein the defendant needeth more men then the assailant: for he that is in the field, lyeth in the strength of his trenches, whereas the other cometh out naked vpon him.

And thus much touching this question in particular. Concerning the generall, if it be demanded whether there haue bene more men lost in the defence of *Ostend*, then in besieging it? I answer, that neither side can much vaunt of a small losse.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



IN the second place there are two obseruable points: the one, *Caesars* continuall attendance vpon the workes, being present night and day without any long intermission, which did much aduantage their proceeding at that time, and was as important to a fortunate issue, as any other thing whatsoeuer: for where an enemy is extraordinarie, either in valour or diligence, there must needs be extraordinary meanes to counteruaile the height of so great a resolution, which *Caesar* ouertopt with monstrous and huge workes, and speeded those workes with his continuall attendance.

The second point is the successefull taske of the *Romaine* armie, being eight legions present at that siege (for the other two were left at *Agendicum* with the cariages of the armie) in such sort, as halfe the armie was alwaies at rest, and the other halfe employed: two legions at worke, and two legions in the watch: and thus they eased each other, and still continued the worke: for otherwise they had not bene able to haue vndergone the burthen, as the saying is: *Quod caret alterna requie durabile non est.*

CHAP. XIII.

Cæsar by an assault taketh Auaricum.



THE Gaules hauing tried all meanes, and none taking effect, the next day they consulted touching their leauing of the towne, Vercingetorix both commanding and perswading them vnto it, which they hoped they might do in the night time without any great losse vnto themselves, forasmuch as Vercingetorix was not farre off with his campe, and all the way thither was a continuall bogge, which would hinder the

Caesar.

The eye of the
maister see-
deth the horse

Romaines from following after them. And for that purpose they prepared themselves against the next night: which the women perceiuing, did run suddenly out into the streets and other publique places, and cast themselves at the feete of their husbands; and by all meanes intreated them, not to leaue them and their children to the cruelty of the enemy, whom nature and infirmities of body would not suffer to stie away, but finding them to continue resolute in their purpose, forasmuch as in extreame perill, feare for the most part hath no commiseration, they cried out and signified their flight vnto the Romaines, wherewith the Gaules being feared, they desisted from the course lest the wayes should be forestalled and laid by the Romaine horsemen. The next day Cæsar hauing advanced forward the tower, and persited those workes which he had determined to make, there hapned to fall a great rain, which he thought to be a fit occasion for his purpose: and forasmuch as he saw the guard vpon the wall to be somewhat negligently disposed, he commanded his men to work faire and softly, and shewed them what he would haue done, and encouraging the Legions which were bid in a readines vnder the vines, at length to iniuy the sweetnesse of victory for their manifold labours: he provided a reward for such as were seene first vpon the walles, and gaue them the signe to begin: the souldiers flying suddenly out of all parts, did quickly possesse themselves of the walles. The enemy being frighted with so sudden an accident, and put from the towers and the walles, imbastelled themselves anglewise in the market place, and in other spacious streets of the citie, with this resolution, that if they were assaulted in any part, they would resist in forme of battell: but when they saw no man to descend on enen ground, but to inclose them round about vpon the wall, fearing lest there would be no way to escape, they cast their armes away and fled all to the furthest part of the towne, part of them sticking in a strong at the gate, were there slaine by the souldiers, and part being got out of the gate were slaine by the horsemen: neither was there any mit that looked after pillage, but being moued to anger with the slaughter of our men at Genabum, and with the trauell and labour of those great workes, they neither spared old men, women nor children. In the end, of all that number which was about fortie thousand, scarce eight hundred (that vpon the first noise forooke the Towne) came safe to Vercingetorix. These he receiued with great silence, being now farre in the night, lest any sedition should haue growne in the camp, through the pittie and commiseration of the vulgar people, and sent out his familiar friends and chiefe men of each State to meet such as had escaped away, and to bring them to their owne people as they lay quartered in the campe.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

The Gentles in the Legion are more the me. & in the end lesse the women.



It may see here the saying verified touching the disposition of the Gaules for matter of valour, which in the beginning seemed so great, that it needed no further straine to counteruaile the worth of Cæsars armie, and was expresse with such industrie and resolution, both in spoyleing and disappointing the Romaine workes, as also by ingenious fortifying and making good their owne labors, that a man would

would haue deemed them *virtute pares*. But being a litle spent in the action, like a pot that hath a mouth as bigge as the belly, and powreth out all the liquor at an instant, they fell at length to that basenesse, as shewed lesse spirit then the women did, who chose rather to betray their husbands purposes to the enemy, then to hazard their liues by escaping to *Vercingetorix*. And this is that which is so often noted by Historiographers: *Quod multa bella impetu valida per tadia & moras euannescere*. The first thing that I obserue, is that which Cæsar himselfe noteth: *Quod plerumque in summo periculo, timor misericordiam non recipit*. Which was true on either side: for the Gaules so set vpon flying to *Vercingetorix*, that they regarded not the wofull laments of the women and children, whom they were well content to hazard, whilst they themselves might escape in safetie. And on the other side, the women did forget to be pitifull to their husbands, whom they would not suffer to escape, and leaue them in their weakenesse behind as a prey to appease the wrath of the bloudie souldier, which would consequently follow in that escape. Which sheweth, that there is no tye comparable to the bond of nature, specially when it concerneth the preseruation of life. For as in other things, respect and affection may easily woike a communication of good things vnto others, as also a participation of their euils for their reliefe: so herein we are altogether fencelesse, and the loue we owe to our liues is so great, that it admitteth no respect. *Agessilaus* to his friend was without respect a friend, and yet notwithstanding being driuen one day to remoue vpon the sudden, and to leaue one sicke behind him whom he loued dearly: the sicke man calling him by his name as he was going away, besought him that he would not forsake him: *Agessilaus* turning backe againe, answered: O how hard it is both to loue and to be wife: according to the saying, *Sapere & amare vix Deo conceditur*.

Feare hath no pittie.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



It is a principle amongst men of warre, not to put necessitie vpon an enemy, nor make him valiant whether he will or no, (as I haue already noted in the former Commentaries) which the Romaines well obserued in this particular seruice at *Auaricum*: for being possessed of the walles, they did not suddenly assault them in the market place, where they had made head for their defence, but gaue them a breathing time, the better to vnderstand what they did; and respice, to bethinke themselves of a starting hole for the safetie of their liues. Which as it was quickly apprehended by the Gaules, so it made an easie execution to the Romaine souldier.

And as it seemeth it was the more carefully handled in respect of the condition of the enemy being reuolters: for such Provinces as haue rebelled, are harder to be recouered after their reuolt, then they were at first to be subdued. For at the first, they haue no occasion to feare any hard condition, but yielding

A Generall must not put necessitie vpon an enemy.

*Reuolters
are in the
conditio both
of an enemy
and of an of-
fendor.*

to subiection do looke for fauor: whereas rebels and reuolters, besides the conditio of an enemy, are in the nature of offenders, and stand in feare of the extremities of warre, which maketh them more obstinate then otherwise they would be. And therefore it behoueth a Generall not to impose any further necessity vpon an enemy, then the qualitie of the warre doth lay vpon them: which oftentimes is more then can be well auoided.

CHAP. XIII.

Vercingetorix doth comfort the Gaules
for the losse of *Auaricum*.

Cæsar.

TH E next day calling a Councell, he comforted the Gaules, and exhorted them not to be vnderly dismayd with that losse: for the Romaines had not ouerthrowne them with valour, nor in a set battell, but with a kind of art, and skill in besieging a towne, whereof they themselves were ignorant; he erred much that looked for all the events of warre to fall out prosperously: it was neuer his opinion, that *Auaricum* should be kept, whereof they themselves were witnesses. But it fell out by the imprudencie of the Bituriges & ouer great indulgence of the rest that this losse happened vnto them, which notwithstanding he would speedily heale with greater helps: for by his diligence he would vnite such States vnto them as were not yet of the confederacie, and make one purpose of all Gallia, which the whole world was not able to resist: and that he had almost effected it already. In the meane time he thought it fit that they should yeeld vnto one thing for their safeties sake, which was to fortifie their campe; to the end they might better sustaine the sudden assaults of the enemy. This speech was not vnpleasing to the Gaules: and the rather that he himselfe was not dejected in spirit vpon so great a losse, nor did hide himselfe, or flie the presence of the multitude: being the more esteemed forasmuch as when the matter was in question, he first thought it fit that *Auaricum* should be burned, and afterwards he perswaded them to forsake it; wherein as misfortune and aduersitie do impair the authoritie of other commaunders: so contrariwise his honour daily increased by the losse which he received. And withall they were in great hope vpon his affirmation, to winne the rest of the States vnto them. And that was the first time that the Gaules began to fortifie their campe, being so appalled in spirit, that where they euer were vnaccustomed to labour, yet they thought it their part to suffer and vndergoe all that was commanded them.

T H E

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



EXT to the knowledge and experience of warre, there is nothing more requisite in a great Commander, then greatnesse of spirit: for where his employment consisteth in managing the great busineses of the world, such as are the slaughter of many thousands in an houre, the sacking of cities, the fighting of battels, the alteration of Commonweales, victories, triumphes, and the conquest of kingdomes, which like the constellations in the eighth sphere, are left to succeeding ages in such characters as cannot be defaced, and make an impression of the greatest measure of ioy, or the greatest heape of sorrow; it is necessarie that his courage be answerable to such a fortune, neither to be crushed with the waight of aduersitie, nor puffed vp with the pride of victorie; but in all times to shew the same constancie of mind, and to temper extremities with a seled resolution.

Of this mettall and temper, is the Philosophers *homo quadratus* made of, such as *Camillus* was in Rome: for neuer speech did better becommen a great personage then that of his, hauing knowne both the fauour and the disgrace of fortune: *nec mihi dictatura animos fecit, nec exilium ademit*, saith he. Whereas weake spirits do either vanish away in the smoke of folly, being drunke with the ioyes of pleasing fortune, or otherwise vpon a change of good times, do become more base and abiekt, then the theefe that is taken in the fact: such as *Persus* the last Macedonian king was, who besides his ill fortune for loosing his kingdom in the space of one houre, hath euer since stood attainted of a base and abiekt mind, vnworthie the throne of *Alexander* the Great.

The wife *Romaines* vsed al means to giue courage and spirit to their leaders, and to free their minds from such externall respects, which losse or dishonour might cast vpon them. And therefore when *Varrus* had fought so rashly at *Cannes*, that he had like to haue lost the *Romaine* Empire to *Annibal*, vpon his returne to Rome the whole Senate went out to meete him, and although they could not thanke him for the battell, yet they gaue him thanks that he was re-returnd home againe, whereby he seemed not to despaire of the state of Rome.

In like maner did the Gaules congratulate *Vercingetorix*, that notwithstanding so great a losse, he was neither dejected in spirit, nor did hide himselfe from the multitude, but as a commander of high resolution, had found out means to heale those harmes, and to recompence the losse of *Auaricum*, with the vniting of all the States of Gallia into one confederacie.

A great Commander, must haue a great courage.

Homo quadratus.

Plutark, Paulus Æmilius.

Plutark.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

*It is dangerous
to be the au-
thor of a coun-
sell in a state.*

SEcondly we may obserue, how dangerous it is to be the author of a counsell touching any important or graue deliberation, or to lay downe any proiect for the seruice of a State; for all men are blind in this point, that they iudge of good or ill counsell by the successe, and looke no further then the end which it taketh, which prouing disastrous or vnfortunate, doth either bring the author to destruction, or into danger both of life and state.

Holinshed.

In the occurrences of this kingdome, it appeareth that Henry the fift being sollicit for the commons touching the Abbies in England, and moued by petition exhibited in Parliament, to that which was afterwards accomplished by Henry the eight, was diuerted from those thoughts by an eloquent oratio made in Parliament by Henry Chechley Archbishop of Canterbury a graue and learned Prelate, perswading the King by many concluding reasons, to carie a great power into France, and there to make his claime for that kingdome, according to the right deriued vnto him from his noble progenitors. Whereupon the King was perswaded to vndertake that war, which albeit fel out most happily, yet the Bishop to satisfie both the king and the people for his former counsell, whereby many men were lost, built a colledge in Oxford dedicated to Allsoules, wherein he placed fortie scholars, to make supplications for all soules, and specially for such as had miscieued in France in the time of that warre.

*Vt felicitas re-
vngessari ex-
ercitus beneu-
lentia impera-
toris iussu rei
aduersæ odia
concluant.
Lib. 3. bel. cin.*

Vercingetorix was happie in this point, for he perswaded the Gauls not to keepe Auaricum, but to suffer it to be burned as an enemy to their safetie: and thereupon he did not let to put them in mind of his opinion, as free from the danger which hapned to a great man neare vnto Persus whom I last spake of, who after his ouerthrow by Paulus Emilins, being told by that partie of many errors which he had committed in the carriage of that warre, turned himself suddenly, saying, Traitor hast thou reserved thy counsell vntill now, when there is no remedie: and therewithall (as some report) slue him with his owne hand. And this was it that gaue Vercingetorix that happinesse: *Vt reliquorum imperatorum res aduersæ, auctoritatem minuant: sic huius ex contrario, dignitas incommodo accepto indies augebatur.*



Vercingetorix

CHAP. XV.

Vercingetorix laboureth to vnite all Gallia into one league for the vpholding of their warre.

NEITHER did Vercingetorix omit any indeuour for the accomplishment of his promise, to draw the rest of the States vnto him: and to that purpose he dealt with their chiefe men both by rewards and promises, and chose out fit men, that either by subtille speeches, or friendship, or some other meanes, might win the vnto him. He took order that such as had escaped from Auaricum should be both clothed and armed: and withall, that he might reeference his troopes which were weakened, he commaunded euery State to furnish out certaine supplies, and to be brought by a day to the campe: he commaunded likewise all the archers, of whom there is great store in Gallia, to be sought out and sent vnto him, and by this meanes he speedily repaired his losses at Auaricum. In the meane time Teutomatus the sonne of Ollouic King of the Nitiobriges, whose father had the title of a friend from our Senate, came to him with a great number of horsemen, which he had brought out of Aquitaine.

Cæsar.

OBSERVATIONS.

IT seemeth by this place, that France in those dayes did fauour archerie: for (as the storie saith) they had great store of archers amongst them, but of what value they were is not here deliue- red: the vse they made of them followeth after in this Commentarie, which was to intermingle them amongst the horse, and so they fought as light armed men.

Archerie.

In the times that our English nation caried a scourging hand in France, the matter betwene vs and them touching archerie, stood in such tearmes as gaue England great aduantage: for I haue not heard of any bowmen at all amongst them: whereas our nation hath heretofore excelled all other, as well in number of bowmen, as in excellent good shooting, and hath made so good prooffe thereof against the French, as it needeth not any long dispute.

* Concerning Archerie I find these things considerable: first that euery man be so fitted with bow and arrowes, as he may be apt for strong and quick shooting; wherein I cannot so much commend these liuerie bowes, being for the most part heavy slugs, and of greater weight then strength, and of more shew then seruice.

Secondly, that in a day of seruice the bow-men endeuour so to deliuer their

** Things con-
siderable tou-
ching archery
In the time of
Henry the fift
the English
bow-men did
commonly shoot
an arrow of a
yard long be-
sides the head*

quiuers, that the whole band or flecue of shot may let go all at one instant of time: for so the shower of arrowes will be more fierce and terrible, and more available against an enemy.

Thirdly, the fittest forme of imbattelling for bow-men, which must not at any hand be deepe in flanke, for so such as are in the hindmost ranks, will either shoote short or to no purpose. And therefore the fittest forme of imbattelling for archerie, hath euer bin accounted a long sided square, resembling a hearse, broad in front and narrow in flanke.

Fourthly, their defence in a day of battell, which must either be a court wooddie place, where the horse of the enemy cannot come at them, or a trench cast before them, or the place must be fortified with galihrops & stakes, such as were deuised by *Henrie* the first at *Agin-court* field, or some other meanes to auoid the caualrie. The last thing is the effect which the bow-men worke, which are two, first the galling of the enemy, and secondly disorder. Touching the galling of the enemy, there cannot be a better description then that which *Plutarke* maketh of the ouerthrow of the *Romaines* by the *Parthian* arrowes. The *Romaine* souldiers hands (saith he) were nailed to their targets, and their feete to the ground, or otherwise were sore wounded in their bodies, and died of a cruell lingering death, crying out for anguish and paine they felt, and turning and tormenting themselves vpon the ground, they brake the arrowes sticking in them. Again, striuing by force to plucke out the barbed heads, that had pierced farre into their bodies through their veines and sinewes, they opened the wounds wider, and so cast themselves away.

The disorder or rowting of an enemy which is caused by the bow-men, cometh from the fearefull spectacle of a drift of arrowes: for a shower of arrowes well deliuered and well seconded, for a while is so terrible to the eye, and so dreadfull in the successe, that it is almost vnpoffible to keepe the enemy from rowting.

The two great victories which our nation had in *France* at *Cressie* and *Agin-court*, next to the valour of the English, are attributed to our archery: and the effect of our archerie at those times, was first disorder, and consequently slaughter. In the battell of *Cressie* the King of *Bohemia* fighting for the *French*, caused his horsemen to tie the bridles of their horses together in ranke, that they might keepe order notwithstanding the galling which he feared from our *English* archerie: but it fell out as ill as if he had tied their heads and their tailes together in file, for the drift of arrowes fell so terribly amongst them, that they ranne together on heapes with such confusion, as made the slaughter great, and their particular destinies most miserably fortunated. At *Agin-court* the number of prisoners which euerie souldier had, was admirable to speake of; for some report that many of our *English* had ten prisoners apeece, which happened chiefly from the disorder which fel amongst the *French*, and that disorder came by our archery. And doubtlesse if euer we should haue occasion to go against an enemy that so aboundeth in horse as the *French* do, there could be no better meanes against such horse, then our *English* bowmen. I know it hath bene said, that now the times are altered, and the arbubse and musket are so generally

It is not so possible to intermingle bowmen with other sorts of weapons, as to put them all into one body. At the battell of Cressie the Duke Prince leading the vanguard, had the archers standing in the manner of a hearse. Holinhead. The archerie wrought two effects. 1. Galling the enemy. 2. Disorder.

The battell of Cressie.

The battell of Agincourt.

Arbubse and musket.

received, and of such reputation in the course of our moderne warres, that in comparison of them, bow-men are not worth the naming. Wherein I will not go about to extenuate the vse of either of these weapons, as knowing them to be both very seruiceable vpon fit and conuenient occasions, nor take vpon me to determine which of them is most effectually in a day of seruice, but onely deliver my conceit touching their effects, and leaue it to the consideration of wise and discret Commaunders.

And first touching shot. A wing of muskaters is available against an enemy, onely in such bullets as do hit, for such as do not hit, passe away insensibly without any further feare, and the cracke is but as the lose of the bow. Of such bullets as do hit, the greatest part do not strike to death, but are oftentimes carried vntill the skirmish be ended before the party do feele himselfe hurt: so that an enemy receiueh no further hurt by a charge of shot, then happeneth to such particular men as shall chauce to be slaine out-right or sore hurt.

A flecue of archers is available against an enemy, as well in such arrowes as do not hit, as in such as do hit: for whereas the cloud of arrowes is subiect to our sight, and euerie arrow is both suspected and able to bring death sitting on the head, an enemy is as much troubled at such arrowes as come faire vpon him and do not hit, as at those that do hit, for no man is willing to expose his flesh to an open and eminent daunger when it lieth in his power to auoide it. And therefore whilest euerie man seeketh to auoide hurt, they fall into such confusion, as besides the losse of particular men, the enemy doth hardly escape disorder, which is the greatest disadvantage that can befall him. Moreover, the arrowes hauing barbed heads, although they make but a light hurt, yet they are not easily pulled out, which maketh the souldiers not to intend the fight vntill they be deliuered of them: and the horse so to fling and chafe, that it is impossible they should either keepe their rancke, or be otherwise managed for any seruice.

And this much touching bow-men and archerie, which is a weapon as ancient as the first and truest historie, and is of the number of such weapons as men vse to fight with farre off. The vse whereof is too much neglected by the *English* at these times, considering the honour they haue atchieued by it in former ages.



How farre a wing of shot prevaileth.

How farre a flecue of archers is available against an enemy.

Genesi. 27. 3.

CHAP. XVI.

A controuersie fell out in the state of the Hedui
touching the choise of their chiefe
Magistrate.

Cæsar.



CÆSAR staid many dayes at Auaricum: for finding there great store of corne and of other prouisions, he refreshed his armie of their former labour and wants. The winter now being almost ended, and the time of the year being fit for warre, he determined to follow the enemy, to see whether he could draw him out of the woods and bogs, or besiege him in some place. Being thus resolved, diuers of the principall men of the Hedui came vnto him, beseeching him that he would stand to them, and assist their state in a time of great neede, the matter being in extreame danger, forasmuch as their auncient vsage was for one to be created their annuall Magistrate, hauing regall authoritie for that year: whereas now two had taken vpon them the said office, both of them affirming themselves to be lawfully created: the one was Conuictolitanis, a famous and flourishing young man, the other Cottus borne of an auncient family, and he himselfe of great power and kinred, whose brother Vedeliacus had borne the said office the year before. All their State was in armes, their Senate and their people diuided, together with their clients and followers: if the controuersie continued for any time, it would come to a battell, the preuention whereof consisted in his diligence and authoritie. Cæsar, though he knew it would be disadvantageous vnto him to leave the warre and to forsake the enemy, yet knowing what inconueniences do usually arise of such discords and dissensions, least so great a State, and so neare to the people of Rome, which he himselfe had alwayes favoured, and by all means honoured, should fall to warre amongst themselves: and that faction which distrusteth their owne strength, should seek help of Vercingetorix, he thought it most necessary to be preuented. And forasmuch as such as were created chiefe Magistrates amongst the Hedui, were by their lawes forbidden to go out of their confines: to the end he might not seeme to derogate any thing from their lawes, he himselfe determined to go vnto them. At his coming he called before him all the Senate, and those also that were in controuersie for the office: and finding in an assembly almost of the whole State, that one of them was chosen by a few priuily called together, in another place, and at another time then was accustomed, the brother pronouncing the brother: whereas their lawes did not onely forbid two of one family both being alive to be created Magistrate, but also to be of the Senate together: he compelled Cottus to giue over his interest in the magistracie, and confirmed Conuictolitanis being created by their Priests, and according to the custome of their State. This decree being ratified, he adhorted the Hedui to forget their priuate controuersies and dissensions, and to giue their best helpe to the warre in hand, wherein they might challenge and expect (the Gauls being subdued) such rewardes as they deserved.

commande.

commanding all their horse and ten thousand foote to be speedily sent vnto him, which he meant to dispose into garrisons for the better prouision of corne. And then diuiding his armie into two parts, he sent foure Legions towards the Senones and the Parisians vnder the leading of Labienus; the other foure he led himselfe against the Aruerni, to the Towne of Gergonia, along the riuer Eleuar sending part of the horse with him, and keeping part with himselfe.

OBSERVATIONS.



O loose the least jot of that which a man hath in possession, is more dishonourable, then to faile of getting what he hath not. And therefore Cæsar chose rather to forgo the aduantages which a speedie pursuit of the enemy might haue afforded him to the ending of that warre, then to hazard the losse of so great a State, and so well affected to the people of Rome as were the Hedui, wherein he caried so equall and indifferent a hand, that he would do nothing but what the lawes of that State directed him vnto, as most assured that such directions were without exception.

Nō minor est
virtus, quā
querere pā
tueri.

CHAP. XVII.

Cæsar passeth his armie ouer the riuer Ele-
uar, and incampeth himselfe
before Gergonia.



HIGH thing being knowne, Vercingetorix hauing broken downe all the bridges of that riuer, tooke his iourney on the other side of Eleuar, either armie being in view each of other, and incamping almost ouer against one another: discoverers being sent out to watch, lest the Romans should make a bridge in any place, and carie over their forces. Cæsar was much troubled, lest he should be hindered by the riuer the greatest part of that Sommer, forasmuch as Eleuar is not passable at any foord untill towards the Autumne. And therefore to preuent that, he incamped himself in a wooddie place right ouer against one of those bridges which Vercingetorix had commanded to be broken. The next day he kept himselfe there secretly with two legions, and sent forward the rest of the forces, with all the carriages as were accustomed, taking awaie the fourth part of each cohort, that the number of legions might appeare to be the same, commanding them to go on as farre as they could, and making coniecture by the time of the day, that they were come to their camping place, upon the same piles, (the lower part whereof remained there whole) he began to recedde the bridge, and hauing speedily ended the worke, and caried over the Legions, and

Cæsar.

Demptio
quātis ex
languere color
vultu.

choſen a ſit place to encampe in, he called backe the reſt of his forces. Vercingetorix hauing notice thereof, leſt he ſhould be forced to fight againſt his will, went before by great iourneys. Cæſar with ſixe incampings went from that place to Gergonia, and after a light ſkirmiſh betweene the horſe the ſame day he came, hauing taken a view of the ſituation of the towne which was built vpon a very high hill, & had very hard and difficult approaches on all ſides, he diſpaired of taking it by aſſault, neither would he determine to beſeige it vntill he had made prouiſion of corne. But Vercingetorix hauing ſet his campe on a hill before the towne, had placed the ſeuerall forces of the States by themſelues, in ſmall diſtances round about him, and hauing poſſeſt himſelfe of all the toppes of that hill, made a very terrible ſhew into all parts where he might be ſeene: he commaunded likewiſe the chiefe men of the States, whom he had choſen out to be of the Councell of warre, to meete alwaies together with him at the dawning of the day, to know if any thing were to be communicated vnto them, or what eſſe was to be done. Neither did he omit any day to ſkirmiſh with his horſemen, with archers intermingled amongſt them: to the end he might trie what courage and valor was in his people. Rights ouer againſt the towne at the foote of the hill, there was a knowle exceedingly fortified, and hard to be come vnto on all ſides, which if our men could get, they were in hope to hinder the enemy, both of a great part of their water, and alſo ſome free forraging: but the place was kept with a ſtrong garriſon. Notwithſtanding Cæſar went out of his campe in the ſilence of the night, and before any helpe could come out of the towne, he put by the garriſon, and poſſeſſed himſelfe of the place, and leſt two legions there to defend it, and drew a double trench of twelue foot in breadth from the greater campe to the leſſe, that ſingle men might go ſafe too and fro from any ſudden incurſion of the enemy.

OBSERVATIONS.

The names
which Cæſar
wrote to paſſe
ouer the river
Taur.

Descriptio
quæritur qui-
busque color-
ibus.

FIRST we may obſerue his manner of paſſing ouer the river E. lauar, without any impediment from the enemy, notwithstanding the care which Vercingetorix had to hinder his paſſage, which was plotted with as great dexteritie as could be deuiled in ſuch a matter: and to ſhadow his purpoſe the better, that the number of legions marching vp the river might appeare to be the ſame, he tooke the fourth part of euery cohort, which in the whole amounted to two legions. For as I haue already deliuered in my former Obſervations, a legion conſiſted of ten cohorts, and euery cohort contained three maniples, and euery maniple had two companies which they called Orders: ſo that euery cohort hauing fixe companies, the fourth part of a cohort was a companie and a halfe, and in a legion came to fifteene companies, and in eight legions to one hundred and twentie companies; which being reduced make threeſcore maniples, which were equall to two legions: and proueth that which I haue already noted, the ſit and conuenient diſpoſition of their troupes, to take out at all times competent forces for any ſeruiſe without ſeeming to leſſen any part. Secondly, I obſerue the phraſe which he vſeth in this place, *Quinctis caſtris Gergoniam* per-

peruenit, which implyeth their infallible cuſtome of encamping euery night within a ditch and a rampier: for as we vſually ſay, that to ſuch a place is ſo many dayes iourney, becauſe an ordinarie trauceller maketh ſo many iourneys before he come thither: ſo the Romaines reckened their iourneys with their army by their incampings, which were as duly kept as their iourneys, and were the moſt ſignall part of their dayes iourney.

CHAP. XVIII.

Conuictolitanis moueth the Hedui
to a reuolt.

VHILEST theſe things were a doing at Gergonia, Conuictolitanis the Heduan to whom the magiſtracie was adiu-
ged by Cæſar, being wrought by the Auernt with money,
brake the matter to certaine young men, amongſt whom Li-
tauius was chiefe, and his brethren being youths of a great
houſe: with them he treated at firſt, and wiſhed them to remem-
ber that they were not onely borne free men, but alſo to empire
and gouernement. The Hedui were the onely State which kept

Gallia from a moſt aſſured victorie: for by their authoritie and example, the reſt
would be concluded, which being ſet oner, there would be no place in Gallia for the
Romaines to abide in. Touching himſelfe, he had received a good turne from Cæſar,
but in ſuch ſort, as he had but his right: but he owed more to the common libertie: for
why ſhould the Hedui rather diſpute of their cuſtomes and lawes before Cæſar, then
the Romaines come before the Hedui? Theſe young men were quickly perſwaded as
well by the ſpeech of the Magiſtrate, as by rewards; inſomuch as they offered them-
ſelues to be the authours of that Councell: but now the meanes was to be thought on,
for as much as they were perſwaded that the State would not eaſily be drawne to under-
take that warre. They determined at laſt, that Litauius ſhould haue the leading of
theſe tenne thouſand men that were to be ſent to Cæſar, and that his brethren ſhould
be ſent before to Cæſar, and concluded likewiſe in what ſort they would haue other
things carried.

Litauius hauing received the armie when he was about thirtie miles from Ger-
gonia, calling the ſouldiers ſuddenly together, and weeping: Whither doe we go (ſaith
he) fellow ſouldiers? all our horſemen and our Nobilitie are ſlaine, the Princes of our
State, Eporedorix and Viridomar, being falſly accuſed of treaſon, are put to death
by the Romaines without calling them to their answer: vnderſtand theſe things fro
them that are eſcaped from the ſlaughter: for my ſelfe (my brethren and kinſmen
being ſlaine) am hindered with griefe from telling you what hath happened. Preſently
theſe were brought forth, whom he had taught before hand what he would haue ſaid:
who verified to the multitude thoſe things which Litauius had ſpoken: that all the
horſemen of the Hedui were ſlain, for as much as they were ſaid to haue had ſpeech with

the Aruerni: for themselves they were hid amongst the multitude of souldiers, and were escaped out of the midst of the slaughter. The Hedui cry out all together, and do beseech Litaicus to looke to himselfe, and to them also: As though (saith he) the matter needeth any aduice or counsell, and that it were not necessarie for vs to go directly to Gægonia, and to toyne our selues with the Aruerni. For doe we doubt, but that the Romans, hauing begun so wickedly, will run presently vpon vs to take away our liues? And therefore if there be any courage at all in vs, let vs persecute their death that haue perished so vnderfully, and let vs kill these theues. He shewed them diuerse Romaine citizens that were in the troups for safetie of conuoy: and forthwith he seized vpon a great quantitie of corne and other provisions, and tortured the cruelly to death: he sent out messengers throughout all the State of the Hedui, continuing the same false suggestion touching the slaughter of the horsemen, and the Princes persuading them to reuenge their iniuries in like manner as he had done

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

*Gratiæ oneri
vltio in ques-
tu habetur.*

HIS trecherous practise of *Conuictolitanis*, who a litle before (as we may remember) had receiued so great a benefit from *Cæsar*, proueth true the saying of *C. Tactus*, That men are readier to reuenge an iniurie then to requite a good turne, forasmuch as *Gratiæ oneri vltio in questu habetur*: a good turne is as a burthen and a debt to a man, whereas reuenge is reckoned a gaine. The debt of loyalty and good affection, wherein *Conuictolitanis* stood engaged to *Cæsar*, for confirming that right vnto him which ciuill dissention had made doubtful, together with the respect of the generall cause, made him so willing to reuolt from the *Romains*, and in lieu of thankfull acknowledgement to requite him with hostility. A part so odious and detestable, that vertue grieueth to thinke that a man should be capable of any such wickednesse, or be stained with the infamy of so horrible a crime. Other vices are faults in speciall, and are branded with the severall markes of ignominie: but ingratitude is equall to the bodie of euill, and doth counteruaile the whole nature of hatefull affections: according to that of the Philosopher: *Ingratum si dixeris omnia dixeris*. Ingratitude is culpable of all sorts of wickednesse, and deserueth the greatest measure of reuenge. And therather for that it taketh away the vse of vertue, and maketh men forget to do good: for whereas the nature of goodnesse is specially scene in communicating it selfe to the reliefe of other mens wants, we ought to giue all diligence not to hinder this enlargement, nor by a froward and crooked example to preiudice others that stand in neede of the like fauour.

I haue often heard it spoken, but I know not how true it is, and am loath to beleue it, that in the exchange of a good turne, the partie that receiue it hath more assurance of his benefactor, touching a faithfull and friendly disposition for the future time, then he that shewed the kindnesse can haue of the receiuer: for men are loath to loofe both the fruite and the seede, and will rather beflow

more

more cost and more labour, then forgo the hope of their first indeauours, expecting both in reason and nature, fruite answerable to their feed: whereas the badnesse of our nature is such of it selfe:

Vt gratiæ oneri vltio in questu habetur.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

HERE is no meanes so readie to abuse a multitude as false suggestions, which like a lying spirit seduceth the minds of men from the truth conceiued, and fashioneth their hearts to such purposes, as seemeth best to the abuser: and the rather when it is deliuered by a man of place and authoritie, & such a one as pretendeth carefullnesse for the safetie of a people: for then it flieth as fast as the lightning in the ayre, and deludeth the wisest and best experienced of the multitude. A mischief that can hardly be preuented, as long as there is a tounge to speake or an eare to heare. But as *Socrates* said of paine and ease, that they are alwaies tyed together: so men must endeavour to redeeme the hurts of such an euill, by the benefite which thereby is consequently implied: for it were hard if wise men could not make the like vse of a multitude to good purposes, as these deceiuers do for their owne aduantage.

Numa Pompilius (to whom the *Romaine* Empire did owe as much for lawes and ciuill gouernment, as to *Romulus* for their martiall discipline) the better to establish such ordinances and decrees, as he made in his kingdome, fained familiar acquaintance with a goddesse of that time called *Egeria*, and by her he said he was assured, that the statutes which he made, were both equall and iust, and good for the *Romains* to obserue, and the people found no hurt in beleueing it.

In like manner *Lycurgus* hauing giuen many lawes to the *Spartans*, repaired to the citie of *Delphos*, and there he got a pleasing oracle, which he sent to *Sparta*, assuring them that his lawes were very good, and that citie keeping them, should be the most renowned of the world.

And *Sertorius* for want of other meanes vsed the seruice of a white hind, as a gift sent him from *Diana*, to make the *Lusitanians* beleue whatsoeuer might best aduantage his businesse. And thus a multitude lyeth open to good and ill purposes, and is either happie or vnfortunate in the counsell of their Leader.

*A multitude
is easily abu-
sed by false
suggestions.*

*Phædo Plato-
nis.*

CHAP. XIX.

Cæsar hindereth the reuolt of
the Hedui.

Cæsar.

EPOREDORIX the Heduan, a young man of great parentage and of great power in his country, together with Viridomarus of like age and authoritie, but not so nobly borne, who being preferred to Cæsar by Diuitiacus, was by him advanced from meane estate to great dignitie, came both to Cæsar with the Heduan horsemen, being called out by name to that warre by him: betwene these two there was alwayes contention who should be the chiefe, and in that controuersie for magistracie, the one stood for Conuictolitanis, and the other for Cotus: of these two Eporedorix vnderstanding the resolution of Litauius, opened the matter to Cæsar almost about midnight, he prayed him not to suffer their State to fall away from the friendship of the people of Rome by the wicked counsell of young men, which would necessarily fall out if he suffered so many thousand men to ioyne themselves to the enemy, whose safetie as neither their kinsfolks would neglect, so the State could not lightly esteeme of. Cæsar being much perplexed at this message, forasmuch as he had alwayes cherished the State of the Hedui, without any further doubt or dispute, he tooke soure expedite and vnburthened Legions and all the horse out of the campe, neither was there space at such a time to make the campe lesser, forasmuch as the matter seemed to consist in expedition, he left behind him C. Fabius a Legate with two legions for a garrison to the campe. And hauing giuen order for the apprehending of Litauius brethren, he found that a litle before they were fled to the enemy: thereupon adhorting the souldiers not to thinke much of their labour in so necessarie a time, euery man being most willing, he went fife and twentie miles, and then met with the forces of the Hedui. The horsemen being sent to stay their march, he commanded not to kill any one of them, and gave order that Eporedorix and Viridomarus (whom they thought to be slaine) to ride up and downe amongst the horsemen, and to call to their countremen. They being once knowne, and the fraude of Litauius discovered, the Hedui streiched out their hands, making signes of submission, and casting away their weapons desired to be spared from death. Litauius with his clients and followers, who by the custome of Gallia must not forsake their patrons in the extreamest danger, fled to Gergonia. Cæsar hauing dispatched messengers to the State of the Hedui to acquaint them that he had saved their people, which by the lawe of armes he might haue slaine, gaue the armie three houres rest that night, and then returned towards Gergonia. In the midde way certaine horsemen sent by Fabius made knowne vnto Cæsar in what danger the matter stood: the campe was assaulted with all the enemies forces, and forasmuch as such as were wearied, were still releued with fresh men, it came to passe that our men fainted with continuall labours: for the campe was so great that

that they were alwaies to stand vpon the rampier to make it good, and that many were wounded with the multitude of arrows and other sorts of weapons; wherein their engines had serued them to good purpose for their defence. Fabius when these messengers came away, had shut up two gates, and left other two open, and had made sheddies and howels for the better defence of the wall, and prepared himselfe for the like fortune the next day. These things being knowne by the exceeding trauell of the souldiers, Cæsar came into the campe before Sun rising.

OBSERVATIONS.



As often as the people of Rome had occasion to make warre, besides the bodie of the armie inrolled for that seruice, in such sort and with such ceremonies as I haue formerly deliuered; the Consul or Generall had authoritie to call out such others either of the commonalty or the Equites, as for their long seruice were freed by the lawes from giuing in their names at a muster: and these they called *Euocati*, as a man would say, called out, being all men of speciall note and seruice, and such as were able to giue sound aduice for matter of warre. These *Euocati* went all for the most part vnder an ensigne, and were lodged together in the campe behind the pavilion of the Generall, neare vnto the gate which they called *Porta Prætoris*, and were alwayes free from ordinarie duties, as watching, incamping and fighting, vnlesse it came to such a passe, that euery man would put too his helping hand: but in all seruices they had their place appointed them according to their former experience and worth. And thus the *Romaines* strengthened their armie with the wisdome and experience of such as for many yeares together, had bene acquainted with the difficulties and casualties of warre, and oftentimes were able to afford such helps both by example & otherwise by good directions, as the wisdome of the Generall did gladly embrace. Concerning these two young nobles *Eporedorix* and *Viridomarus*, whom he nameth in this place *Euocati*, we are to vnderstand that they were called out to that warre vnder the same title, but to another end: for being men of great place and authoritie, he feared least in his absence they might be so wrought to fauour *Vercingetorix*, as neither himselfe nor the *Hedui* should haue any cause to commend them, according as it happened to *Litauius*.

Euocati, who
they were.

CHAP. XX.

The Hedui robbe and kill diuers Romaine Citizens.

Cæsar.



WHILE these things were a doing at Gergonia, the Hedui having received the first messages from Litaicus, gave themselves no time to understand the truth, some being led on by conceitnesse, others by anger and rashnesse, as it is naturally ingrafted in that nation to take a light heare say for a certaine truth, spoiled the Romaine citizens of their goods, and slue them besides, or drew them into bondage. Conuictolitanis stirring up the common people to madnesse, that when they had done some wicked fact they might be ashamed to be good againe. They drew Marcus Aristius a Tribune of the souldiers as he went to the Legion, out of the town Cauillonium, notwithstanding their faith and promise before giuen, causing the rest to do the like, which were there for matter of trade: these they set upon continually as they travelled, robbed them of their cariages, and besieged such as made resistance day and night, many were slaine on both sides, & a greater number were stirred up to take armes. In the meane time newes being come that all their souldiers were under Cæsars power, they ranne speedily to Aristius, they tell him that nothing was done by publique authority, they called such as robbed the Romaines of their goods to answer the matter, they confiscate the goods of Litaicus and his brethren, they sent Ambassadors vnto Cæsar to cleare themselves of these disorders: and this they do for the better recovery of their people that were now with Cæsar. But being contaminated with a wicked fact, and taken with the shame of robbing the Romaine citizens, many of them being touched in the fact, and much perplexed for feare of punishment, they priuily entred into consultations of warre, and solicited other States to that purpose by their Ambassadors: which although Cæsar vnderstood, yet he entertained them as curiously as he could, telling them that for the ignorance and leuitie of the common people he would not thinke hardly of the State, nor abate any thing of his good will and fauour to the Hedui.

OBSERVATIONS.

One ill act begetteth another.



AWicked act is not onely hurtful in it selfe and of it owne condition, but is like that boxe of euill, which the Poets saie to haue bene giuen to Pandora to be kept alwaies shut: for when the way is once made, and the gappe opened, one mischiefe draweth on another, and the taylor that followeth is more viperous then the head. Therewas neuer any one that stained himselfe with any detestable crime, but was moued to commit a second euill that had relatiō to the first:

for

for wicked deedes are iustified by themselves, and one crime is vpheld by another. When the hand is dipt in bloud, it seemeth no great matter to imbrue the arme: and the loyaltie of a people being once shaken by the indirect practises of a few, it is no straunge matter if the whole bodie of that state do immediately enter into treasonable consultations: as it happened in this place with the Hedui, who from that time which disclosed the trecherie of their heart, caried no faithfull regard to the Romaine government, vntill the bitternesse of that warre which happened shortly after, had made them know their error.

It shall be necessarie therefore, as much as lyeth in the possibilitie of our meanes, to keepe the bodie of vertue safe from wounding: for albeit the wound be neuer so litle, yet it is alwaies wide enough to let out both the bloud and the spirits, euen to the euacuation of the vitall breath of morall honestie.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



Onuictolitanis plebem ad suorem impellit (saith the storie) as the fittest instruments to trouble the state, and to leauen the rest of the people with the furie of madnesse. For the poorer and meener people, that haue no interest in the Commonweale but the vse of breath, nor any other substance but a Flie in the commons, are alwaies dangerous to the peace of that kingdome: for hauing nothing to loose, they willingly imbrace all meanes of inuouation, in hope of gaining something by other mens ruine, beleeuing altogether in the Prouerbe, which auerreteth the fishing to be good which is in troubled waters.

Castiline conspiring against the Romaine Empire, made choice of such to accompany him whose fortune was desperate. And thereupon Salust saith: *Homini potentiam querenti, egentissimus quisque opportunissimus, cui neque sua chara, quippe qua nulla sunt, & omnia cum pratio honesta videntur.*

Liui writeth, that vpon the rumor in Greece of warre betwene Persus and the Romaines, the poorer sort did put themselves in pay vnder Persus, with this resolution, that if there hapned no alteration vpon this occasiō, they would then cleaue to the Romaines, and assist them to put the state of Greece into a garboile: *Semper in ciuitate (saith Salust) quibus ops nulle sunt, bonis inuidet, malos extollunt, vetera odere noua exoptant, odio suorum rerum mutari omnia student.*

There are these two meanes left for a state to ease it selfe of this sort of people, either to employ them abroad in warres, or to interresse them in the quiet of the Commonweale, by learning them such trades and occupations as may giue them a tast of the sweetnesse of peace, and the benefite of a ciuill life.

The poorer sort of people do imbrace all meanes of inuouation.

Salust in the conspiracie of Castiline.

CHAP. XXI.

Cæsar spieth an occasion to aduance the
service at Gergonia.

Cæsar.



CÆSAR suspecting a greater reuolt of the Gaules, lest he might be hemmed in with the strength of all the States of Gallia, he entred into deliberation how he might leaue Gergonia and get all his armie together againe, that his departure might not seeme to rise from the feare of their reuolt, and thereby be thought to flie away: and as he thought vpon these things, he seemed to spie an occasion of doing somewhat to purpose: for coming into the lesser campe to view the workes, he obserued a knoll which was kept by the enemy to be bare of men, which the day before could scarce be discerned by reason of the multitude of people: and wondering at it, he enquired the cause of the runawaies which came daily in great numbers vnto him: they all agreed of that which Cæsar had before understood by the discouersers, that the backe of that hill was almost leuell, but narrow and woody where it gaue passage to the other part of the towne. The Gaules did much feare that place, for the Romanes hauing tooke one knoll if they should possesse themselves of another, the Gaules were almost blockt in round about and cut off from foraging, or any other issue out of the towne: and therefore Vercingetorix had called them all to fortifie that place. This being knowne, Cæsar sent many troupes of horse to that place about midnight, commaunding them to ride up and downe all therabout somewhat tumultuously: and early in the morning he caused many horses and mules for carriage to be taken out of the campe with horsekeepers vpon them, hauing caskes vpon their heads the better to resemble horsemen, and to be caried round about the hilles, and to them he added a few horsemen, to the end they might spurre out the more freely, and so make a better shew, commaunding them all to go to the same place by a long circuit about. These things were done in view of the towne: for Gergonia stood, that they might from thence see into the campe, but yet in so great a distance they could not certainly perceiue what was done. He sent likewise one Legion to the same hill, and appointed them to go a litle way, and then to make a stand in a dale, and to hide themselves in the woods. The Gaules began more to suspect that place, and all their forces were drawne thither, for the strengthening of it. Cæsar perceiuing the enemies campest to be void of men, hiding his ensignes and colours, he drew the souldiers by litle and litle out of the greater into the lesser campe, and acquainted the legates to whom he had given the severall legions in charge what he would haue done, warning them especially to keepe in the souldiers, lest they should be caried out either with a desire of fighting, or in hope of bootie: he propounded vnto them the incommunities of the disadvantage of place, which must onely be auoyded by expedition, the matter consisting rather in occasion and opportunitie then in fighting.

THE

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



ET is an easy matter to begin a busines, & to make work for many hands; but to put it off againe, and to quit it without preiudice of other important respects, is no small labour. Cæsar being ingaged in the siege of Gergonia, & fearing a generall reuolt throughout all Gallia, was not a litle troubled how he might clear himselfe of that busines, without suspicion of feare or flight, and gather all his forces into one bodie againe, which he had before deuided into two armies: for as Marcellus said to Fabius touching the siege of Cassellum, *Atulta magnis dubiis sicut non aggre dienda, ita semel aggre ssi non dimittenda esse, quia magna fama momenta in utramque partem sunt.* An enemy will conceiue greater hopes from such a retreat, then from a greater aduantage. And therefore a Generall ought to haue as speciall a regard to the opinion which he desireth to be held of his proceedings, as of any part belonging to his charge; for same is the spirit of great actions, and maketh them memorable or vnworthy by report, *ceteris mortalibus in eo stare consilia quid sibi conducere putent, Principum* (saith Tacitus) *diuersam esse sortem, quibus præcipua rerum ad famâ dirigitur, adâ: wherein there cannot be a better rule for the auoiding of that inconuenience, then that which Lucretius obserued, of whom Liniæ saith, Id prudenter ut in temere suscepta re Romanus fecit, quod circumspicitis difficultatibus, ne frustra tempus tereret celeriter abisset incepto:* for the speedie leauing of any such enterprise, doth excuse the rashnesse which might be imputed to the beginning, and men are not so much blamed for making triall of an ill disgested proiect, as they are for obstinate continuing in the same.

It is an easier matter to begin a worke, then to quit it againe with credit.

Liniæ.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



SOME seruices (saith Cæsar) are *Res occasioni non prælii*, whereof I haue already disputed. Notwithstanding giue me leaue to adde the mistake, which often falleth out in matter of oportunitie: for in viewing the occurrences of the warres of these latter times, we may find that some hot-spurre commanders, hauing tasted of the good successe which occasion affoordeth, haue thought of nothing but of seruices assisted with oportunitie, in such maner as at length they forgot that occasion came but seldome, and caried their men vpon such desperate attempts, as prouoed the businesse to be a matter scarce affording meanes to fight for their liues, but were often swallowed up with deuouring danger: wherein they did mistake the condition of the seruice, and fell short of Cæsar's example: for albeit he sent out his men to struggle with the height of the hill, and the disadvantage of well fortified campest, yet he knew they should find litle resistance by the enemy, being drawne away vpon other occasions, if they made that expedition as was requisite in this seruice, whereby he left them not

Some seruices are Res occasioni non prælii.

without meanes to ouerlway thofe difficulties, and fo made it *Rem occasione non prali*

CHAP. XXII.

The Romaines make an affault
vpon Gergonia.

Cæfar.

THES E things being deliuered, he gaue the soldiers the signe to begin, and at the same time he sent out the Hedui by another ascent on the right side. The wal of the towne was distant by a right line from the plaine and the foote of the hill (if it lay euen without any dale or valley) a thousand and two hundred paces: whatsoeuer more was added in fetching circuits about to clime the steepe of the hill, was ouer and besides that distance: from the midst of the hill in length as the nature of the place would beare it, the Gauls had with great stones raised a wall of sixe foote in height, to hinder the assault of our men, and all the lower part being left void and empty, they filled the upper part of the hill euen to the wall of the towne with thicke and frequent camps. The souldiers vpon the signe giuen were quickly come to the workes, and passing ouer them they posselt themselves of three camps with such speed and expedition, that Teutomatus the King of the Nitobriges being surprisid in his tent as he rested about noone time, the upper part of his bodie being naked and his horse wounded, did hardly escape the hands of souldiers occupied in bootie. Cæsar hauing got that which he propounded to himselfe, commaunded a retreat to be sounded, and the Ensignes of the tenth Legion staid, but the souldiers of the other Legions not hearing the sound of the trumpet, forasmuch as a great valley was betweene them, and it was staid notwithstanding by the Tribunes of the souldiers, and the Legates according as Cæsar had giuen in charge, but being caried away aswell with a hope of a speedy victory, as by the sight of the enemy and the fortunate battels of former times, they thought nothing so difficult but they could overcome it by their valour, inasmuch as they desisted not from following untill they came to the wal and the gates of the towne. Then a great outcry being took up in all parts of the towne, such as were further off being terrified with the suddenness of the tumult, thinking the enemy had bene within the gates, did cast themselves out of the towne, and the women cast down their apparel & their siluer fro the wals, & holding out their naked breasts & their hands spread abroad, adured the Romaines to saue them, & that they would not (as they had done at Auaricum) destroy both women and children: and some women slip downe by their hands fro the wal, and gaue themselves freely to the souldiers. L. Fabius a centurion of the eighth Legion, who was heard to say that day, that the bootie which he had got at Auaricum so stirred him up, that he would suffer no man to get up vpon the wal before himselfe: hauing got three of his manipular souldiers, with their helpe he climed up to the top of the wall, and then he himselfe did helpe up his fellowes. In the meane time such as were on the other side of
the

the towne, busied in fortifying that place (as we haue already deliuered) first the noise being heard, and then stirred up by often messengers, that the Romaines had tooke the towne, sending their horsemen before they halsted thither in great numbers, and still as they came they stood vnder the wall, and increased the number of such as they found fighting: a great multitude being at length come together, the women that a little before had reached out their hands from the wall to the Romaines, began now to adure their owne people, and as the manner of the Gauls is, to shew their haire lof about their eares, and to bring out their children.

OBSERVATIONS.

IT is both safe and honourable for Souldiers and inferiour Commanders to keepe their directions: for whensoever they go about to enlarge their businesse according to their owne fantasie, howsoeuer occasiō may seeme to further their desires, they inuert the whole course of discipline, and do arrogate more to themselves, then they do attribute to their Generall.

The Romaines were strict in this point, as may appeare by that of *Manlius*, who put his owne sonne to death for making a happie fight against the enemy contrary to his directions: for although it fortunied to fall out well at that time, yet the example was so dangerous in a wel ordered war, that he chose rather to bring a mischiefe vpon his own son, then an incōuenience to their military gouernement. *In iussu tuo* (saith one in *Liui* to the Consul) *nunquam pugnabo, non si certam victoriam videam*, making profession of true obedience, and ranging himselfe in the order of such parts as haue no other office but obseruance: for an armie is as a bodie, and the souldiers are as particular parts, euery man according to his place: the Generall is as the life and soule, and giueth motion to euery part according to reason: and as in a naturall bodie no part can moue without directions from the life, so in the bodie of an armie, when any part moueth without the consent of the head, the motion is either monstrous or exorbitant, and sureth with such an effect as condemneth the instruments of vnacquised rashnesse.

Polybius saith, that men haue two wayes to come by wisdom, either by their owne harmes, or by other mens miscaualties: such wisdom as is got through correction happening by their own errors, is dearly bought, but sitting neare them, is not easily forgotten: that which is obtained by other mens misfortunes, is well come by, and at an easie rate, but for the most part it is soone forgotten: but such as can retaine it to a good vse, are most happie men. This precept to souldiers touching obedience, and the precise keeping of their directions, hath by other mens harmes so often bin viced, as a man would thinke that latter ages should beware of this disorder. And yet it falleth out almost in euery final seruice, for the greatest losse which the English receiued at any one time at *Ossend*, was in a battell, wherein capitaine *Woodward* hauing posselt himselfe of some of the enemies workes, when by his directions he should haue staid,

It is honourable for souldiers to keepe their directions.

thinking to improve his reputation by some further service: deeming it easie peradventure to go forward, he went on beyond the compasse of his commaund, whereby it hapned, that both the enimie had greater scope to reuenge their former dishonour, and the rest of our English troopes that had their part in that proiect by way of second helpes, could not proceede according to their directions, and so they all returned with losse.

That which *Zenophon* reporteth touching one *Chryfantas*, is notable to this purpose, who being in the heat of a conflict, & hauing his sword lift vp to strike one of the aduerser partie, he chanced to heare a retreat sounded, whereupon he presently withdrew his hand, and did forbear to smite him: which howsoever to some may seeme ridiculous, and vnfitting the temper of a souldier in time of battell, yet let them know that *Zenophon* a great Commaunder, and an excellent historiian, did alledge that example to the eternall memorie of the forenamed partie, for the knowledge and instruction of *Cyrus*, whom he propoundeth to the world as an absolute paterne both of militarie and ciuill vertue.

CHAP. XXIII.

The Romaines continue the assault, and were beaten off with losse.

Cæsar.

THE contention was not indifferent to the Romaines, neither in place nor in number of combatants, being wearied withall, both with the long race which they had run, and with the continuance of their fight, whereby they did not so easily beare the enemy being whole & fresh. Cæsar seeing the fight to be in an vnequal place, & the enemy stil to increase their forces, fearing his people he sent to T. Sextius the legat, who he had left to commaund the lesser camp, to bring out the cohorts speedily, & to place the at the foot of the hill on the right side of the enemy, so the end that if our men were forced to forsake their place, yet the enemy might be terrified fro following them ouer freely, he himself remaining a little out of that place where he stood with the legio, attended the euent of the battell: and as they fought at hand very fiercely, the enemy trusting in the place and in the multitude, and our men in their valour, the *Hædus* suddenly appeared on the open side of our men, whom Cæsar had sent up by another ascent on the right hand, and although they saw their right armes shewed or put forth, which was a signe of peace, yet they doubted lest the enemy had used that pollicy to deceiue them. At the same instant L. Fabius the Centurion, and those that climbed up upon the wall with him being slaine, were cast downe from the wal againe, and M. Petreius a Centurion of the same legion, as he was about to cut downe the gates, being oppressed with the multitude and despairing of his owne life, hauing received many wounds: Forasmuch (saith he to his souldiers that followed him) as I cannot saue my selfe and you too, I will certainly provide for your safetie, whom I haue brought into danger whilest I thirsted after honor.

you

You while you may, lift for your selues, and withall he brake through the thickest of the enemy, and with the slaughter of a couple he remoued hereft from the gate. And as his souldiers went about to helpe him, In vaine (saith he) do you endeavour to saue my life, which blood and strength haue already forsaken: and therefore get you hence while you haue means, and betake your selues to the legion, and so fighting fell downe dead, but saued his men. Our men being ouercharged on all sides with the losse of sixe and fortie Centurions, were beaten downe from the place, but the tenth legion which stood for a rescue in a more equall place, hindered the Gauls from following ouer eagerly. And againe, the cohorts which Fabius had brought out of the campe seconded that legion, hauing got the advantage of the upper ground. The legions assoone as they came into the plaine stood still and turned head to the enemy: Vercingetorix drew backe his men from the foote of the hill, and brought them into their camps. That day few lesse then seven hundred souldiers were wanting.

OBSERVATIONS.



ND this is the end of presumptuous rashnesse, when men are become so pregnant, as to take vpon them more then is required. But as they say of faire weather, that it is pitie it should do hurt: so is it great pitie that valour and resolution should proue disaduantageous. For this ouerdoing of a service, is but the spirit of valiant cariage, and the very motion of prowesse and courage, memorable in the offenders themselves: as we may see by this particular report of *Fabius* and *Petreius*, and much to be pitied, that vertue should at any time be ouerquelled with a greater strength.

At this seruice the Romaines stood in these tearmes, they were ouermatched in number, they had spent their strength in speedie running to the place which in it selfe was not fauourable vnto them, but almost as great an enimie as the Gauls, onely they trusted in their valour, and thought by vertue to cleare all difficulties. The Gauls had the fauour of the place, a faire greater number of fighting men, they came fresh to the battell, and were alwaies seconded with fresh supplies. Cæsar seeing the two armies ingaged one with another, could neither part them nor recall his souldiers, but for such forces as were free in such convenient places, as might rescue his people in the retreat, and keepe the Gauls from following the chase, or making any great slaughter of the Romaine souldier. Whereby it happened, that in so great an inequality, where there were so many fwords drawne to make way to death, there were not seven hundred men lost of the Romaine army. And yet it happened to be the greatest losse that euer he received in those warres in his owne presence, when the issue of the conflict gaue the enimie the better of the day.

CHAP. XXIII.

Cæsar rebuketh the rashnesse of his souldiers, and maketh light but successefull skirmishes vpon the enemy.

Cæsars

CÆSAR the next day calling the armie before him, rebuked the temeritie and cupiditie of the souldiers, forasmuch as they had tooke vpon them to iudge how farre they were to go, or what they were to do: neither would they stay vpon the sounding of a retriç, nor hearken to the Tribunes nor the Legats that would haue kept them backe: he laid open vnto them how available the inequalitye of the place was, and what he himselfe thought of it, when at Atuacum he tooke the enemy without a Generall and without caualrie, and did forgo a most assured victorie, left in the buckling he might haue receiued a small losse through the inequie of the place. How admirable was the greatnesse of their spirit? whom neither the fortifications of the campes, the height of the hill, nor the wall of the towne, could stop or hinder? Wherein be blamed their licentious arrogancie the more, forasmuch as they had tooke vpon them to iudge better of the victorie and the successe of that seruice, then the Generall himselfe: neither did he so much desire to find courage and vertue in his souldiers, as modestie and sobrietie. This speech being deliuered, and in the end confirming their minds that they might not be discouraged at the matter, nor attribute that to the worth of the enemy, which indeed was in the nature of the place, keeping his former purpose of departure, he brought the legions out of the campe, imbrited them in a convenient place, and finding that Vercingetorix would not be drawne into an indifferent place, after a light skirmish of horse wherein the Romaines had the better, he caried his armie backe againe into the campe, and doing the like the next day, thinking it sufficient to abate the pride of the Gaules, and to strengthen the courage of his souldiers, he remoued his campe into the State of the Hedui, the enemy refusing to make after him.

OBSERVATIONS.

Reparation
of honour,
what it is.

RepARATION of honour is a chiefe point in the cariage of an army: for he that leaueth an enemy vpon a losse receiued, when his souldiers are either awed or well beaten, must looke to find the same spirit and courage in them, when they shall come againe to confront the enemy, as they had when they last left him with a disadvantage: which is nothing else but an vnskilfull continuance of his own losse, and a preparation to a second overthrow. In the warre the Romaines had

with

with Anniball, in all the fights they made, they continued their first losse vnto the battell at Nola, at what time by Marcellus good directions, they gaue him an overthrow, which was the first time that euer Annibals souldiers began to giue place to the Romaines, and repaired the Romaines valour againe, after so many battels as they lost: for then they were perswaded that they fought not with an enemy altogether inuincible, but that he was subiect to losse and overthrow. And in respect of this so happy a fortune, restoring the Romaine souldiers to their ancient valour and good fortune, it is that Lilius saith: *ingens eo dies, ac nescio an maxima illo bello gesta sit.* Cæsar did well understand this Philosophie: and therefore he laboured to repair the breach which the enemy had made in the valour of his souldiers, by light and small skirmishes, before he would aduenture to hazard the maine drift of the businesse in any set conflict. And the rather for that he had a purpose to leaue the enemy for a time, where-by he seemed to end the former seruices, wherein he had a speciall care not to depart with the last blow, hauing alwaies before that time had the better: for the condition of the end doth challenge much of the former proceedings, and doth draw the opinion of men to deeme of as the conclusion importeth. According as Claudius Nero told his souldiers: *Semper quod postremo adiectum sit, id rem totam videri traxisse.*

Plutarke in
the life of
Marcellus.Lib. 3. bel.
civill. post pug-
nam Pyrra-
chianam;
Cæsar neque
satis militibus
perterritis cõ-
sidebat, spã-
tiumq; inter-
ponendum ad
recreandos a-
nimos puta-
bat.

CHAP. XXV.

The Hedui reuolt: Cæsar passeth his armie ouer the riuer Loier.



HE third day he reedified the bridge at the riuer of Eleuar, and caried ouer his armie: there he understood by Viridomarus and Eporedorix, that Litanicus was gone with all the enemies horse to sollicite the State of the Hedui, and therefore it was requisite that Cæsar should send them before to confirme the State, and keepe them in loyalty. And although Cæsar did mistrust the State of the Hedui for many causes, and did thinke that the departure of these two Nobles would basten their reuolt, yet he did not thinke it fit to detain them, lest he should either seeme to do them wrong, or to giue any suspicion of distrust. At their departure he propounded vnto them briefly, how well he had deserved of their State, how low and weak they were when he receiued them, confined within their townes, their lands extended, all their forces taken from them, a tribute laid vpon them, pledges extorted from them with great contumelie: and into what fortune and greatnesse he had brought them againe, that not onely they had recovered their former state, but did exceed the dignitie and fauour of all former times: and with these mandates he let them go. No-uidunum was a towne of the Hedui situate in a convenient place, vpon the banke of the riuer Loier, thither had Cæsar sent all the hostages of Gallia, the corne, the publike treasure, and the greatest part of the baggage of the armie, and thither he had

Cæsar.

likewise sent great store of horse, which he had bought in Spaine and Italy for the service of this warre. Eporedorix and Viridomarus comming thither, and understanding touching the affaires of their State, that Litauius was received into Bibract by the Hedui, which is the Metropolitane citie of their State, and that Conuictolitanis their chiefe Magistrate, and a great part of the Senate were come vnto him, and that publike messengers were sent to Vercingetorix touching a league of peace and amitie, they did not thinke it fit to omit so great an opportunitie. And thereupon hauing laine the Guard at Nouiodunum, with such others as were there either by way of trade or trauell, they denied the money and the horses betwene them, and tooke order that the hostages of the other States should safely be conueyed to Bibract. For the towne, forasmuch as they thought they were not able to keepe it, lest the Romaines might make any vse of it, they burned it: such corne as they could carie on the sudden, they conuey away in boats, the rest they either burned or cast it into the riuer. They began to raise forces in the countrie next adioyning to dispose of watches and garisons, on the banke of the riuer Loier: to shew their Canallie in all places, to the end they might exclude the Romaines from prouision of corne, or drue them through necessitie of want to forsake the Prouince. Whereof they were the rather assured, forasmuch as the Loier was much swelled by a fall of snow, whereby it was unpassable at any foord. These things being knowne, Cæsar thought it necessarie for him to make hast, to the end he might giue them battell before they had gathered a greater head: for touching his purpose for returning into the Prouince, he did not thinke it fit by any meanes, both in respect of the shame and infamie thereof, as also forasmuch as the opposition of the hill Gebenna, and the difficultie of the passage did hinder him, but especially for that he did exceedingly desire to ioine himselfe with Labienus and the Legions that were with him. And therefore making great iourneys both by day and night beyond all mens expectation, he came to the riuer Loier, where the souldiers might passe ouer with their armes and shoulders aboue the water, to hold up their weapons, disposing the horse in the riuer to breake the force of the streame, and the enemy being affrighted upon their first shew, he caried ouer his armie in safetie. And hauing satisfied his souldiers with corne which he found in the fields, and good store of cattel, he determined to march towards the Senones.

OBSERVATIONS.

The charge
which the re-
volt of the
Hedui made
in Gallia.



HE greatest difficultie that euer Cæsar found in the course of these warres, was at this instant vpon the reuolt of the Hedui: for whereas that state after Cæsars coming into Gallia, was euer reputed the fauorite of the Romaine Empire, hauing receiued such speciall priuiledges and prerogatiues aboue the rest, as might tye them with an inuolable bond of amitie to the people of Rome: it was not to be expected that they should forsake so great a stay, or fauour any thing that might tend to the weakening of that authoritie, which preferred them in dignitie before all other states of that continent: and was as a Remora to diuers other nati-

ons of Gallia, from shewing that defection by plaine and open reuolt, which they had so long before conceiued in their minds.

But when it appeared (notwithstanding any precedent benefite, or the merit of imperiall fauours) that the Hedui did affect the common cause of their countries libertie, and were content to ingage themselves therein, as farre as their liues or fortunes could any way be valued: it was not to be doubted, but that such other Commonweales, as before that time had remained newtrall, and had lesse cause then the Hedui to keepe backe their hands from a worke of that pietie, would apprehend the matter, as a businesse importing the safetie of their countrie, whereunto Cæsar and the Legions were common enemies. The consideration whereof, made Cæsar to thinke of returning backe into the Prouince, had not the dishonour of such a retreat, and the desire he had to ioine with Labienus, hindered that purpose.

CHAP. XXVI.

Labienus commeth to Lutetia with
four Legions.

WHILE these things were done by Cæsar, Labienus hauing left those supplies which came last out of Italie, at Agendicu for the safetie of the cariages, went himselfe with foure legions to Lutetia a towne of the Parisians, built in an Island in the riuer Sequana. The enemy understanding of his comming, great forces were speedily brought together out of the countries neare about: the chiefe command was giuen to Camulogenus of the nation of the Aulerici, who notwithstanding his great age was called to that honour for his singular knowledge in matter of warre. He finding it to be a continued bog that ran into Sequana, and much hindered all that place, did stay there with his armie, and purposed to hinder the passage of the Romaines. Labienus did first inderour to drue the vines, to fill up the bog with bundles and earth, and so to make the passage firme: but after that he perceived it to be very hard to effect, in the third watch of the night he went out of the campe with silence, and the same way that he came, he went to Melodunum a towne of the Senones, situate in an Island of Sequana, as Lutetia is: and hauing surprised some fiftie shippes and boates, and manned them with souldiers, the townsmen being affrighted with the noueltie of the matter, of whom a great part were called out to that warre, he possessed himselfe of the town without any resistance: the bridge being redified which the enemy had cut downe a few dayes before, he transported ouer the armie, and went downe along the riuer towards Lutetia. The enemy hauing notice thereof by such as escaped from Melodunum, commaunded Lutetia to be burned, and the bridges of the towne to be broken: they themselves for saking the bog, sate downe vpon the bankes of Sequana right ouer against the campe of Labienus. by this time Cæsars departure from Gergonia was knowne abroad, with the reuolt of the Hedui: and rumors were brought of a second

rising and motion in Gallia: it was certainly confirmed, that the Gauls were in consultation, that Cæsar was kept back both by the difficulties of the passage, and the river Loier, and for want of corne was constrained to returne into the Province. The Bellouaci also understanding of the revolt of the Hedui, whereas they were before treacherous and disloyall of themselves, did now begin to raise forces and prepare for open warre. Labienus vpon so great a change of things, understood that it was necessarie for him to take another manner of course then was before intended. For now he thought not of making any conquest, or urging the enemy to battell, but to bring the army backe in safety to Agendicum. For on the one side, the Bellouaci stood ready to charge him, being a people that had the name for dares of armes of all the nations in Gallia; the other side was kept by Canulogenus with an army ready in the field: and last of all, the legions were kept from their garrison and their cariages with a great river that ranne betwene them and it.

OBSERVATIONS.

THE great alteration which the revolt of the Hedui made in Gallia, caused Labienus to let fall his former resolutions, and to shape such a course as might best answer the extremity of the tempest; for he that will attaine the end of his desires, or make peace with the affections of his mind, must not thinke at all times to carie away contentment with the strength of his meanes, or subdue resistance with force of armes, but must be well pleased to be driven with the streame, vntill he meet with a tide of better oportunitie: for oftentimes it falleth out, that the opposition of resisting power is more available then ten legions commaunded by Cæsar, or what the Romaine Empire could adde besides to so great an army: for there is no quantity so great, but there may be found a greater, nor none so litle but there may be a lesse; which may teach a man neither to conceit himselfe in a matchlesse singularity, nor to despair of a weake condition. And this is that which is so often recommended to the consideration of discrete Governours, whether they be Magistrates in peace, or Commanders in warre, to put them in mind of the condition of times, and to cary themselves answerable thereunto: forasmuch as fortunate and happie successe, riseth for the most part from such meanes as haue respect to the occurrences of the time, not running alwayes vpon one bias, nor failing at all times with a fore-wind, but sometimes to presse forward, and sometimes to giue backe, according as the circumstances of the time shall make way to good fortune.

Fabius the great Romaine, thought it no shame to be called coward, or to vndergo the displeasure of the people of Rome, while he gaue place to the furie of the Carthaginian, and refused to receiue a third ouerthrow. And thus he altered the course of the Romaine warfare according to the time, and ouerthrew that enemy by shunning to encounter him, which in a battell would haue hazarded the conquest of Rome. In like maner Cn. Sulpitius the Dictator did imitate this wisdom of Fabius against the Gauls, by lingring out the warre: Nolens fortuna.

He that will
do things well,
must vary
with the time.

Plutarke in
the life of Fabius.

tuna committere aduersus hostem (as Livy saith) quem tempus deteriores indies & locus alienus faceret. And to conclude this point, Cæsar vpon the losse which he receiued at Dyrrhachium, Omnem sibi committendam belli rationem existimauit, as the storie saith: which was nothing else but varying with the time, and helping a bad fortune with new directions.

Cui. 3.

CHAP. XXVII.

Labienus passeth the riuer of Sequana,
and fighteth with the Gauls.

FOR the auoiding of these great difficulties which came so suddenly vpon him, he knew there was no help to be had, but that which the vertue of his mind would afford him: and therefore calling a councill a litle before the evening, he adhorted them to execute such things as he commaunded both with diligence and industry; and so taking the ships which he had brought from Melodunum, he diuided them amongst the Romaine horsemen, and after the first watch he commaunded them to go foure miles downe the riuer in silence, and there to attend him: he left five cohorts which he thought to be too weake for any fight as a garrison to the campe, and sent the other five cohorts of the same legion about midnight with all the cariages vpon the riuer, commaunding them to make a great noise and tumult as they went: he sought out all barges and boates, and sent them vpon the riuer with much noise and beating of oares: and a litle while after he himselfe went quietly with three legions to the place where he had commaunded the ships to abide him. At his coming thither, the enemies discoverers which were disposed on all parts of the riuer, were sodainly and at vnawares surprised by our men, by reason of a sodain tempest that did rise in the meane time: & the army and the horse were by the diligence of the Romaine Knights (to whom he had committed that businesse) caried ouer. At the same time a litle before day-light, the enemy had intelligence that there was an extraordinary noise and tumult in the Romaine campe, and a great troope went vpon the riuer, and the beating of oares was heard that way, and a litle below the souldiers were caried ouer. Which being knowne, forasmuch as they iudged that the legions were caried ouer in three places, and that they were so perplexed at the revolt of the Hedui, that they fled away: they diuided their forces also into three parts, for a garrison being left right ouer against the Romaine campe, and a small band sent towards Glossendium, which was to go so farre as the boates went, they caried the rest of their army to meet Labienus. By the dawning of the day all our men were caried ouer, and the enemy was discovered ranged in battell. Labienus adhorting the souldiers to bebinke themselves of their ancient vertue, and to recall the memory of their fortunate battels, and to suppose that Cæsar himselfe was present, vnder whose leading they had oftentimes ouerthrowne the enemy, he gaue the signe of battell. Vpon the first affront on the right wing where the se-

Cæsar.

teenth legion stood, the enemy was beaten backe and put to flight; in the left corner where the twelfth legion was, the former ranks of the enemy being pierced through and beaten dead downe with the pikes, the rest notwithstanding did secretly resist; neither did any man giue suspicion of flying. Camulogenus the Generall was present with his men, and encouraged them to fight, the victory being vncertaine. When the Tribunes of the seuenth legion vnderstood what was done in the left wing, they shewed the legion behind on the backe of the enemy, and there began to charge them, and yet none of them forsooke his place, but were all inclosed and slaine, Camulogenus ending his dayes by the same fortune. Such of the enemy as were left ouer against the Romaine campes, vnderstanding that the battell was begun, came to second their fellows, and tooke a hill, but were not able to abide our conquering souldiers, but ioyning themselves to the rest that fled, were neither protected by the woods nor the mountaines, but were all slaine by the horsemen. This businesse being ended, Labienus returned to Agendicum, where the carriages of the whole army were left, and from thence came to Cæsar with all the forces.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Labiens being to passe the riuer of Seine, which was strongly guarded by the Gauls, was forced to seek a meanes out of the vertue of his mind (as Cæsar saith) and to lay such a proiect as might amuse the enemy, and keep him in suspence what way to take to prevent his passage, vntill he had effected that which he desired: which bringeth to our consideration the saying of Epaminondas the Theban, that there is nothing more necessarie or behouefull for a Generall, then to vnderstand the purposes of the enemy. A point so much the more commendable, by how much it is in it selfe difficult, and hard to be discovered; for it were hard to vnderstand their secret deliberations, which for the most part are onely knowne to the Generall, or to such chiefe Commanders as are neare about him, when their very actions which euery man knoweth, and such things as are done in the open view of the world, are oftentimes doubtfull to an enemy.

Necessary for
a Generall to
vnderstand the
purposes of the
enemy.

Livy hath a notable storie to this purpose. Sempronius the Romaine Consull giuing battell to the Equi, the fight continued vntill the night parted them, not without alteration of fortune, sometimes the Romaines preuailling, and sometimes the Equi: the night coming on, both sides being wearie and halfe routed, they forsooke their campes, and for their better safetie tooke each of them a hill. The Romaine armie diuided it selfe into two parts, the one part followed the Consull, and the other a Centurion, named Tempanius, a fellow of great spirit, and had shewed much worth in the battell. The next morning the Consull without further inquirie, made towards Rome; and so did the Equi withdraw their armie backe into their country, either of them deeming themselves ouerthrowne, and casting victorie vpon each others shoulders. It happened that Tempanius with that part of the armie that kept with him, inquiring after the enemy,

enemie, found him to be ouerthrowne and fled: whereupon he first went to the Romaine campe and made that good, and then marched to the campe of the Equi, which he tooke and rifled, and so returned victor to Rome.

The morning following the battell of Agincourt, Monjoy the French Herald comming to inquire for prisoners, King Henry asked him who had wonne the field: to which he answered, that the French had lost it: which was vknowne to that worthy Conquerour. Plutarke writeth, that Cæsius killed himselfe vpon the like error, not knowing the fortune of the right wing of his armie. And therefore it must needs be a commendable matter, to vnderstand the deliberations of an enemy, when the issue of a battell is oftentimes so vncertaine.

Holinhead,
Henry the 5.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



Amulogenus hath the report in this place of singular knowledge and experience in matter of warre, and being of a great age he fought as resolutely as the youngest gallant of them all: which may bring to our consideration the fittest age of life to be wished in a Generall, for the achieving of noble and worthy exploits: wherein we are to consider, that the youth and former yeares of a mans age, are plentifully stored with hot blood and nimble spirits, which quickly apprehend the conceptions of the mind, and carie them with such violence to execution, that they becaue the iudgement of her prerogative, and giue it no respect to sensure them; whereby it commeth to passe, that young men are for the most part heedlesse, inconsiderate, rash and resolute, putting more vpon hazard then vpon good aduice.

The fittest
age of life for
a Generall.

On the other side, old age is cold in blood, and not so quicke of spirit, but being beaten with the rod of long experience, it learneth to be slow and lingering, full of doubts and consideration, inclining rather to a feminine feare, then to a forward resolution.

Neither of these attributes are simply in themselves the best attendants of noble enterprises: for a hot-spurre gallant may runne apace, but not go sure; and what young man soeuer be aduanced to command, had neede of an old mans wit to discharge it. And if authoritie did at any time fall into the hands of youth in the Romaine gouernement, which was very seldome, it was *Premium virtutis, non etatis*. Pompey was extraordinarie happie in that behalfe, for he attained the surname of Great, because he had deferred the honour of triumph before his beard was growne. And yet Sertorius tooke such aduantage at Pompeys youth, comming against him in Spaine, that he said he would haue whipped the yong boy to Rome againe with rods, had not that old woman (meaning Metellus) come to helpe him.

Plutarke in
the life of
Sertorius.

Againe, where old age heapeeth doubt vpon doubt, and falleth into the danger of vnprofitable lingring, *Nec ausus est satis nec prouidit*, it wanteth boldnesse

Hist. 3.

*Plutarke in
the life of
Marus.*

to steale the enterprife, and falleth also short of good prouidence, as *Tacitus* speaketh of *F. Valens*. *Augustus Cæsar* purposing to commend *Tiberius* his successor with an extraordinarie praiſe, ſaid he was a man that neuer put one thing to be twice conſulted of. And it is ſaid of *Marius*, that being come to the age of threeſcore and five yeares or thereabouts, he ſhewed himſelfe very cold and ſlow in all his enterpriſes, forasmuch as age had mortified his actiue heate, and killed that readie diſpoſition of bodie that was wont to be in him. The *Romaines* finding *Fabius Maximus* to be full of doubts and delay, good to defend, but not to offend, and *Marcellus* of a ſtirring ſpirit, neither quiet with good nor ill fortune, (as *Anniball* truly ſaid of him) they thought to ioine *Marcellus* youthfull courage with *Fabius* feare and wiſedome, and ſo make a temperature fit for a Generall; whereupon they called *Marcellus* the ſword, and *Fabius* the buckler: wherein *Cæsar* of himſelfe was excellent, of whom *Suetonius* reporteth, *Dubium cautior, an audentior*.

The beſt ſtate of yeares then for this buſineſſe, is that which tempereth the heate of youth with the coldneſſe of age, and quickneth the ſlow and dull proceedings of double aduice, with the raſhneſſe of youthfull reſolution: and falleth out betweene the yeares of five and thirtie, and five and fiftie. *Scipio African* commaunded the *Romaine* armie in *Spain* at foure and twentie yeares of age, and died at foure and fiftie. *Anniball* was choſen Generall to *Aſdruball* at ſixe and twentie yeares, and poiſoned himſelfe at threeſcore and ten. *Pompey* was ſlaine at nine and fiftie, and *Cæsar* at ſixe and fiftie: *Marcellus* kept his youthfull reſolution to his old dayes, for being threeſcore yeares of age, he neuer longed for any thing more then to fight with *Anniball* hand to hand.

CHAP. XXVIII.

The Gaules conſult of the cariage of that warre.

Cæsar.

THE reuolt of the *Hedui* being knowne, the warre waxed greater, Ambaſſadors were ſent out into all parts, and they laboured to draw the reſt of the States to their party, as farre as either fauour, authoritie, or money could preuaile: hauing got the pledges into their hands which *Cæsar* had left with them, they terrified ſuch as ſtood doubtfull, by threatning to kill them. The *Hedui* do deſire *Vercingetorix* to come vnto them, and to acquaint them with the courſe of that warre: which being yeelded vnto, they labour to haue the chiefe commaund transferred vpon them: the matter growing vnto a controuerſe, a generall Councell of all *Gallia* was ſummoned at *Bibra*: thither they repaired in great multitudes: and the matter being put to voices, they

all

all with one conſent made allowance of *Vercingetorix* for their Generall. The men of *Rhemes* with the *Lingones* and *Treuri* were abſent from this Councell, the two firſt continuing their affection to the *Romaine* partie: the *Treuri* were farre off, and were annoyed by the *Germanes*; in which reſpect they were abſent from that warre, and remained neutrall. The *Hedui* were much grieved that they were put by the principalitie, they claime of the change of their fortune, and wiſhed for *Cæsar* former indulgence; neither durſt they diſpoſe themſelves againe from the reſt, the warre being already undertaken: but *Eporodorix* and *Viridomarus*, two young men of great hope, were conſtrained, though unwilling, to obey *Vercingetorix*; he commaunded pledges to be deliuered by the reſt of the States, and appointed a day for that buſineſſe: he commaunded fifteene thouſand horſe to be ſpeedily brought together: touching ſoote forces, he would content himſelfe with thoſe which he had; for his purpoſe was not to wage battell but where as he was very ſtrong in horſe. He made no doubt to keepe the *Romaines* from corne and forrage, onely they muſt patiently endure to haue their corne ſpoiled and their houſes burnt; which particular loſſe would quickly be recompenced with libertie and perpetuall ſoueraigntie. Theſe things being ordered, he commaunded ten thouſand ſoote to be raiſed by the *Hedui* and *Segutiani* bordering vpon the *Prouince*, and to them he added eight hundred horſe, and ſent them vnder the commaund of *Eporodorix* his brother, to make warre againſt the *Allobroges*. And on the other ſide, he cauſed the *Gaballi* and the neareſt villages of the *Aruerni* to ſet vpon the *Heluij*, the *Rutheni*, and the *Cardurci*, and to depopulate their cuntry. Notwithſtanding by ſecret meſſages he dealt with the *Allobroges*, whoſe minds he thought to be ſcarce ſetled from the former warre: he promiſed money to their chiefeſt men, and to giue the gouernement of all the *Romaine* *Prouince* to their State. To anſwer all theſe chaunces, there were provided but two and twenty cohorts, which being raiſed out of the *Prouince*, were diſpoſed by *L. Cæsar* a *Legate* to preuent theſe miſchiefes. The *Hedui* of their owne accord giuing battell to their borderers, were beaten out of the field, and were driuen into their townes with the ſlaughter of *C. Valerius Denotaurus*, the ſonne of *Caburus* the chiefe man of their State, and of many other. The *Allobroges* hauing ſet many watches and garriſons vpon the river *Rheine*, did with great care and diligence defend their borders. *Cæsar* vnderſtanding the enemy to be ſtronger in horſe then he himſelfe was, and the paſſages being ſhut that he could not ſend either into the *Prouince* or into *Italie* for any ſupplies, he ſent ouer the *Rheine* into *Germanie*, and got horſe from ſuch States as he had quietted the yeare before, with ſuch light armed footemen as were accuſtomed to fight amongſt the horſe: at their arriuall, forasmuch as they were not well fitted with horſe, he tooke the horſes from the *Tribunes* and the *Romaine* Knights, and diſtributed them amongſt the *Germanes*.

OBSERVATIONS.

Three chiefe
meanes to win
a matter.

1. Favour or
friendship.
2. Authoritie.
3. Money.

HERE are three principall meanes to draw a state into a partie which of it selfe standeth newtrall, or to win the minds of men, when they carie equall or indifferent affections. The first is, by fauour or friendship. The second, by authoritie: and the third by money.

Friendship relyeth vpon former respects, and the exchange of precedent courtesies. Authoritie concludeth from future daungers, and the inconueniences which may follow the refusall. Money doth gouerne the present occasiõ, and is more generall then either fauour or authoritie. The *Gaules* were not wanting to make their partie good in any of these three perswading motiues; but as *Cæsar* saith: *Quantum gratia, auctoritate, pecunia valent, ad sollicitandas ciuitates nituntur.*

Wherin as they went about to lay the stocke vpon it, so they left themselves but one triall for the right of their cause, and ioyned issue for all vpon the fortune of that action: for when they should see their best possibilities too weake, and their vttermoſt indauours profite nothing against a mightie preuailing enemye, the greater their hopes were which they had in the meanes, the greater would be their despair when such meanes were spent: for it is a shrewd thing for men to be out of meanes, and not to driue a hope before them.

It is vsuall vpon such maine occasions to imploy the chiefeſt man in a State, in whome the souldiers may haue most assurance, and to accompanie him with such meanes as the strength of the Commonweale may affoord him: but if their greatest hopes die in his ill successe, or waxe faint through cold fortune, the kingdome receiueſt losse, and the enemye getteth aduantage, as may appeare by the sequele of this great preparation.

CHAP. XXIX.

The Caultrie of the *Gaules* do set vpon
the *Romaine* army, and are beaten.

Cæsar.



WHILE these things were a doing, the enemies forces and the horsemen that were commaunded to be leauied in all Gallia, met together, and came out of the territories of the *Aruerni*. A great number of these being gathered together, as *Cæsar* marched against the *Sequani* by the borders of the *Lingones*, to the end he might the easier releue the Province, *Vercingetorix* sat downe about ten miles from the *Romaines* in three severall camps, and calling the Captaines and *Centenars* of horse to counsell, he told them that the time of victorie was now come: for the *Romaines*

Romaines left Gallia, and fled into the Province: which was sufficient for the obtaining of their present libertie, but auailed litle for the peace and quiet of future time, forasmuch as the *Romaines* did not purpose to make an end of the warre, but to retorne againe with greater forces. And therefore it was necessarie to set vpon them in their march laden with cariages. If the foote did assist their horse, then they were not able to make any way or proceede in their iourney. But if (which he hoped would rather happen) forsaking their cariages every man shifted for himselfe, they would depart both robbed of their necessities and of their honour: for they need not doubt of the enemies horse, of whom he was most assured that they durst not go out fro amongst the foote forces. And to the end they might be the better encouraged, he would draw all the forces in a readines out of the campe, and place them so as they might be a terror to the enemy. The horsemen cryed out all together, that this resolution might be strengthened with an holy oath: Let him neuer be receiued vnder any roose, or haue access to his wife and children, that did not twice runne through the armie of the enemye. The thing being well liked of, and every man forced to take that oath, the next day he deuided his caualrie into three parts: two armies shewed themselves on each side, and the third began to make stay of the vanward: which being knowne, *Cæsar* deuided his horse likewise into three parts, and sent them to make head against the enemye. At the same time they fought in all parts, the army stood still, the cariages were receiued within the Legions: if our men were overcharged any where, *Cæsar* bent the Legions that way, which did both hinder the enemye from following them, and assure our men of hope of rescue. At length the *Germanes* hauing posselt themselves of a hill on the right side, did put the enemye from their place, and followed the as they fled euen to the river, where *Vercingetorix* stayed with the foote companies, and slue many of them: whereupon the rest fearing lest they should be encompassed about, betooke themselves to flight: execution was done in all places. Three of the Nobilitie of the *Hedui* were taken and brought to *Cæsar*, *Cottus* the Generall of the horse, who at the last election of Magistrates stood in controuersie with *Conuictolitanis*, and *Cauarillus* who after the revolt of *Litauicus*, commaunded the foote troopes, and *Eporodix* vnder whose commaund, before *Cæsars* coming into Gallia, the *Hedui* made warre with the *Sequani*: all the caualrie being put to flight *Vercingetorix* drew in his forces which he had imbarcelled before his campe, and immediatly after began to march towards *Alesia* a towne of the *Mandubij*, commaunding the baggage to be speedily brought out of the campe and to follow him. *Cæsar* hauing conveyed his cariages to the next hill vnder the custodie of two Legions, he followed the enemye as long as the day would giue him leaue: and hauing slaine some two thousand of the reareward, the day following he encamped at *Alesia*.

OBSERVATIONS.



THE *Gaules* were much stronger then the *Romaines* in Caualry, both according to quantitie and qualitie, but the *Romaine* Infanterie was greater in vertue and worth then any foote forces of the *Gaules*, notwithstanding their inequalitye in number: which sheweth that the *Romaines* did more relye vpon their legionarie

Whether the
caualrie or
infanterie be
of greater
importance
and use in a
warre.

fouldiers, then vpon their *Equites*: and may serue for an argument in the handling of that question, which is so much debated amongst men of warre, whether the horse or the foote companies be of greater importance in the cariage of a warre? Which indeed is a question a *male diuists*: being both so necessarie for the perfect execution of martiall purposes, as they cannot well be disioyned. And if we looke particularly in the nature of their severall seruices, we shall easily discern the differences, and be able to iudge of the validitie of their parts.

Footmen fitter for more seruices then horsemen.

The maine stroke in a day of battell is giuen by the footmen.

The vse of horsemen.

The Dictator forbidden the vse of a horse in the warres: and why.

Wherein first it cannot be denied, but that foote companies are seruiceable to more purposes then troupes of horse: for the horsemen are of no vse, but in open and champion places: whereas footmen are not onely of importance in fielden countries, but are necessarie also in mountenous or woodie places, in valleys, in ditches, in feiges, and in all other parts of what site or nature soeuer, where the horsemen cannot shew themselves. Whereby it appeareth, that the infanterie extendeth its seruice to more purposes then the caualrie, and maketh the warre compleat, which otherwise would proue lame and vneffectuall.

Touching the waight of the businesse when it commeth to a day of battell, it resteth for the most part vpon the foote troupes: for the horsemen are profitable to the armie wherein they serue, by making discoueries, by harrying the enemies countrey, by giuing succour or rescue vpon a suddaine, by doing execution vpon an ouerthrow, and by confronting the enemies horse: but these are but as second seruices, & far short of the maine stroke, which for the most part is giuen by the footmen. Neither doth a rowt giuen to the caualrie seruing an armie royall, concerne the bodie of that armie further then the seruices before mentioned: but the armie doth oftentimes go on notwithstanding, and may well achieue a happie victorie: whereas vpon the ouerthrow of the infanterie, the horsemen haue nothing to do, but to shift for themselves, and get away to their owne home. So that it appeareth that the foote companies are the bulke and bodie of the armie, and the horse as the armes and outward parts hauing expedient and necessarie offices, but alwaies subordinate to the maine stroke giuen by the foote.

If any man looke for prooffe hereof by example, he shall not need to seeke further then the *Romaines*, being maisters of the art militarie, who by an auncient law interdicting the Dictator to haue the vse of a horse in the warres for his priuate ease: intimated as *Plutarke* saith, The strength of their armie to consist in their footmen, which the Generall in a day of battell should assist with his presence, and in no wise forsake them if he would. But touching the vse of war amongst them, their *Equites* were so farre short of the seruice performed by their foote troupes, that when they would stand to it indeed, they forsooke their horses and fought on foote: as in the battell with the *Latines* at the lake *Regillus*, which I haue already mentioned in my former obseruations. Neither were the *Romaines* good horsemen, as it seemeth by *Cæsar*: for he tooke the horses from the Tribunes and the *Romaine Equites*, and gaue them to the *Germanes*, as better Ritters then any *Romaines*. But howsoeuer a State that aboundeth in horse, and trusteth more in them then in foote companies, may harrie

a cham-

a champion country, but shall neuer be able to follow a war with that strength, as is requisite to make it fortunate.

CHAP. XXX.

Cæsar besiegeth Alesia, and fighteth with the enemies caualrie.



Cæsar *ÆSAR* hauing viewed the site of the towne, and knowing the enemy to be much troubled for the ouerthrow of their horse in whom they put all their hopes, adhorting the fouldiers to take a little paines, he determined to inclose the towne round about with a ditch and a rampier. Alesia was sited on the top of a hill, in a very eminent place, and not to be taken but by a continuall siege: at the foote of the hill ran two riuers on each side of the towne: before the towne there lay a plaine of three miles in length, the other sides were enclosed round about in a reasonable distance with hills of equall height with the towne. Vnder the wall on the East side lay all the forces of the Gaules, hauing drawne a ditch and a drie wall on that part of eight foute in height: the whole circuit of the workes which the *Romaines* made to inclose the town about, contained eleven miles. Their campe was sited in a conuenient place, where there were made three and twentie castles, which in the day time were kept by garri- sons, and in the night by strong watches. The worke being begun, there happened a skirmish betwene the caualrie of both sides in that plaine which lay before the towne of three miles in length: they fought eagerly on both sides: our men being overcharged, Cæsar sent the *Germanes* to second them, and set the *Legions* before the campe, lest there might happen any sudden salley by the foote troupes of the enemy. Vpon the safeguard of the *Legions* our men tooke courage, the enemy was put to flight, and being many in number one hindred another, and stucke in heapes in the straight passage of their gates. The *Germanes* followed them close to their fortifications, and made a great execution amongst them: many of them forsaking their horses attempted to leape the ditch, and to cline over the drie wall. Cæsar commanded the *legions* imbattelled before the campe to aduance a litle forward. The Gaules that were within the fortification were no litle troubled: for thinking the enemy would presently haue come vnto them, they made an alarme: some were so frighted that they brake into the towne. *Vercingetorix* commanded the gates to be shut lest the campe should be left naked of defendants: many of the enemy being slaine, and very many horses taken the *Germanes* fell off and returned to Cæsar.

OBSERVATIONS.

One enim is
not so certain
for the appro-
ving of a
cause, as when
it is seconded
with another
of the condi-
tion.

ERAsmuch as casualtie and chaunce haue oftentimes the prerogative of a service, and in misdeeming opinions do carie away the honour from vertue and valour: the first triall of a fortune is not of that assurance, nor so much to be trusted, as when it is seconded againe with the like effect: for when a matter by often triall falleth out to be of one and the same qualitie, it sheweth a certaintie of cause, producing ends of like condition. The *Gauls* (as it seemeth) were much discouraged vpon the first ouerthrow of their horse, in whom they so much belcued, and altered the course of their high resolutions so faire, as where before they sware the ouerthrow of the *Romains*, they were now content to take the protection of a strong towne: but this second foile which they received, did so assure them of a harder confrontment and stronger opposition then they were able to beare, that they neuer thought of any further triall, but were content to go away losers, rather then to hazard their liues in a third combat. And thus, when a second cunct backeth a former fortune, it taketh away the suspicion of casualtie, and maketh the winner bold, and the loser desperate. Pompey was so transported with ioy for the blow which he gaue *Cæsar* at *Dyrachū*, that he sent letters of that daies victorie into all parts of the world, and made his souldiers so secure touching the issue of that warre, *ut non de ratione belli cogitarent, sed vicisse iam sibi viderentur*: not remembering as *Cæsar* saith, the ordinary chaunges of warre, wherein oftentimes a small matter, either of a false suspicion, or of a sudden fright, or some other accident, doth indanger an armie, which the enimie taketh to himselfe, *perinde ac si virtute vicissent*.

CHAP. XXXI.

Vercingetorix sendeth away the horse: *Cæsar* incloseth *Alesia* with a strong wall.

Cæsar.

VERCINGETORIX thought it best to dismisse all the horse, and send them away in the night before the fortifications were persited by the *Romaines*. At their departure he commanded them, that every man should repaire vnto his owne State, and send all to that warre that were able to beare armes: he layeth open his deserts towards them, and doth aduise them to haue regard to his safetie, and not to suffer him to be deliuered ouer to the torture of the enemy, that had so wel deserved of the common libertie, wherein if they should proue negligent, fourescore thousand men

men would perish with him in that place: and looking into their provisions, he found that they had corne scarce for thirty dayes, but by sparing and good husbandry it might be made to serue longer. With these mandates he sent out the horsemen in silence about the second watch of the night, at that part of the towne where the workes were not persited: he commanded all the corne to be brought vnto him vpon paine of death. The cattel he distributed to the souldiers by pole, whereof there was great store brought out from the *Mandubij*: the corne he began to measure out very sparingly. All the forces which he had placed before the towne, he received within the walles; and so he purposed to attend the supplicies of *Gallia*: which being knowne by the runne-aways and captiues, *Cæsar* appointed to make these fortifications: he drew a ditch of twenty foot in breadth and depth, with strait sides, as broad at the bottome as at the top. The rest of the worke he made forty foote short of that ditch, which he did for these reasons, that the whole body of the *Romaines* might not easily be inclosed about with an armie of souldiers, which he thought to prevent by taking in so great a circuit of ground, and secondly, lest the enemy falsying out vpon a sodaine, should in the night come to destroy the workes, or in the day time trouble the souldiers with darts and casting weapons as they were busied about the workes. This space of fortie foote being left, he made two ditches of fiftene foote in breadth and depth, the innermost whereof being carried through the fields, and the lower ground he filled with water drayne out of the river: behind them he made a ditch and a rampier of twelue foote, and strengthened it with a parapet and pinacles, and with great boughes of trees cut in cags like vnto a Harts borne, which he set where the howels were ioyned to the rampier, to hinder the enimie from climbing vp, and made towers round about the whole worke, in the distance of fourescore foote one from another. At the same time the *Romaine* souldiers were both to get stufie for the fortification, to go a harveisting for prouision of corne, and to make such great workes: our forces being much weakened, and were to seeke corne and stufie far off from the campe, the *Gauls* oftentimes attempting to destroy the workes, and to fallie out of the towne at diuers ports: and therefore *Cæsar* thought it fit to adde this much more to the the foresaid workes, that the fortifications might be made good with the lesse number of men. He made ditches round about the workes of five foote deepe, and in them he planted either the bodies of trees or great firme boughes shapened into many pikes and saiges, being bound together at the bottome, that they might not be easily plucked vp, and spreading themselves at the top into very sharpe cags. There were of these five ranks, so combined and infolded one in another, that which way soeuer the enimie should enter vpon them, he would necessarily runne himselfe vpon a sharpe stake, these they called *Cippos*. Before these in oblique courses, after the manner of a quincunce were digged holes of three foote deepe, narrow at the bottome like a finger loose, these they set with round stakes of the bignesse of a mans thigh, with a sharpe hardened point, in such sort that they stucke not above foure fingers out of the earth, and for the better fastening of them they steeke all a foote within the ground, the rest of the hole for the better ordering of the matter, was hid with oiers and spreads: of these were eight courses three foote distant one from another, and these they called *Lillies*, from the resemblance they had to the figure of it slower. Before these were galthropes of a foote long fastened in the earth, and beaded at the top with barbed bookes of iron, sowed vp and downe in all places in a reasonable distance one from

another, and these they called Stimulos. The inner fortifications being thus perfected, he followed the even and level ground as much as the nature of the place would give him leane, and tooke in foureteene miles in circuit, and made the like fortifications in all points against the enemy without, as he had done against the towne, to the end that if he were driven upon occasion to depart and leane the workes, it might be no danger for him to leane the campe: forasmuch as a few men would defend it, he commanded every man to haue forrage and prouision of corne for thirty dayes.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

The Romaine
workes.

In Promised in my former obseruation to speake somewhat touching the Romaine workes, and to shew the vse they made of them in their greatest occasions: but this description of the workes at Aleſia, doth so farre exceede the enlargement of commenting words, that it hath drowned the eloquence of great Historians, and in stead of expositions and inforcements, hath drawne from them speeches expressing greater admiration then beleefe: circa Aleſiam (saith Paterculus) tante res gesta, quantas audere vix hominis perficere nullus nisi Dei fuerit. To include a towne with a ditch and a rampier of eleuen miles in circuit, was a matter worthie the Romaine armie: but to adde such varietie of workes, and to make such strange trapes and oppositions against an enemy, was admirable to the hearer; and not that onely, but to make the like workes without, to keepe the Gaules from raising the siege, did double the wonder: by which workes he did besiege and was besieged, tooke the towne and ouerthrew the enemy in the field.

Such as since that time haue imitated this industrie onely by a small ditch and a rampier (for I thinke no man euer made such workes) haue wrought wonders in matter of warre. *Caſtraccio* got the name of renewing the ancient military discipline in Italy, chiefly for that he besieged *Pistoia*, and with the helpe of a double trench according to the example of *Cæſar*, he kept in the *Pistoians* on the one side, and kept out an armie on the other side of thirtie thousand foote and three thousand horse, in such maner as in the end he tooke the citie and made their succours of no effect. The Staters armie of the vnited Prouinces vnder the leading of *Grane Maurice*, did the like at the towne of *Grane* in the yeare 1602. But of this at *Aleſia* may well be said that which *Livy* speaketh of the battell at *Nola*: *Ingens eo die res ac nescio an maxima illo bello gesta sit.*

THE

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



IT is here deliuered, that the outward circuit of the workes contained foureteene miles, and the circuit of the inward workes eleuen miles: upon which ground *Iustus Lipsius* maketh an vniust coniecture of the space betwene the outward and the inward workes where the Romaines lay incamped. For according to the proportion betwene the circumference and the diameter, he maketh the diameter of the greater circle foure, and of the lesser three miles: and then he taketh the lesser diameter out of the greater, and concludeth the space to be almost a mile betwene the inner and the outward rampier where the Romaines lay incamped betwene the workes: and least the matter might be mistaken in ciphers, he doth expresse it at large in significant words, whereby he maketh the space twice as much as indeede it was: for the two circles hauing one and the same center, the semidiameter of the one was to be taken out of the semidiameter of the other, and the remainder would amount almost to halfe a mile, which according to the ground here deliuered, was the true distance betwene the workes, if the nature of the place (whereunto they had a respect) would suffer them to keepe the same distance in all parts; but *aliquando bonus dormitat Homerus*, and no disgrace neither to the excellencie of his learning, deserting all honour for the great light which he hath brought to the knowledge of Histories, and for redeeming the truth from blots and Barbarisme.

Iustus Lipsius
mistaken.
Polyorgeticon.
Lib. 2. Dial. 2.

CHAP. XXXII.

The Gaules raise an armie of 248000. to
raise the siege at Aleſia.



WHILE these things were doing at Aleſia, the Gaules hauing summoned a Councill of the Princes and chiefeſt men of each State, they thought it not conuenient to take all that were able to beare armes according to Vercingetorix direction: but to proportion out a certaine number for every State, lest that of such a confused multitude there would be no government, being not able to know their souldiers, or to martiall the in any good order, or to make prouision of victuall for so great a bodie. The Hedui and their clients were commanded to send out five and thirtie thousand, the Aruerni with their clients as many: the Senones, Sequani, Bituriges, Santones, Rutheni, Carnutes, twelue thousand: the Bellouaci, ten thousand, the Lemouices as many, the Parisij eight thousand, the Senones, Am-

Cæſar.

biani, Medionatrices *five thousand, the Attrebrates four thousand, the Vellocassi Lexonij, Auleri, Eburones three thousand, the Raucaci and Boij thirtie thousand, the States bordering upon the Ocean, whom by the custome of Gallia they call Aremorice, such as are the Curiofolites, Rhedones, Ambibarri, Caletes, O. siflimi, Lemouices, Vuclli six thousand: of these the Bellouaci refused to give their number, saying, that they would make warre with the Romaines in their owne name, and according to their owne directions, neither would they serue vnder any mans command. Notwithstanding being intreated by Comius for his sake they sent two thousand. Cæsar as we haue heretofore deliuered, had used the helpe of this Comius the yeares before in Brittain, being both faithfull and seruicicable: for the recompence of which seruice he had freed his state of all duties to the Romaine Empire, and restored vnto them their auncient lawes and customes, and to himselfe he had given the Morini. Notwithstanding such was the vniuersall consent of all Gallia, to redeeme their auncient honour in matter of warre, as neither friendship nor the memorie of former benefices could any way moue them, every man intending that war as farre as either the power of his mind or the possibilitie of his meanes would reach vnto: and hauing drawn together eight thousand horse, 2. hundred & forty thousand foote, they mustered their forces in the confines of the Hedui, there they appointed capitaines, and the chiefe command was given to Comius of Arras, and to Viridomarus, and Eporedorix Hedui: and to Vergaslanus of the Aueruni, and cousin germaine to Vercingetorix. To these there were certaine chosen out of euery State to give assistance in counsell of warre, and all of them went iocundly and full of hope to Alefia. Neither was there any man that did thinke, that the very sight of such a multitude were able to be endured, especially when the sight would grow doubtfull by sallies made out of the towne, and so great forces of horse and foote should be seene without.*

OBSERVATIONS.



117. At number of men are a competent proportion for any seruice.

Vercingetorix desire was to haue had as many of the Gauls sent to his relieue as were able to beare armes, grounding himselfe vpon that maxime, where the whole state is in question, there the whole forces of that State are to be employed. But the other Princes of Gallia, thought it not expedient to raise so great a number: for they would haue accrewed to such a multitude of people, as could not haue bene contained within the rules of gouernement: which may bring to our consideration that which the course of these times doth not often bring into dispute: What number of men well martialled and with good discipline, are a competent proportion for any seruice? Xerxes armie which he carried into Greece, was famous for two respects: first, in regard of the multitude which was so great, that when he himselfe returned backe into Asia, he left behind him three hundred thousand of the best souldiers chosen out of the whole armie, vnder the conduct of one Mardonius. Secondly, that of so many fighting men, there were two hundred and threescore thousand slaine in one

one battel, with the losse of one thousand & three hundred Grecians. Whereby it appeareth, that the conquest of a kingdome doth not necessarily follow the multitude of souldiers in an armie; for either Xerxes armie was too few in number to conquer Greece, or too many to be well martialled.

Marius with fiftie thousand men defeated the Cimbri that were so many in number, as they made a battel of thirtie furlong square, and of them he slue a hundred and twentie thousand, and tooke threescore thousand prisoners. And for that I do remember of that which I haue read, the greatest conquests that euer were made, were atchieued with armies vnder fifty thousand fighting men. The great Alexander subdued all Asia, and set the Monarchy from the Persian into Greece with thirtie thousand men.

The Romaines had very seldome ten legions in an armie which was about that rate, but commonly their conquering armies were faire vnder that proportion. Paulus Emilius onely had a hundred thousand in his armie against Persens, and wonne the battell in an houre. The condition of our times requireth no dispute touching this point, for we seldome see an army of fiftie thousand men in the field, vnlesse it be the Turke or some such Monarke.

Plutark in the life of Marius.

Plutark in the life of Paulus Emilius.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Critognatus speech at Alefia, touching the keeping of the towne.



THEY that were besieged in Alefia, the day being past by which they looked for succour, their corne being spent, and not knowing what was done abroad, entred into consultations touching the end of their fortune; and diuers opinions being deliuered, some of them tending to the yielding up of the towne, and others perswading that as long as strength lasted there might be sallies continually made vpon the enemy: I will not omit the speech of Critognatus for the singular and wicked crueltye which it imported, a man of great birth and authoritie amongst the Aueruni. I will say nothing (saith he) of their opinion that call base seruitude by the name of rendry: neither do I thinke them fit to be accomplished citizens, or to be admitted to counsell of State: wish them will I deale withall that like well of sallies, in whose aduice and counsell euen by all your consents the memory of auncient vertue seemeth to consist. It is no vertue but a weaknesse of the mind, not to be able to endure want a litle while. It is an easier matter to find men that will offer themselves willingly to death, then such as will endure labour with patience. For mine owne part, I could like well of that opinion (for honour much preuaileth with me) if I did not see a further losse then of our liues, but in these our consultations let vs looke vpon all Gallia, whom we haue called together to succour vs. What spirits do you thinke would our friends and kins-

Cæsar

men conceive, fourescore thousand men being slaine, in a place if they were constrained to wage battell vpon their dead carcases? I would not haue you to defraud them of your helpe, that do neglect all perill for your sake, nor by your foolishnesse and your rashnesse, or the weaknesse of your mind, throw downe all Gallia, and cast it into perpetuall bondage. Do you doubt of their faith and constancie, because they came not by a day? What do the Romaines then meane in these outward workes? Do you thinke they make them for exercise, or to passe away the time? If you cannot then receiue assurance by their messengers all passage being stoppt, vse them for witnesses that their coming is at hand, for feare whereof they labour night and day. What then? my aduice is that we do as our forefathers did in a war against the Cimbri and Teutons not equal to this, who being shut vp within their townes, and brought to the like necessitie, did satisfie their hunger with the bodies of such as were found vnfit for warre, neither did they yeeld themselves vnto the enemy, whereof if we had not an example, yet I would iudge it an excellent thing to be begun now for liberties sake, and to be left to posterity: for what warre was like this? Gallia being wasted and dispeopled, and the kingdome brought into great misery, the Cimbri at length forooke our country, and sought out other territories, and left vnto vs our lawes, customes, lands and libertie: for the Romaines, what is it they desire, or what would they haue? But being drawne on with malice and enue, whom they understood to be a noble and a warlike nation, their fields and cities they did desire to take from them, and to yoke them with eternall bondage, as neuer making warre with other condition: for if you be ignorant what they do farre off in other countries, looke at home in that part of Gallia which is reduced into a Prouince. Their lawes and customes being changed, it is subiect to the axe and to perpetuall seruitude. Their opinions being deliuered, they decree that such as through age or sicknesse were vnfit for war should depart the towne, and that they should prone all means before they yeilded to Critognatus opinion, and yet if the matter so required, to consent vnto it, and to attend their succours rather then to yeeld to any remedy and condition of peace.

OBSERVATIONS.

How long a
Commander
may hold out
in a siege.



It is oftentimes made questionable in the extremitie of a siege, how farre the Commanders may go in continuing their resistance to the danger and hazard of the people besieged: whether they may not in honour proceede as farre as Critognatus opinion would draw them? or how they may know when to leaue it, in the very point of discrete and valiant cariage: which is to be answered according to the qualitie of the enemy that giueth siege to the place; for against a trecherous and disloyall enemy, that maketh profession of infidelity, and would not stick after a composition to insnare them in a greater danger then the perill of death, there would be much endured rather then to vndergo so hard a fortune: and yet I do no way approoue the cruell resolution of
this

this Gaule, but do rather commend the example of the Hungarians at the siege of Agria; for in the year 1562. Mahomet Bassa lay before that towne with an armie of three score thousand Turkes, and layd batterie to it with fiftie canons. There were within the Towne two thousand Hungarians, who endured and put off thirteene most terrible assaults of the enemy: and for the better strengthening of their high resolution, they tooke a mutuall oath that no man vpon paine of death should once speake of a treatie, or of giuing vp the Towne, or to make any answer to the enemy but by the hargebule or the canon. And if the siege should happen to continue long, rather to die for hunger then to put themselves in the hands of so cruell and barbarous an enemy. They determined further, that such amongst them that were not seruicable with a weapon, should attend continually to reinforce the rampier and repaire the ruines. And to auoide trecherie, they tooke order that there might be no assemblies in the citie about the number of three together. They commaunded likewise that all the victuall as was either publique or private, should be diuided into equal portions amongst the souldiers, and the best of it should be reserved for such as were hurt in fight. It is further reported, that the Bassa hauing oftentimes offered a treatie, they onely shewed for an answer to his sommons a funerall beare covered with blacke, lifted vp about the wall betweene two pikes, to signifie thereby that they would not come out but by death.

As this is a degree short of Critognatus resolution, so I do not denie but that a Generall may giue vp a Towne before he come to these tearmes with true honour and wisdom. But the matter (as I haue said) consisteth altogether vpon the circumstances interlaced. But that which is further to be obserued in this place, is the extreame contrarietie of opinions, which are usually deliuered vpon dispute of such difficult cases, wherein *Quantum alteri sententia deest animi, tantum alteri superesse solet*; as Curio said vpon the like occasion: *Ac edio tutissimus ibis*, was Phabius direction to his sonne Phæton in a matter of difficultie and great hazard, and obserued in this place by the Gauls.

Agria.

Lab. 2. bel. cin



CHAP. XXXIIII.

The Gaules do set vpon Cæsars campe,
both from the towne and the field side.

Cæsar.

THE Mandubij who had received the armie into the towne, were themselves thrust out with their wives and children: they comming to the Romaine workes, did with weeping teares beseech them to receive them into bondage, and release them with food. Cæsar gave order they should not be received, and set a guard on the rampier to keep them out. In the meane time Comius, and the rest of the Captaines, that had the chiefe command given them, came to Aleia with all their forces, and having taken a hill on the outside, they sate downe not above halfe a mile from our workes. The next day bringing their cavalrie out of their campe, they filled all that plaine, which as I have already said, extended three miles in length before the towne, setting their foot-forces a litle distant from that place, and hiding them upon higher ground, the prospect lay open out of the towne into the field: and upon the sight of these succours they ran together and congratulated each other, and all their minds were filled with gladnesse. And thereupon the next day they brought their forces and placed them before the towne, and began to cover the next ditch onto them with hurdles, and to fill it up with earth, and to provide themselves to sally out, and to endure all chaunces. Cæsar having disposed of all his armie on each side of the workes, that if there were occasion, every man might both know and keepe his place. He commaunded the cavalrie to be carried out of the campe and to charge the enemy. There was a faire view out of all the campes, which were seated round about upon the ridge of the hill, and all mens minds were bent upon the expectation of the event of the fight. The Gaules had mingled amongst their horse some few archers and light armed souldiers, which might release their fellows, being overcharged, and to sustaine the force and assaults of our horse: by these were many hurt upon a sudden and forsooke the fight. The Gaules being perswaded that their men had the better of the fight, perceiving our men to be overcharged with multitude on all sides, as well those that were besieged, as the other that came to relieve them, they tooke up a shout and a howling to encourage their people: and forasmuch as the matter was caried in the sight of all men, so that nothing could be hid whether it were well or ill done: the desire of honour and the feare of ignominie did stirre up both sides to proweesse and valour. And having fought with a doubtfull fortune from noone tide untill almost sun setting, the Germanes on the one side with thicke thronged troupes gave a fierce charge upon the enemy, and put them to flight: whereby it happened that the archers were circumvented and slaine. In like manner on the other side, our men finding them to give ground, did follow the cūen to their campes, and gave them no time to recover themselves: such as were come out of Aleia, returned backe (ad into the towne dispairing of victorie: one day being inter-

interrupted, in which time they made provision of great store of hurdles, ladders and hookes, about midnight they marched silently out of their campe, and came to the workes on the field side, and taking up a sudden shout to give notice of their comming to them of the towne, they cast their hurdles upon the ditches, and with slings, arrows, and stones they began to put our men from the rampier, and to put in practise such things as belong to a siege. At the same time the shout being heard, Vercingetorix sounded the trumpet, and brought his men out of the towne: our men betooke themselves to the fortifications according as every mans place was allotted him the day before, and with slings and bullets which they had laid ready upon the workes, they did beate downe the Gaules, their sight being taken away through the darknesse of the night. Many wounds were received on both sides, and many weapons were cast out of engines. M. Antonius, and C. Trebonius Legates, who had the charge of those parts where our men were most laid to, caused men to be taken out of the further castles, and to be brought to second them. The Gaules being a good way distant from the workes, did much hurt with multitude of weapons: but approaching nearer, either they struck themselves unwittingly upon the galthrops, or falling into the holes, were struck through the bodies with the sharpe stakes, or dyed with murall piles, being cast from the rampier and the towers. Many wounds being received on all sides, as the day appeared, the Gaules fearing lest they should be charged on the open side by a sally from the upper campe, retired backe againe to their fellows. On the inner side, whilst they brought out such things as were prepared beforehand by Vercingetorix, and were filling up the first ditches, being somewhat long in the execution of these things, did understand that the other Gaules were departed before they themselves could come neare the workes: and thereupon they returned into the towne without doing any thing.

OBSERVATIONS.

THE Gaules committed the command of this great armie to foure Generals, contrarie to practise of warlike nations, and the order which nature obserueth throughout all the severall kinds of creatures: amongst whom there was neuer bodie found of many heades, but one Hydra, being made as it seemeth, or rather fained to be made, to the end that Hercules might have a taske answerable to himselfe, and make it one of his twelve labours to kill the beast. The serpent Amphibysena is said to have two heads, whereby the either loofeth the vie of local motion, or at the least mouth so imperfectly, one head taking one way and the other another way, as there is no certaine or direct passage in her creeping.

These many-headed armies do resemble these serpents, being caried according to the fence of their severall heads, and distracted by the diversity of their many Leaders. The government of Rome consisting of severall magistrates, having severainge authoritie, gave occasion oftentimes to make two heads to one bodie, but with such successe, as they were forced in the end to create one head for the repairing of that losse, which the multiplicitie of leaders had

One armie
would have
one Generall.

Et gravis in
geminis caput
Amphibysena

brought vpon their state, as it happened in the warre against the *Fidenates* revolted, which nothing but their recourse to a Dictator, could make happy to their Empire: whereupon *Linie* saith: *Tres Tribuni, potestate consulari, documen- to suere quam plurimum imperium bello inutile esset, tentando ad sua quisque consilia, cum alij aliud videretur, apparuerunt ad occasionem locum hosti.* In the time of their Consuls, *Quintius* and *Agrippa* being sent against the *Equi*, *Agrippa* verbered the businesse wholly to his colleague, concluding as *Linie* saith: *Saluberrimum in administratione magnarum rerum est summum imperij ad unum esse.* And therefore as one bodie requirith but one head, so one businesse would haue but one director, forasmuch as *Emulatio inter pares & ex eo impedimen- tum.*

Tacitus.

CHAP. XXXV.

The Gaules do chuse out sixtie thousand of
their best men, and do assault the weakest
part of Cæsars campe.

Cæsar.

THE Gaules being repelled twice with great losse, do fall into consideration what they were next to do: they call vnto them such as were well acquainted with the nature and site of the place, by whom they vnderstand of the situation of the vpper campe. On the north side there lay a hill, which by reason of the greatnesse of the circuit, our men could not take in within the compass of their workes: and thereupon were necessarily constrained to lay their campe in an vnequall place somewhat shel- uing. This part was kept by *Caius Antistius Rheginus*, and *Caius Caninius Re- gulus* with two Legions. This being knowne by the discoverers, the Capitaines of the enemy chose out sixtie thousand of those States which caried the greatest opinion of manhood, and did secretly determine amongst themselves, how and in what sort they would haue the seruice caried, and do determine to put it in execution when the Sunne should be neare about the noone meridian, appointing *Vergasilaunus* to command those forces, being one of the foure Capitaines, and kinsman to *Vercingetorix*. He going out of the campe in the first watch of the night, came to the end of his iourney a litle before day, and hiding himselfe behind a hill, commanded his souldiers to refresh themselves from the former nights travell. And when it beganne to be towards noone: he made towards that part of the campe which I haue before mentioned: and at the same time the horsemen began to approach towards the workes, and the rest of the forces shewed themselves before the campe. *Vercingetorix* perceiving this out of the watch-tower of *Alesia*, went out of the towne, and caried with him long poles, bookes and such other prouisions which he had made readie beforehand for a silley: they fought at one instant in all places, all waies were tryed: where they thought it to be weakest, thither they ran, the Romaine forces were dismembred by reason of the large extension

extension of their workes, and the shout which was made behind their backs, did much affright our men, forasmuch as they perceived that their daunger did consist in other mens valour: for such things as are absent do for the most part greatly perplex and trouble mens minds. *Cæsar* hauing got a convenient place, doth see what is done in every part: if any were overcharged he sent them succour, and was readie to answer all occasions on both sides the campe: he told them that that was the time, wherein it was behouefull for the fight: the Gauls wold despair of all good successe, vntill they brake downe the workes. The Romaines if they obtained their purpose, might expect an end of their labours: the greatest contention was about that place to which *Vergasilaunus* was sent; a small rising in a place doth giue much aduantage in a sheluing descent: some cast weapons, others put themselves into a Testudo, and came vnder the workes, the wearied and overlaboured were seconded by fresh supplies: every man cast earth into the workes, which raised it so high, that the Gauls had aduantage of ascent: and the pikes and sharpe stakes which the Romaines had cunningly hid vnder the earth to annoy the enemy, were thereby covered: it came at last to that passe that our men wanted both strength and weapons: which being knowne, *Cæsar* sent *Labienuus* with sixe cohorts to releue those that were overcharged, commanding him (if he could not beare out the charge) to sally out vpon them, but not vntill he were constrained vnto it: he himselfe went about to the rest, adhorting them not to faint vnder their labour, forasmuch as the fruite and benefite of all their former batels consisted in that day and that houre. The enemy within being out of hope of doing any good vpon the workes made in plaine and champion places, by reason of the strength of the fortifications, tried what they could do in steepe and broken places, and thither they brought those things, which they had prepared, with the multitude of their casting weapons, they cast out such as sought from turrets, they suted their passages with hurdes and earth, they brake downe the parapet and the rampier with bookes. *Cæsar* sent first young *Brutus* with sixe cohorts, and after him *Fabius* a Legate with seuen more, and at length as the fight waxed bore, he went himselfe with a fresh supply. The fight being renewed and the enemy beaten off, he hasted to that place whither he had sent *Labienuus*, and tooke foure cohorts out of the next Castle. Part of the horsemen he commaunded to follow him, and the rest to compass about the outward workes, and to set vpon the enemy behind. *Labienuus* finding that neither rampier nor ditches were able to keepe out the enemy, hauing got such forces together as were drawne by chance from the workes nearest hand, he acquainted *Cæsar* by messengers what he thought fit to be done. *Cæsar* made hast to be at the fight: his coming being knowne by the colour of his garment, which he was accustomed to wear in time of battell, and the troups of horse and the cohorts being discovered which he had commaunded to follow him, as the sheluing and declining places were subiect to the view of higher grounds: the enemy began the fight, a great shout was taken vpon both sides: our men hauing throwne their pikes, betooke themselves to their swords: suddenly the horsemen were discovered behind them, and other cohorts made their approaches towards them. The enemy turned his backe and fled, the horsemen met them as they fled, the slaughter was great in that place. *Sedulius*, a Capitaine and Prince of the *Lemouici* was slaine, *Vergasilaunus* was taken alive, threescore and fourteene ensignes were brought vnto *Cæsar*, and very few of so great a number returned safe

into their campe. Those of the towne beholding the slaughter and flight of their friends, being out of all hope, drew backe their forces from the workes. This being knowne, the Gauls fled presently out of their campe: and if the souldiers had not bene wearied with that daies labour, they might easily have destroyed all their enemies. About midnight the horse being sent out to fall upon the reareward, a great number was taken and slaine, the rest escaped into their countries.

OBSERVATIONS.

Tis an old saying of a hungry man, that it is an easier matter to fill his belly then his eye, which is as true in other cases: wherein our desires are oftentimes so great, that we thinke no means sufficient to accomplish the same: but when we shall come to put it in triall, and suffer every man to be measured with his owne foote, it will appeare that our desires are better applied to the infinitie of the mind, then to the necessarie occasions of our life. Vercingetorix was so farre interested in the successe of this warre, that he thought all the able men of Gallia not inough to make it happie vnto him: but the other Princes that were not so deeply touched, and yet stood as well affected to the cause, refused to inrole all that were able to beare armes, but thought two hundred fortie and eight thousand men to be a competent force for this seruice. But comming to the execution of the business, they employed onely but sixtie thousand: and when they failed of their indeuour, and were rowted and ouerthrowne by the Romanes, the rest staid no longer to dispute the matter, but fled all away by night: which sheweth the difference betweene the affections which are forerunners of a cause, and such as grow and increase with a businessse, and are not commonly found in one and the same subiect in their greatest strengths. For these antecedent desires, are like womens longings, strong and violent at first: but decaying as fast againe before they come to any ripenessse: whereas such affections as rise from the cariage of a businessse, and grow from the occurrences of that proceeding, are not so easily abated, but do hold out strong either for constancie or obstinacie.

A little is enough to saue a longing.



CHAP.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Vercingetorix yeeldeth himselfe, and the Towne to Cæsar



THE next day Vercingetorix hauing called a Councell, told them, that he had not vnderooke that warre for his owne occasions, but for the cause of common libertie, and forasmuch as they were necessarily to yeeld to fortune, he made offer of himselfe vnto them, either to satisfie the Romanes with his death, or to be deliuered vnto them aline. Ambassadors were sent to Cæsar touching that point: he commaunded their armes to be deliuered, and the Princes to be brought out: he himselfe sate in the fortifications before the campe: thither the Captaines were brought, Vercingetorix was deliuered, their weapons were cast out. The Hedui and the Aruerni being referred, to the end he might recover the rest of the States by them: of the rest of the captiues, he gaue throughout all the army, to euery man a prisoner, by the name of a boote. These things being ended, he went to the Hedui, and receiued in the State: thither did the Aruerni send Ambassadors vnto him, promising to obey whatsoeuer he commaunded: he demaunded a great number of hostages, and sent the Legions into their wintering camps: he sent home twenty thousand captiues to the Hedui and Aruerni: he sent T. Labienus with two Legions into the Sequani, and gaue him M. Sempronius Rutilius to assist him: he lodged C. Fabius and Lucius Minutius Bassilius with two legions amongst the men of Rhemes, lest they should receiue any damage by the neare bordering Bellouaci: he sent C. Antistius Reginus to the Ambiuariti, and T. Sextius to the Bituriges, and C. Caninius Rebilus to the Rutheni, with each of them a Legion: he placed Quintus Tullius Cicero and Paulus Sulpitius at Cauillonis and Matifcona of the Hedui upon the riuer Arar for provision of corne: he himselfe determined to winter at Bibract. These yeares seruice being knowne at Rome, there was a feast of thanksgiving appointed for twentie dayes together.

Cæsar.

OBSERVATIONS.



VERCINGETORIX notwithstanding a hard fortune, entertained a noble resolution: for hauing first acquainted the Gauls that he had not vnderooke that warre for any respect to himselfe, but for the cause of Gallia, and the auncient libertie of that continent, he made offer to satisfie the angry Romanes with his body dead or aline.

Plutarke reciteth the maner of his deliuerie to be in this sort: being armed at all parts, and mounted on a horse furnished with a rich caparison, he came to

Plutarke in the life of Cæsar.

Cæsar and rode round about him as he sat in his chaire of Estate, then lighting off his horse, he tooke off his capparison and furniture, and vnarmed himselfe and laid all on the ground, and went and sat downe at *Cæsar*'s feete, and said neuer a word. *Cæsar* at length committed him as a prisoner taken in the warres, to be led afterwards in his triumph at *Rome*: but the ciuil wars did cut off that solemnitie.

Platowk in the
life of Paulus
Emilius.

If it be demaunded, what became of these great Princes and personages after the triumph, it will appeare that they did not stroke their heads, or make more of them then of miserable captiues: for *Paulus Emilius* after the noble triumph for king *Perseus*, pittying his fortune and desiring to help him, could neuer obtaine other grace for him, then onely to remoue him from the common prison, which they called *Carcer*, into a more cleanly and sweeter house: where being straightly guarded, he died, either by abstinence, or being kept from sleepe by the souldiers. Two of his sonnes died also, but the third became an excellent Turner or Ioyner, and could write the *Romaine* tongue so well, that afterwards he became Chancellor to the Magistrates of *Rome*. And thus the *Romaines* dealt with their captiue Princes, making them examples of Fortunes vnconstancie, and turning their diadems into shakels of iron.

And thus far did *Cæsar* comment himselfe vpon the warres he made against the *Gauls*, being a noble and a worthy people, and bred in a large & fertile continent; the inhabitants whereof haue in all ages, euen to these times, challenged an eminencie, both for politticke gouernment and martiall prowesse, amongst the Westerne kingdomes of the world: their actions and cariage from time to time deseruing as honorable memory as these warres recorded by *Cæsar*'s owne hand; whereof *Paulus Emilius*, *Philip Commynes*, and of late *Iohn de Seres* are very pregnant witneses: they continued vnder the *Romaine* gouernement foure hundred fortie and one yeares, according to the computation made by *Iohn Tillius*, reckoning from the last victorie in *Cæsar*'s Proconsullship, to the time of *Marcomerus* a General of the *French*, by whose prowesse and meanes they denied to pay that homage and tribute to the Emperour *Valentinianus*, which *Vercingetorix* had lost to *Cæsar*.

The next Sommers seruice compiled by *Hirtius*, I haue purposely omitted, as intending no further matter then what *Cæsar* hath related, who best knew the whole project of that businesse.

And thus endeth the seuenth and last Commentarie, written by *Cæsar* of the warre he made in *Gallia*.

Laus Deo in æternum.

FINIS.



THE FIRST BOOKE OF
Cæsars Commentaries of the
Ciuill Warres.

THE ARGUMENT.

THis Commentarie containeth the Motions and Contentions at Rome, concerning Cæsars giuing vp his government: The rent in the State, vpon the disagreement of the Senate: How either side bestirred themselves, to seize vpon the Provinces. Pompey got the East, and Cæsar the West part of the Empire; and defeated Afranius and Petreius in Spaine.

CHAP. I.

The Senates affection on Cæsars behalfe.

LETTERS beeing deliuered by Fabius, to the Consuls from C. Cæsar, it was hardly obtained by the extreame importunitie of the Tribunes, to get them read in the Senate; but to consult thereof, or to bring the Contents in question, would not be granted. The Consuls propounded busineses concerning the state of the Cittie. L. Lentulus, Consul, protested his assistance should not be wanting, neither to the Senate nor to the Common-weale, if they would speake their mindes freely and boldly: but if they respected Cæsar, and had an eye to his fauour (as in former times they usually had) he would then take a course for him selfe, and not regard the authoritie of the Senate; neither wanted hee meanes of entrance into Cæsars friendship and good acceptance. To the same effect spake Scipio, that Pompey was resolu'd to be ayding to the Common-weale, if the Senate would stand to him: but if they temporiz'd, and dealt coldly, in vaine hereafter should they seeke ayde from him, albeit they instantly desired it. This speech of Scipios, seemed to come from

B.

Pompeis

Pompeys owne mouth, he himselfe being absent, and the Senate at that time kept within the Cittie. Some others spake more temperately; as first, M. Marcellus, who thought it not convenient, that the Senate should bring these things in question, untill they had made a leuie of souldiers throughout all Italie, and inuolued an Army; by whose protection, they might safely & freely determine what they thought fit: As also M. Calpidius, who thought it requisite, that Pompey should goe to his Provinces and Governments, to remoue all occasions of taking Armes: For, Caesar hauing two legions newly taken from him, feared that Pompey kept them neere about the cittie to his preiudice. And likewise M. Rufus, varying some few words, declared himselfe of Calpidius opinion. All these were bitterly reprooued by L. Lentulus the Consul; who utterly denied to publish what Calpidius had sentenced. Marcellus feared with these menaces, retracted his opinion. And so, what with the clamor of the Consul, the terrour of the present Army, and the threatening vsed by Pompeys faction, most of the Senators were compelled against their will, to allow that which Scipio thought fit: which was, that by acertaine day, Caesar should dissolue and dismis his Armie; which if he did refuse to doe, that then he openly shewed himselfe an Enemy to the Common-weale. M. Antonius, and L. Cassius, Tribunes of the people, did oppose this decree. Their opposition was instantly spoken vnto; and many sharpe & hard censures were giuen vpon the same: for, according as any one spake most bitterly, and cruelly, so they were most highly commended by Caesars Enemies.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

AS the former Commentaries doe carie in their front the ensignes of honour, displaying the militarie valour of the Romaine people, in the Continent of Gallia, and other Kingdomes of warlike Nations: so are these Relations branded in the forehead with a note of Infamie, and titled with the direfull name of Ciuill warre; An odious and decried cause, ill besitting the integritie of that State, or the excellence of the Actors, which are chiefe in this Tragedy; who neglecting all that might either enlarge the Empire, or repaire Romes honour for the losse of Crassus, chose rather to imbrey their ambitious swords in the blood of their owne Country: Eagle against Eagle, and Pile against Pile, in a warre which could challenge no Triumph. If it be now demaunded as formerly it was,

Quis furor ôcimes? qua tanta licentia ferri?

Was it Pompeys Ambition, or Caesars high Thoughts, that bereft the State of libertie, with the losse of so many Romaines: It were besides the scope of these discourses, to lay an imputation vpon either of those Worthies; the one beeing chiefe Assistant to the Empire, when she put off her Consularie Government, and the other sitting sole at the helme, directing a course to fetch in many Caesars. Only this I may truly say with Tacitus; That Ciuil wars were neuer set on foote by iustifiable courses. Yet for the Readers better direction, and for opening the truth of this storie (which is more to be regarded

then

*Parca Aguias
et pila minantur
pilos.
Bella gerit
placuit milibus habere
tuta triumphos
Luc. lib. 1.*

*Arma ciuilia
neque parari,
nec quae haberi,
per bonas Artes
possunt.
Tac. 1. Annal.*

then either Socrates or Platos friendship) it shall not be impertinent to fetch the causes of this warre a little higher in a word then these Commentaries doe afford them.

The histories of that age doe all intimate, that w^h Rome had ennobled Pompey with her seruice, & stiled him by employments with the title of Greatness, as a satisfaction for the iniuries done vnto his father; he (forgetting the rights of a State, which chalengeth the renowne of other mens labours, and suffereth no subiect to be Copartner therein, further then by approbation of seruice & obedience) assumed to himselfe the honour due to the Common-weale, and became proude of that which was none of his: in which conceit, the ambition of his spirit kept no measure, but over-valued his merits so far, that he thought himselfe rather a Soueraigne then a seruant; so easily are men bewitched when the fauour of a State hath once made them absolute, and put it selfe vnder the awe of priuate command. In this height of greatnesse & authoritie, he made way for Caesar, his father in law; hauing a spirit as subiect to ambition, and as capable of publique dignities, as any one amongst all the Patrician Families: And vpon the ending of his first Consulship, in the yeere of Rome 695, obtained the government of Gallia Transalpina, and likewise of that other Gallia which they called Cisalpina, containing the Countries that lie betweene the Alpes and the little Riuer Rubico, together with Slaunonia, and foure legions of souldiers for the terme of five yeares. At the expiration whereof, his charge was continued, by the like fauour and mediation of Pompey, and the assistance of Crassus, for five yeares longer, with a redoubling of his forces. But after that Crassus was slaine in the Parthian warre, and that Iulia, Caesars daughter, wh^o Pompey had married, was deceased (whereby Caesar stood single, without any tie of alliance, or other counterpoise of a third partie, to hold them balanced at the same weight as they stood while Crassus liued) Pompey, ialous of those victories and passages of Armes which Caesar had atchieued by his valour, and impatient of any partner in point of Lordship; found means first to draw two legions from him, vnder colour of the Parthian warre; and afterwards, got a Decree of Senate, to send him a successor before his time was expired: and withall, to returne as a priuate person to Rome, to render an account of his Actions during his employment. Which Caesar taking as an assurance of his downfall, gaue huge summes of money to gaine Paulus Aemilius, one of the Consuls, and C. Curio, a Tribune of the people, to resist this Decree. Howbeit, the succeeding Consuls beeing both his enemies, and hauing no hope of repealing the same, hee intreated in the end, that hee might hold onely Gallia Cisalpina, and Iliricum with two legions, vntill hee should obtaine the Consulship; which was the effect of these Letters deliuered by Fabius. And being denied by Pompeys faction, in these partiall and tumultuous assemblies of the Senate, caused him to forfeit his loyaltie to the State, verifying the olde saying; That oftentimes an iniurie maketh way to a greater fortune.

*Amicus Socrates,
amicus Plato:
Magis amica
veritas. Arist.
Ist. 1. Ethic.
Pomp. Mag.*

*Constantine
was so ialous
thereof, that he
published an
Edict, that the
honour of all
victories should
be attributed
to him, al-
though they
were atchieued
too leagues
off.*

*Fonte cadit mo-
dico, parvisque
impulsiur rindis
punculus Rubi-
con, et Gallica
certus limet, ab
Anjouis dissem-
minat arma colo-
nis. Lucan. l. 1.
Fallat tribus do-
minus communis
Roma.
Pompeius, Ce-
sar, et Crassus.
Nâ sola iuueni
Crassus erat bel-
li Medius mora.
Nulla sancta
societas, nec fi-
des Regni. En-
nius.*

*Ecce quomodo
non ferre potest
Caesare priore,
Pompeius priore,
Arduus res hec
st. opibus non
tradere mores.
Martial.
Sape maioris for-
tune locum fecit
iniuria. Suetet
Epist. 91.*

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

The Tribunes
of the people.

Oncerning the opposition of the Tribunes, it is to bee vnderstood, that the people eaten vp with vsurie, and other grieuous exactions, forsooke both the Cittie and the Campe, when the State had war with the Dosci and the Equi; and taking themselves to a Mountaine neere vnto Rome, would not returne from thence, vntill the Senate had given order for their grieuances. In which transaction it was agreed, that there should be Magistrates chosen out of the body of the people, to counterpoise the power of the Senate, and to restraine the boundlesse authoritie of the Consuls: which office, was reconed in the number of their holiest things; neuer to be violated either in word or deed, but the offender should redeeme it with the losse of his life. Their whole power consisted in letting & hindering. As, when either the Senate, or any one Senator, went about a matter, which might be preiudiciall to the people in generall, or to any one of the commonaltie in particular; Then did the Tribunes interpose their authority, to frustrate and avert the same: which was auailable, albeit the matter was gainesaid but by one Tribune onely. By which intervention, they kept the Senate in awfull moderation, and were alwaies profitable to the State, but when they happened vpon factious and turbulent persons; howbeit, their power was bounded with the walls of Rome, and extended no further then the gates of the Cittie. Their doores were neuer shut, but stood open night and day, for a refuge to such as should flie to them for succour: neither was it lawfull for them to bee absent from Rome a whole day together. The robes of their Magistracie were of Purple; as Cicero intimateth in his oration *Pro Cluentio*. This Tribunitian power, began about the yeere of Rome 260; was suppressd by Sylla; restored by Pompey; and vterly taken away by the Emperour Constantine.

What kind of
Common-
wealth was this
of Rome.

*Libertas origi-
nomine magis,
quia annis co-
sistat Imperium
sacrum est, quia
quod immutari
quicquam sit ex
regia potestate,
numerus. Liv.
lib. 2.*

*Hic legibus dis-
solutionem est Im-
perii consilium.*
Liv. lib. 4.

*Liſtor.
Vitor.*

If it be demanded what kind of Common-wealth this Romaine govern-
ment was; it is to be vnderstood, that vpon the expulsion of their Kings, the
soueraintie rested in their Consuls. For, as Liuius saith, there was nothing
diminished of kingly government, saue onely for the better establishing of li-
berty, that the Consular dignitie was made Annuall. But that held not long,
for Publicola imparted this soueraintie to the Commonaltie; making it law-
full to appeale from the Consuls to the people. Whereby the Consular souer-
ainty was dissolved, and the people tooke occasion to oppose themselves a-
gainst the Fathers. Hence grew the reciprocal inuictiues between the Senate
and the Tribunes; and when the Consull sent a Seriant to the Tribune, the
Tribune would send a Pursuuant to the Consull. And so the Common-wealth
halted betweene an Aristocratie and a Democratic, vntill at length the voage
of the Commonaltie, drew it to perfit Democratic, and made their Acts of
Senate of no value, vnlesse they were ratified by the people: Howbeit, the Sen-
ate, affording alwaies many famous and eminent Men, such as hauing in-
larged the boundes of their Empire, and kept on foote their auncient valour,
and

and were the flower of that people, which Cyneas called a towne of kinges,
were consequentlie so engaged in the businesse of the State, that matters
were for the most part, carried as they stood affected; as appeareth by this
passage of Cæsar.

*Cyneas interro-
gatus a Pyrrho
qualis Roma es-
set? Respondit,
Regi urbem sibi
videri. Iust. l. 8.*

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

Hirdly, we may obserue, that violence and partialitie, are the bane
of all consultations: especially, when the common good is sha-
dowed vith priuate respects. And albeit, the grauitie of the Ro-
maine Senate, farre exceeded all that can be spoken of other Coun-
cells of State, rectifying the inordinate affectiones of any Casiline that would
lift vp his head higher then his fellows: yet heere it suffered equitie and in-
differencie to be suppressed with faction, giuing way to violence, which go-
uerneth all things vntowardlie; and with cordes of priuate hate, oftentimes
draweth the Common-wealth into vtter desolation. For preuention where-
of, the Athenians swore their Segatours, to make the common good the
chiefest scope of all their counsels: Implying thereby that priuate respects are
alwaies offensive to publike ends; and the State euer suffereth, when fauour
preuaileth against the common profit.

Tully, going about to direct a Councillor in this behalfe, onely wiseth a
man to deliuer sincerely what hee thinketh of any matter, although hee hap-
pen to stand alone in his owne conceit: for, the issue of a businesse, dooth not
so much concerne a Councillor, as to speake truly his opinion thereof. And
to that end, the custome of the Romaine Senate was, that the youngest & such
as came last in place, should declare themselves first; that they might not bee
forested in their opinions, nor put besides that they would haue spoken; to-
gether with the equalitie which it made of their voyces: for, things first spo-
ken, doe alwaies sticke fastest in our apprehensions. And for that cause, Theo-
dorus (a Greeke Tragedian) would neuer shew himselfe on the stage after
any other Actor; as holding the first passages to affect most the Spectators.
Norwithstanding which custome, it is reported, that Cæsar, in fauour of
Pompey, after their new made alliance, would take his voice first, thereby to
anticipate the opinion of others that should follow.

The Emperours (as it seemeth) tooke what place they pleased; for, Ty-
berius in Marcellus cause said, that he would sentence openly, and vpon oath,
that other men might doe the like. Vwherevnto Cn: Piso replied; What place
wilt thou take to declare thy selfe, Cæsar? for, if thou speake first, I knowe
how to follow; if last, I am assured I shall dissent from thy opinion. But that
which is most blameable in matter of council, is, when they come to the
Senate house as to a prize of flatterie. Vwherein L: Piso is deferuently com-
mended, for that hee neuer willinglie shewed himselfe of a seruile opinion;
but when necessity forced him, hee tempered it with wisdom. Neither is it
the

Faction in a
Councill, is an
enemy to the
publike good.

*Rem mali ciu-
ra ministrat im-
petus, et stimulat
non varo, prima-
rii odij pertinacia
in publicum exi-
um. Tac. l. 1. 1. 1.*

*Atheniensis Se-
nator iurabat se
precipue populo
consulturum. De-
most. c. 2. 2. 2. 2.
i. Philippic.*

*Arist. 7. polit.
17.*

*Suet. in vita
Iulij Cæsaris.*

Tacit. l. 1. 1. 1. 1.

Tacit. 6. 1. 1. 1. 1.

Plutarch.

the least mitchet, that the condition of iouerainie is such as will hardly indure reproofe; but must be disguised, as Appoloniuss corrected Lyons, by beating dogges before them.

CHAP. II.

The Senate proceede against Caesar,
with all eagerneſſe.

THE Senate, rising a little before night, were all sent for to Pompey. He commended them for what they had done, and confirmed them for after resolutions, reprehended such as shewed themselves indifferent, and stirred them up to more forwardnesse. Many which were of Pompeis former Armies were sent for, vpon hope of reward & aduancement. Many of the two legions which lately came from Caesar, were commaunded to attend; inſomuch, as the Cittie swarmed with souldiers. Against the election of new Magistrates: C. Curio called out the Tribunes of the people. All the Consuls friends, the kinsfolks & allies of Pompey, and such others as had any former enmity with Caesar, were copelled into the Senate. By the presence & opinio of these Men, the weakest were terrified, the doubtfull confirmed, & the most part were cut off from giuing absolute and free voyces. L. Piso the Censor, and L. Roscius the Prator, offered themselves to goe to Caesar, to aduise him of these things; requiring but sixe daies space to returne an answer. Others thought it fit, that Embassadors should be sent to Caesar, to giue him notice of the pleasure of the Senate. To all these was opposed what the Consull, Scipio, and Cato thought fit. Cato was incited through former enmitie, and specially, by the repulse of the Pratorship. Lentulus, out of a consideration of his great debts, hoping to commaund an Armie, to gouerne Prouinces, and to receiue the liberall acknowledgements of Kings, whom he should thereby procure, to be stiled with the Title of friends to the people of Rome; inſomuch, as he would not stick to boast in private, that hee was like to proue a second Sylla, on whom, the soueraine commaund of the Empire would be conferred. Scipio was drawn on by the same hope, of hauing the government of a Prouince, or the commaund of an Armie; which by reason of his alliance he thought to share with Pompey (beeing otherwise asseard to be called into iustice) as also through flattery and ostentation, both of himselfe, and other great friends, which were able to sway much, as well in the course of iustice, as in the Common-weal'h.

Pompey, in his particular, was much prouoked by Caesars enemies, and specially, for that hee could indure no man to be his equall. Hee was alienated altogether from Caesars friendshipp, and had reconciled himselfe to their common Enemies; the greatest part of whom, were by his meanes gained to Caesar,

Pompeius ut
primus reipub.
concessus est
non quoniam
victor parit in-
ter. Plutarchi Pa-
terius.

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in the time of their alliance: as also by the dishonour which he had gotten by taking those two legions from their journey towards Asia and Syria, and vsing the for the aduancement of his owne particular: which things moued him to draw the matter to Armes. For these respects, all things were caried impetuouſlie and conſueledly; neither was there leaſure giuen to Caesars friends to aduerſe him thereof; nor yet to the Tribunes, to auoide the danger which was falling vpon them, or to vse their right of opposition which L. Sylla left vnto them: but within ſeauen daies after they were entred into their office, they were forced to ſiſt for their ſafetie; notwithstanding that the moſt turbulent and ſeditious Tribunes of former times, were neuer put to looke into their affaires, or to giue account of their actions before the eight Month. In the end, they tooke themselves to that extreame and laſt Act of Senate, which was neuer thought vpon, but while the cittie was vpon the point of burning, or in the moſt deſperate eſtate of the Common-weale. That the Consuls, Prators, Tribunes of the people, and ſuch as had beene Consuls, and were reſiant neere about the cittie, ſhould endeavour that the Common-weale might not be endangered. This Act was made the ſeauenth of the Ides of Iannary: ſo that the ſixe firſt daies, in which the Senate might ſit, after that Lentulus was entred into the Conſulſhip (excepting onlie two daies for the generall aſſembly of the people) moſt heauie & cruell Decrees were made, againſt the authority of Caesar, and againſt the Tribunes of the people, famous and worthy men; who there-vpon ſledd presently out of the cittie. Caesar beeing then at Rauenna, attended an answer to his caſe and modeſt demands, if by any reaſonable courſe matters might be drawne to a peaceable end.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

IT is the condition of humane nature, to make good that which once it hath auouched, although the matter be of ſmall conſequence in particular, & tendeth rather to infamie then to profit; neither will it eaſilie be reclaimed by motiues of reaſon, but is rather incited thereby (*per Antiperiſtaſin*) to perſiſt in wiſfulneſſe, then to harken to that which is more conuenient; eſpecially, when either iealouſie or reuenge doe imple an advantage: for, then partialitie keepeth no meaſure; but to iuſtifie an error, runnes headlong into all extremities, and ſleeth to the laſt refuge of deſperate and deplored caſes, to make diſordered paſſions ſeeme good diſcretion. Which euidently appeareth by Pompeis faction, in reſolving of that deſperate Act of Senate, which was neuer thought of but in moſt eminent danger. For, as in foule weather at ſea, when a ſhippe rideth in a dangerous road, and through the violence of the tempeſt, is vpon the point of ſhipwrack, the Mariners are wont to caſt out a ſheeet Anker as their laſt refuge: ſo had Rome anciently recourſe to this Decree, at ſuch times as the Common-wealth was in eminent and extreame calamitie; whether it were by enemies abroad, or by ſerpents in their boſome at home. Liuie ſpeaking of the warre

Ne quid reſpub.
detrimenti cap-
iat.
Conſecuti ſunt
dies Communi-
les, per quos ſe-
natus haberi non
poterat. Cic. L.
ſtatri.

Per gratia oneri,
ſic vltio in qua-
ſu habetur.
Tac.

Suprema lex
Salus reipub.

of

Lib. 3.

Plutar: in the
life of Cicero.

5 Philipp.
consulibus tota
impub. comen-
dandam causa
eque permittit
domini vniuersi
deculant, pro
viciatque ne
quid detrimenti
respublice accipiat.

of the Equi, tath; The Senators were to affrighted, that following the forme of the Decree which was alwaies referred for cales of extremitie, they ordained, that *Posthumus* (one of the Consuls) should take care that the Common-wealth might not be endangered. The like was vied in ciuill and intestine seditions: as, when *Manlius Capitolinus* aspired to a Tyranny; and as likewise in the tumults of the *Gracchij*, the conspiracie of *Catiline*, & other times of like danger. For, albeit the Consuls had all soueraine authoritie, as well in warre as in peace; yet neuerthelesse, there were certaine referred cales where, in they had no power, without expresse order from the Senate, and assent from the people: as, to leuie an Armie to make war, to take money out of the Treasury; whereas vpon such a Decree, they were inabled to dispose of all businesse of State, without further mouing of the Senate or people: which *Tully* noteth in his Orations against *Anthony*. I thinke it fit (saith hee) that the whole state of the Common-wealth be left vnto the Consuls, and that they be suffered to defend the same; and to take care that the Common-wealth be not endangered.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Fabius.

2. De Fastis.

Lib. Max.

Lentulus.

Scipio.

N May not omit (for the better vnderstanding of this noble Historie) to say somewhat of the Persons here mentioned: and first of *Fabius*, as descended of the noblest and most auncient Family of the Patrician Order; being able of themselves to maintaine warre a long time against the *Veij*, a strong & warlike towne, vntill at length they were al unfortunately slaine by an ambushment: which *Ouid* mentioneth, where he saith;

*Hec fuit illa dies, in qua Veientibus arvis,
Tercenum Fabij ter occidere duo.*

Onely there remained of that house, a child then kept at Rome: which in tract of time, multiplied into fixe great Families, all which had their turne in the highest charges and dignities of the Common-wealth; amongst whom, hee that supplanted *Hanniball* by temporizing, & thereby got the surname of *Maximus*, was most famous, as *Ennius* witnesseth;

*Vnus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem:
Non ponebat enim rumores ante salutem.
Ergo post que magisque viri nunc gloria claret.*

But *C. Fabius*, here mentioned, neuer attained to any place of Magistracie, other then such commaunds as he held in the warres vnder *Cæsar*.

Lentulus the Consul was of the house of the *Cornelians*, from whom are said to come xvi. Consuls. He was from the beginning a mortall enemy to *Cæsar*, and so continued to his death, which fell vnto him in Egypt, by commaundement of King *Ptolomey*, after *Pompey* was slaine.

Scipio was father in law to *Pompey*, after the death of *Iulia*, *Cæsars* daughter; and by that meanes, obtained the gouernment of Asia. In the beginning of

of the Ciuil war, he brought good succors to asist his son in law, as it folows in the third Commentary: & vpon the ouerthrow at *Pharsalia* he fled into *Africke*, where he renewed the war, & became chief Commander of the remaining party against *Cæsar*; but being in the end defeated, he made towards *Spaine*: and fearing by the way least he should fall into his enemies hands, he slew himselfe.

Marcellus was of the ancient Family of the *Claudians*, which came originally of the *Sabines*; on his behalfe there is an Oration extant of *Tullies*, intituled, *Pro Marcello*. He was afterwards slaine by one *Chilo*.

M. Antonius is famous in all the Romaine histories, for attaining in a small time to so great a height in that gouernment; for, in all the warres of *Gallia*, he was but a Treasurer vnder *Cæsar*, which was the least of all publique places of charge: In the beginning of the ciuill wars, hee was made Tribune of the people; and within lesse then eight yeeres after, came to bee fellow partner with *Octavius Cæsar* in the gouernment of the Empire. And if *Cleopatra*s beautie had not blinded him, he might haue easily through the fauour of the souldiers supplanted his Competitor, and seized vpon the Monarchie.

The name of *Cæsius* was ominous for trouble to the state of Rome, & their ends were as vnfortunate. This *L. Cæsius*, for his part, after the great troubles he had stirred vp in *Spaine*, was drowned in the mouth of the *Riuier Eber*.

Piso was made Censor in the Consulship of *L. Paulus* and *Claudius Marcellus*, hauing himselfe been Consul eight yeeres before, in the yeere of Rome 695, succeeding *Cæsar*, and *Bibulus*; and was the man against whom *Tullie* penned that Oration which is extant in *Pisonem*. Touching the office of Censor, it is to be vnderstood, that about the yeere of Rome 310, the Consuls being distracted with multiplicitie of forraigne businesse, omitted the Censure or aselment of the Citie for some yeeres together: wherevpon it was afterwards thought fit, that there should be a peculiar officer appointed for that seruice, and to be called Censor; forasmuch as euery man was to be taxed, ranked and valued, according to his opinion & censure. The first part of their office consisted in an account or valuation of the number, age, order, dignity, & possession of the Romaine citizens: for it was very material for the State to know the number of their people, to the end they might be informed of their owne strength, and so shape their course accordingly, either in vndertaking warres, transplanting Colonies, or in making prouision of victuals in time of peace. It was also as requisite to know euery mans age, whereby they grew capable of honour & offices, according to that of *Ouid*;

finitaque certis

Legibus est atq; unde petatur honos.

M. Antonius commaunded, that the names of the Romaine children should be brought into the Treasury within 30 daies after they were borne; according to which custome, *Francis* the French king published an Edict, Anno 1539, that euery parish should keepe a Register of burials and chrisenings: which since that time is vied in England.

The distinction of conditions and states, ranging euery man in his proper order, is as necessary in the Common-wealth, and as woorthy of the Censors notice,

Marcellus.

M. Anto.

Cæsius.

Piso.

To know the
number of Cit-
izens.

Their age.

De Fast.

*Halicarnasse-
na, lib. 4.
Grotef. ad L.
atatem 3.
§. De Cons.
Their calling.
Maiores primus
quisquis fuit ille
suorum, aut Pa-
stor fuit, aut il-
lus quod dicere
noli.*

Their ability.

Horn. l. i. ca. 6.

Gell. lib. 16.
cap. 10. art.

Poli. lib. 6.

L. Roscius.

Pompey ha-
ving a charge
of an Armie,
could not enter
into the Citie
without the
duers lawes.

Faust. Sulla.

Rex Inba, soci-
us et amicus.Gallia & Syria
were two con-
sularie Provin-
ces.Cicero in memo-
riam suam
scribitur si quis
L. Domitius.
Cic. ad Attic.

notice as any thing beides. Neither may the allotment of mens abilities bee omitted: which was ordained that euery man might beare a part in the seruice of the State. In which respect, Seruius Tullius is commended, for rating men according to their wealth; whereas before that time euery man paid alike: for, men are taken to bee interested in the Common-weale according to their means. The last and basest sort of Cittizens, were named *Capite censi*, and were set in the Subsidie at 375 peeces of money. Such as were not assessed, had no voice in the Common-weale.

The second and chiefeft part of this office, was in reforming manners, as the ground-plot and foundation of euery Common-wealth; to which end they had power to inquire into euery mans life. If any one had plaid the ill husband, and neglected his Farme, or left his Vine vntrimmed, the Censors tooke notice of it. If a Romaine knight kept his horse leane, it was a matter for them to looke into. They depofed, or brought in, new Senators. They reviewed all degrees and conditions of men: advanced this man from a meane Tribe to a more honourable, and pulled another downe. They had the care of buildings, repairing of high waies, with other publike works; and were reputed of the best rank of Magistrates in Rome. L. Roscius had formerly bin one of Cæsars Legates in Gallia: as appeareth in the first Commentary, *Tertiam in Eßsus. L. Roscio*. The Prætor was Iudge in causes of controuersie, & differences between partie and party; and was as the Caddy amongst the Turkes.

CHAP. III.

The Senate prepareth for warre.



HE next day after, the Senate assembled out of the Cittie: where Pompey (according to such instructions as he had formerly giuen to Scipio) extolled their constancy & magnanimity; acquainted them with his forces, consisting of ten legions in Armes; and further assured them, he knew of a certaine, that Cæsars souldiers were alienated from him, and would not be drawne either to defend or follow him. And upon the assurance of these remonstrances, other motions were entertained: As first, that a leuie should be made throughout all Italy. That Faustus Sulla should forth-with be sent as Proprator into Mauritania. That money should be deliuered out of the Treasurie to Pompey. That king Inba might haue the title of friend & confederate to the people of Rome; which Marcellus contradicting, slopt the passage thereof for that time. Philippus, Tribune of the people, countermanded Faustus commission: other matters were passed by Act. The two Consular, and the other Prætorian Provinces, were giuen to priuate men that had no office of Magistracie. Syria fell to Scipio, and Gallia to L. Domitius. Philippus and Marcellus, were purposely omitted, and no lottes cast for their employment. Into the other Provinces were sent Prætors, without any consent or approbation of the

the

Commentary of the Ciuill Warres.

the people, as formerly had beene accustomed: and hauing performed their ordinary vowes, they put on their Military garments, and so tooke their journey. The Consuls (which before that time was neuer seene) went out of the Cittie, & had their Seruants priuately within the Cittie, and in the Capitoll, against all order and ancient custome. A leuie was made ouer all Italie: Armes and furniture was commounded: Money was required from Municipall townes, and taken out of Temples and religious places. All diuine and humane Rights were confounded.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



HE neglect of Ceremonies and formes in matter of State, is the ruine and abolishment of a Common-weale. For, if it hold generally true which Philosopher say; That the forme giueth being to whatsoever subsisteth, and that euery thing hath his name from his fashion and making: then it must necessarily follow, that the life and perfection of a State, dependeth wholly of the forme; which cannot be neglected but with hazard of confusion. For, complements and solemnities, are neither *Nimia* nor *Minima* (as some haue imagined) either superfluities, which may be spared, or trifles of small consequence. But, as the flesh couereth the hollow deformitie of the bones, and beautifieth the body with naturall graces: so are ceremonies, which ancient custome hath made reuerent, the perfection and life of any Common-weale; and doe couer the nakednesse of publike actions, which otherwise would not be distinguished from priuate businesses. And therefore the neglect of such ceremonies, as were vsually obserued to ennoble their actions, was as iniurious to the safety of the Empire, and as euident a demonstration of faction and dilloyalty; as the allotment of Provinces to priuate persons, or whatsoever else they broached, contrarie to the fundamentall rights of the publike Weale.

Concerning which, it is to be vnderstood, that no man was capable of those governments, but such as had borne the chiefeft offices and places of charge. For, their manner was, that commonly vpon the expiration of their offices, the Consuls and Prætors did either cast lots for the Provinces, which they called *Sortiri provincias*, or did otherwise agree amongst themselves how they should be disposed: and that they termed, *Comparare Provincias*. Liue toucheth both the one & the other; *Principio insequentis anni cum Consules nomi de Provincijs retulissent, primo quoque tempore, aut cõparare inter eos Italiam et Macedoniam, aut sortiri placuit*. Howbeit, sometimes the people (whose assent was alwaies necessary) interposed their authoritie, & disposed the same as they thought expedient. But such as had neuer borne office of charge in the State, were no way capable of those dignities, nor thought fit to command abroad, hauing neuer shewed their sufficiencie at home.

For the manner of their setting forward out of Rome, after they were assigned to employments, it appeareth by infinite examples of histories, that they first went into the Capitoll, & there made publick sacrifices & solemn vowes, either

C 2.

Paludæci exiit.

The vse of
Ceremonies.
Forma dat nomẽ
et esse. Arist.Nimia nec Mi-
nima.Civitas igitur
conseruatur, sal-
ut quoque popu-
li dominatio.
Ariston. in Cre-
piti.The manner of
disposing of
the Provinces
and govern-
ments.Sortiri Pro-
vincias, compa-
rare Provincias.
Lib. 43.The manner of
their setting
forward to
their govern-
ments.

Vota muncipari.
Voti reus.
Macro. li. 3. cap. 2.
Saturnal.
Paludatus.

Lib. 6. delingna Lat.

Placitum, li. 1. cap. 6.

to build a Temple, or to doe some other worke woorthy good fortune, if their designes were happily attaiued; which they called *Vota nuncupari*. And hee that had made such a vow, stood *voti reus* vntill his busines forced to an issue: and after he had attained his desire, he was *voti damnatus*, vntill he had acquitted himselfe of his promise.

Touching their habite expressed in this phrase, *Paludati exeunt*, it appeareth, as well by auncient Sculptures, as Medallies, that *Paludamentum*, was a cloake vied and worne by men of warre, whether they commaunded in chiefe, or as Lieutenants and Centurions; and was tied with a knot vpon their left shoulder. Festus calleth all militarie garments, *Paludamenta*. And Varro giuing a reason of that name, saith; *Paluda à Paludamentis, sunt hæc insignia et ornamenta Militaria: Ideo ad bellum, cum exit Imperator, ac Lictores mutant vestem, et signa incinuerunt, Paludatus dicitur proficisci: quæ, propterea quod conspiciuntur, qui ea habent, et Palam sunt, Paludamenta dicta.* The colour of this cloake, was either purple or white. And therefore it was held a preface of ill fortune, when at Carres, a Cittie in Mesopotamia, one gaue Crassus a black cloake in steed of a white, as hee went to lose the battaile to the Parthians.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Rex Iuba socius & amicus.
Raptores orbis, possunt cuncta vastantibus desiccare Terræ, & Mare fruentibus quæ nec oriens nec occident satiantur. Tacit.
Nemini esse Regem solum & amici à Senatu Populique Romæ appellari: nisi qui optimi de Rep. bene meriti esset lib. 3. de cond. 4.
Signum diei. &c. lib. 10. de c. 3.

Lib. 1. de bello Gallico.

THe Romaines, not contented with the spacious circuit of the sunne, bounding their Empire with the East and the West, but for want of Regions and Countreys, searching the vastnes and depth of the sea; did sildome acknowledge any other soueraintie, or leaue a partie worthy their amitie, in any remote angle of the then knowne world. But if any Prince had been so fortunate, as to gaine the fauour and estimation of a friend or a confederate to the State, it was vpon speciall and deserued respects, or at the instance of their Generalls abroad, enforcing the worthines of such Potentates, and the aduantage they might bring to the seruice of the Empire. Which appeareth by that of Liuius, concerning Vermina, king Syphax sonne; that no man was at any time acknowledged either a king or a friend by the Senate and people of Rome, vnlesse first he had right well deserued of the Common-weale.

The manner of this acknowledgement, is likewise particularly expressed by Liuius, in another place speaking of Scipio. The day following (saith hee) to put king Masinissa out of his griefe and melancholie, hee ascended vp to his Tribunall, and hauing called an assembly of the souldiers, presented him before them; where he first honoured him with the appellation of king, accompanied with many faire praises: and then gaue him a crowne of gold, a cuppe of gold, a chaire of State, a scepter of Iuorie, and a long robe of Purple. To which agreeth that of Cæsar: That Ariouistus was by the Senate stiled by the name of King and Friend, and presented with great and rich gifts; which happened but to few, and was onely giuen by the Romaines to men of great desert. Howbeit,

beit, such as had gouernments and employments abroad, did oftentimes make profit of giuing this honour: whereof Cæsar taxeth Lentulus in the former chapter. And in this sence was king Iuba brought in question, to bee called by the Senate, a Friend and Associate to the State of Rome.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

Touching the franchises and liberties of the townes of Italy, and others in the dominions of the Romaine Empire, called *Municipia*; it is to be noted, that according to Gellius, those were called *Municipes*, that beeing gouerned by their owne lawes, and their owne Magistrates, were neuertheless indowed with the freedome of Rome. And therefore Adrianus marvelled, that the Italicens and Vticens, did rather desire to bee Coloui, and tied to the obedience of foraine & strange lawes, then to liue in a Municipall state, vnder their owne Rights and Customes; and as Festus addeth, with the vse of their peculiar rites for matter of religion, such as they aunciently vsed, before they were priuiledged with the immunities of Rome.

For the better vnderstanding whereof, we are to obserue, that there were degrees and differences of Municipall townes; for some had voices with the Romaine people, in all their elections and suffragies: and some others had none at all. For, Gellius in the same place, saith, that the Cerites obtained the freedome of the Cittie, for preserving the holy things of Rome, in the time of the warre with the Galles, but without voice in elections. And thence grew the name of *Cerites Tabule*, wherein the Censors inrolled such, as were by them for some iust cause deprived of their voices. And the Tusculani, beeing at first receiued into the liberties of the Cittie, according to the admission of the Cerites, were afterward, by the free grace of the people, made capable of giuing voyces.

The means of obtaining this freedome, was first and specially by Birth: wherein it was required (as may be gathered by Appian Oration) that both the Parents, as well the mother as the father, should be free themselves. Howbeit, Vlpian writeth, that the sonne may challenge the freedome of the State, wherein his father liued and was free. So that the father being of Campania, & the mother of Putcolis, he iudgeth the sonne to belong to Campania: According to that of Canuleius; That the children inherite the condition of the father, as the head of the Family, and the better rule to direct in this behalfe. Neuertheless, Adrianus made an Act of Senate in fauour of Issue; That if the wife were a cittizen of Rome, and the husband a Latine, the children should be Romaine Cittizens. And the Emperour Iustinian, caused it likewise to be decreed, that the mother beeing a free woman, and the father a bond-man, the son should be free. Such as were thus borne free, were called *Ciues originarij*.

The second meanes of obtaining this freedome, was by Manumission, or setting bond-men at libertie: for in Rome, all men freed from bondage were taken for Cittizens; and yet rankt in the last and meanest order of the people.

Et Spe. Appellandorum Regum.

Municipes.

Lib. 6. cap. 13.

Lib. 11.

Cum suffragio

Municipium
Sine suffragio.

Cerites Tabule.
Liuius lib. 6.

Liuius lib. 3.

Liuius lib. 3.

Ciues originarij.

Plutarchus Reg.

Philip.

Seneca 1. de beneficiis cap. 13. Herod. lib. 9.

An quosquam ampliffimos Gallias, cum in ſimo Cuius Romanos comparat dicitur? Cicero libro 21. Pont. De quoque Cuius inſe per maximam committitur alioſque quos cenſores in partibus populi locantur neſerunt. Cic. 3. de legib.

Et illud ergo ſo- licite mille po- tuerit morari, necesse aut ex- pectis, deſer- uent ratiſan an- tis. Cic. Lucan. lib. 1.

The third meanes, was by gift, or coaptation; and ſo Romulus at firſt in- larged and augmented Rome; Theſeus, Athens; Alexander Magnus, Alexan- dria, ſited at the out-lets of Nilus; and Richard the firſt, London; by taking all ſuch ſtrangers into the freedom of the Cittie, as had inhabited there for tenne yeeres together. The Emperours were profuſe in giuing this honour. Cicero floutes Cæſar, for taking whole nations into the freedom of the City; and Anthony gaue it to all that liued in the Romaine Empire. Wherevpon, as Vi- pian witneſſeth, Rome was called *Communis Patria*. Popular ſtates were more ſparing in this kind; as may be deemed by the anſwere of one of the Corin- thian Embaſſadours, to Alexander. Wee neuer gaue the freedom of our Cittie (ſaith he) to any man but to thy ſelfe and Hercules. And vntill Hero- dotus time, the Lacedemonians had neuer admitted any, but onely Tiſamenus and his brother.

The priuiledges of this freedom were great; for, the Citizens of Rome were held to be *ſuiſtate plenos*. Is the beſt man of Gallia (ſaith Tully) to be compared with the meanest Citizen of Rome? And hence came that law, re- quiting, that the life of a Citizen ſhould not bee brought in queſtion, but by the generall aſſembly of the people. Verres hauing condemned one Coſa- nus, a Romaine Citizen in Sicilia, Tully vrgeth it as a matter vnſufferable: *Fa- cinus eſt (inquit) vinciri Ciuem Romanum, ſcelus verberari, prope parricidium necari, quid dicam in cruce agi?* vwith many the like examples: beſides the poſſibilitie they were in, if their ſufficiencie were anſwerable accordinglie, to become great in the State; and conſequently, Commanders of the Empire.

CHAP. III.

Cæſar taſteth the affection of the Souldiers.



Cæſar vnderſtanding of theſe things, called the ſouldiers to- gether, and acquainted them with all the iniuries which his Enemies from time to time had done vnto him; complaining that Pompey was by their praſtice and meanes alienated fro him, and drawne through enuy of his good fortune, to par- tialize againſt him; notwithstanding that he had alwaies af- fected his honour, and endauoured the aduancement of his renowne and dig- nitie: Lamenting likewise the preſident which this time had brought into the State; that the Tribunes authoritie ſhould be oppoſed and ſuppreſſed by Armes, which former ages had by force of Armes reeſtaſſiſhed. For, Sylla hauing ſtrip- ped the Tribuneship, naked of all rights and prerogatives, yet left it the freedom of oppoſition: But Pompey, who would ſeeme to reſtore it to the dignity fro which it was fallen, did take away that power which was onely left vnto it. The Senate neuer reſolued of that Act, That the Magiſtrates ſhould take a courſe for the ſa- fetic of the Common-weale, whereby the people were neceſſarily ſummoned to Armes;

Armes, but in times of pernicious lawes, vpon the violence of the Tribunes, or the mutinie and ſecefion of the people, vwhen the Temples & high places of the Cittie were taken and held againſt the State: which diſloyalties of former ages, were expiated and purged by the fortune and diſaſter of the Saturnines and the Gracchi. But at this preſent, there was no ſuch matter attempted, ſo much as in thought: no law publiſhed; no praſtice with the people; no tumult; no depar- ture out of the Cittie. And therefore adhorted them; that ſo farre much as vnder his leading and command, for nine yerres together they had moſt happily caried the gouernment, fought many proſperous and victorions battells, ſettled all Gal- lia and Germanie in peace; they would now in the end, take his honor into their protection, and defend it againſt the malice of his aduerſaries. The ſouldiers of the xiiij. legion which were preſent (for them onely had hee called out in the be- ginning of the troubles, and the other legions were not as yet come) cried out in- ſtantly, That they were readie to undertake his defence againſt ſuch wrongs, and to keepe the Tribunes of the people from iniurie.

Whereof Luc Agrippa was the chiefest.

Plutarch ſaith, he had the but 500. foote, and 300. horſe on that ſide the Alpes: which amounteth to the iuſt number of a legion.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

AS Publique-weales and Societies are chiefly ſupported and main- tained by iuſtice: ſo likewise, ſuch as liue in the ciuill communite of the ſame, and inioy the benefit of a well qualified gouernment, doe take themſelues intereſſed in the maintenance of iuſtice, and cannot indure the tyrannie of wrongs; vnleſſe happely (as euery man is parti- all in his owne cauſe) they be the authors thereof themſelues. The firſt dutie of iuſtice, which is, *Ne cui quis noceat*, did Cæſar make the theame of his Ora- tion to the ſouldiers; aggravating his particular iniuries, by opening and en- forcing the malice of this Aduerſaries: and making the State a partie in his ſuf- ferings, through the oppreſſion and deſacing of the Tribuneship; which in times of libertie, and iuſt proceeding, was ſacred and inuolable.

Cic. 1. offici.

Quibz iuſtius quid propoſare iniuriam. Xe- noſophon Cyrop. lib. 1. Iuſtitie primm: omnis eſt ne cui quis noceat. Cic. lib. 1. de offici.

Theſe remonſtrances were apprehended by the ſouldiers, as matters ſpeci- ally cõcerning their dutie; holding theſelues, either bound to redreſſe them, or otherwiſe to be guiltie of betraying their parents, cõtury, cõpanions & friends. Some report, that one Lælius, a Primipile of Cæſars Armie, making anſwere to this ſpeech, gaue aſſurance of the ſouldiers good affection; which the reſt approved with a generall acclamation. Howbeit, the argument lay couched in a Sophiſme, pretending Cæſars right, but concluding the ruine of the State.

Qui non defendit nec obſiſtit ſi poteſt iniuria, tam eſt in vitio, quia ſi parentes, aut amicos, aut ſocios deſtrat. Cic. lib. 1. offi.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



Secondly, we may obſerue, that as diſcord and diſſenſion, renting a- ſunder the bonds of ciuill communite, are the bane of flouriſhing and opulent Citties, and make the greateſt Empires examples of Mortalitie: ſo by the ſame rule of diſcourſe, it is alſo true, that the mutuall

Opulenti ciui- tatis veneni- fedius, magna imperia, mor- tua reddidit. Livy lib. 2.

*Non Excevitur
neque Theſauri
preſidia regni
ſunt, verum a-
mei. Saliſti in
bello Iugurthi.
Lib. de amicitia.*

*I't quipſi max-
ime opulus prin-
cipatu, et pote-
ſtate excellit, ſua
amicis maxime
indiget. Ariſt.
Ethic. 8.*

mutuall respects of well qualified friendship, are as expedient, both for the fastening of the ioynts of a publique State, & for keeping the particular parts in due temper and proportion, as either treasure, or Armies, or any other thing required therevnto. Hence it is that Cicero saith, that wee haue as much vie of friendship, as of fire and water: and that he that should goe about to take it from among men, did indeavour (as it were) to take the sunne out of the heauen; which by heate, light, and influence, giueh life vnto the world. And as men are eminent in place and authoritie, and haue vie of many wheelles for the motion of their feuerall occasions; so haue they the more neede of amitie and correspondencie, to second the multiplictie of their desires, and to put on their businesse to their wished ends.

CHAP. V.

Cæsar taketh Arminium, receiueh and aunswereh messages from Pompey.



Rimini.

L. Cæsar.

Cæsar hauing founded the minds of the souldiers, went directly with that legion to *Arminium*: and there met with the Tribunes of the people that were fled vnto him, sent for the rest of their legions from their wintering Campes, and gaue order they should follow him. Thither came young *L. Cæsar*, whose father was a Legate in *Cæsars* Campe. And after some spech of the occasion of his comming, acquainted *Cæsar*, that *Pompey* had giuen him a message in charge to be deliuered vnto him: which was, that he desired to cleare himself to *Cæsar*, least he might peradventure take those things to be done in scorn of him, which were commaunded onely for the seruice of the State; the good whereof he alwaies preferred before any priuate respect: and that *Cæsar* likewise was tied in honour to lay aside his indignation and affection for the Common-wealths sake: and not to be so transported with anger and disdain of his Adversaries, as he seemed to be; least in hoping to bee auenged of them, he should hurt the publique weale of his Country. Hee added somewhat more of the same subiect, together with excuses on *Pompeys* behalfe. Almost the selfe same discourse, and of the selfe same things, *Roscius* the Prator dealt with *Cæsar*, and said that hee had receiued them in charge from *Pompey*: which although they seemed no way to satisfie or remooue the iniuries and wrongs complained of; yet hauing got fit men, by whom that which he wished might bee imparted to *Pompey*, he praised the both, for that they had brought vnto him what *Pompey* required, they would not thinke it much to returne his desires to *Pompey*; if happily with so little labour they might accord so great differences, and free all Italy from feare and danger. That he had euer held the dignitie of the Common-weale in high regard, and dearer then his owne life. Hee greened much,

that

that a benefit giuen him by the people of Rome, should be spitefully wrested from him by his aduersaries; that six months of his government were to be cut off; so he to be called home to the Cittie: notwithstanding the people had commaunded at the last creation of Magistrates, that there should regard be had of him, although absent. Neuerthelesse, for the Common-wealths sake hee could be content to vndergoe the losse of that honour. And hauing writ to the Senate that all men might quit their Armies, he was so far from gaining the same, that contrariwise a leuie was thereupon made throughout all Italy; and the two legions which were drawne from him, vnder a pretence of the Parthian warre, were still retained about the Cittie, which was likewise in Armes. And to what tended all this, but his destruction? And yet notwithstanding, hee was content to condescend to all things, and to indure all inconveniences, for the cause of the Publique weale. Let *Pompey* goe to his government and Provinces; let both the Armies be discharged; let all men in Italy lay downe their Armes; let the Cittie be freed of feare; the assemblies of the people left to their auncient libertie; and the whole government of the State remitted to the Senate and people of Rome. For the better accomplishment whereof, vnder well adioiued and secure conditions, let an oath be taken for due keeping of the same: or otherwise, let *Pompey* approache neerer vnto him; or suffer *Cæsar* to come neerer to him, that these controuersies might happily receiue an end by conference.

Roscius, hauing this message, went to *Capua*, accompanied with *L. Cæsar*; where finding the Consuls and *Pompey*, he deliuered vnto them *Cæsars* propositions. They hauing consulted of the matter, made an aunswere in writing, and returned it by them to *Cæsar*, whereof this was the effect: That he should returne into Gallia, quit *Arminium*, & dismisse his Army: which if he did, *Pompey* would then goe into Spaine; In the meane time, untill assurance were giuen that *Cæsar* would perform as much as he promised, the Consuls & *Pompey* would not forbear to levy souldiers. The condition was too vnequall, to require *Cæsar* to leaue *Arminium*, and to returne into his Province; and *Pompey* to hold Provinces & legions belonging to other men: to haue *Cæsar* dismisce his Armie, and he to raise new troopes; to promise simply to goe to his government, but to assigne no day for his departure: in somuch, that if hee had not gone untill *Cæsars* time of government had expired, he could not haue been blamed for falsifying his promise. But forasmuch as they appointed no time for a conference, nor made any shew of comming neerer, there could no hope be conceived of peace.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



Cæsar, lying at *Ravenna*, within his government of Gallia, and vnderstanding how matters past at Rome, according as *Plutarch* reporteth, commaunded diuers of his Centurions to goe before to *Arminium*, without any other armour then their swords; and to possesse themselves thereof with as little tumult as they could. And then leauing the troopes about him to be commaunded by *Hortensius*, he continued a whole day together in publique sight of all men, to behold the fencing of the

D.

Sword.

Capua.
Cicero, lib. 7. ad
Atticum, epist.
13. saith, that
this aunswere
was made at
Thianum, in the
territories of
L. Aunior, the 25
of Ianuary.

Plutarch in
Ca. Cæsari.

Sword-players. At night hee bathed his body, and then kept companie with such as he had bidden to supper; and after a while rose from the table, wishing euery man to keepe his place, for he would instantly come againe. Howbeit, hauing secretly commaunded some of his followers to attend him in such manner as might giue least suspition, hee himselfe tooke a Coach which he had hired; and making shew of going a contrary way, turned suddenly towards Arminium. When hee came to the little river Rubicon, which diuided his gouernment from the rest of Italie, he stood confounded through remorse of his desperate designe, and wist not whither it were better to returne or goe on: but in the end, laying aside all doubtfull cogitations, he resolved vpon a desperate Adage, importing as much as *Fall back, fall edge*. And passing ouer the Riuier, neuer staied running with his Coach, vntill he came within the Cittie of Arminium: Where he met Curio & Antonius, Tribunes of the people; and shewed them to the souldiers, as they were driuen to flie out of Rome, disguised like slaues in a Carriers cart.

It is said, that the night before he passed ouer this Riuier, hee dreamed that he lay with his mother in an vnnatural sence; but of that, hee himselfe maketh no mention. This Cittie of Arminium, is now called Rimini, and standeth in Romania, vpon the Adriatick sea, in the Popes dominion. The Riuier Rubicon, was anciently the bounds of Gallia; ouer which, Augustus caused a suite bridge to be built, with this inscription;

IVSSV. MANDATV-VE. P.R. COS. IMP. MILI. TIRO. COMMILITO. MANIPVLARIS-VE. CENT. TVRM-E-VE. LEGIONARI-VE. ARMAT. QVISQVIS. ES. HIC. SISTITO. VEXILLVM. SINI TO. NEC CITRA. HVNC. AMNEM. RVBICONEM. DVCTVM. COMMEATVM. EXERCITVM-VE. TRADVCITO. SI. QVIS. HVIVSCE. IVSIONIS. ERGO. ADVERSVS. FECIT. FECERIT-VE. ADIVDICATIONIS. ESTO. HOSTIS. P.R. AC. SI. CONTRA. PATRIAM. ARMA. TVLERIT. SACROSQVE. PENATES. E. PENETRALIBVS. ASPORTAVERIT. SANCIO. PLEBISCI. SENATVS-VE. CONSVLT. VLTIRA. HOS. FINES. ARMA. PROFERRE. LICEAT. NEMINI.
S. P. Q. R.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

IF this manner of proceeding be brought into dispute, and the reason required why Caesar kept not himselfe in the prouince of Gallia, where he might haue held his gouernment according to his owne desire, or otherwise haue drawne his aduersaries to buckle with the strength of those conquering Legions; and so brought the businesse to a short end, with as great probability of good successe, as by any hazard of vndertaking: It is to bee vnderstoode, that in causes of this nature, which I suppose admitte anie treatie of accomde, hee that striketh first, and hath the advantage

*Multi vuleri
voluntis velles,
sed noluntis.
Seneca, epist. 96*

*Let it be vpon
the Dice.
Bonum est dum
adine fiat nam
in portu, preca-
uere impeditur
futurum; et non
eo tempore, quo
in medias irru-
eris procellas,
trouare. Joseph
de bello Ind. 1.2.*

advantage of the forehead, is well entered into the way of victorie: for, the rule is of old, that if an enemy hath a designe in hand, it is farre more safe to begin first, and by way of preuention, to giue the onset on him, rather then to shew readinesse of resisting his assaults. For, it blowes (of necessity) must be way in; besides the gaine which attendeth this advantage. For, hee that stands affected to deny what is iust, and of right due, doth neuerthelesse grant all things which the sword requireth; and will not sticke to supply all vniust refusals, with as great an over-plus of what may be demanded. For which cause, Caesar staied not the coming of his whole Army; but began with those forces which were ready at hand: and so preuention all intendements, hee put his aduersaries to such a straight, that they quitted Italie for feare, and left Rome (with whatsoeuer was sacred or precious therein) to the mercy of them whom they had adiudged enemies to their Country.

CHAP. VI.

¶ Caesar taketh diuers Municipall Townes.

FOR which regard, he sent M. Antonius with five cohorts to Arctium: but he himselfe staied at Arminium with two legions, and there intended to inroll new troopes; and with seuerall cohorts, to kee Pisaurum, Fanum, and Ancona. In the meane while, being advertised that Thermus, the Prætor, did hold Tignium, with five cohorts, and fortified the place, and that all the inhabitants were well inclined towards him; hee sent Curio thither with three cohorts, which he had at Pisaurum and Arminium. Vpon notice of whose coming, Thermus (doubting of the affection of the towne) drew his cohorts forth of the Cittie, and fled. The souldiers shew the way went from him, and repaired home-ward. Curio was there reueined with the great contentment and satisfaction of all men. Vpon notice whereof, Caesar conceiuing hope of the fauourable affections of the Municipall townes, brought the cohorts of the 13 legion out of their garrisons, and marched towards Auximum; a towne held by Atius, with certaine cohorts: which hee had brought thither with him: and hauing sent out diuers Senators, made a leuie of men throughout all the Country of Picenum.

Caesars coming being knowne, the Decuriones of Auximum repaired to Atius Varius, accompanied with great troopes of people; told him that the matter concerned not him at all: for, neither themselves, nor the rest of the Municipall townes, would shut their gates against such a Commander as Caesar was, that by great and worthy seruice had so well deserved of the Common-wealth:

D 2.

and

*Magnis terrorem
nouit, et inua-
dere velent pri-
us occurrat, quã
ut te repugna-
rum significet.
Thucyd. lib. 6.
Arma totum
munia dat, qui
resistat negat.
Lucan. lib. 1.*

*Caesar.
Iulius a legion
being about
2500 men.
Pisaurum.
Pisaro. Ital.
Fanum.
Ancona.
Tignium.*

*Auximum.
Atius Varius
Picenum.*

and therefore advised him to consider what might ensue thereof, and the danger which might befall him in particular. Varus, being thoroughly wakened at this warning, drew out the Guarison which he had brought in, and so fled away: and being overtaken by a few of Caesars first troopes, was compelled to make a stand; and there giuing battell, was forsaken of his men. Some of the souldiers went home, and the rest came to Caesar. Amongst them was taken L. Puppis, Centurion of a Primpile order, which place he had formerly held in Pompeys Army. Caesar commended Atius souldiers; sent Puppis away; gave thanks to them of Anximum; and assured them of a mindfull acknowledgement on his behalfe for this seruice.

L. Puppis.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



Mongst other things which serue to inable our iudgements, and do make men wise to good fortune: that which is gathered from similitude or likeness of qualitie, is not the vnforeest ground of our discourse; but oftentimes giueth more light to guide our passage, thorough the doubtfullnes of great enterprises, then any other help of reason: for, he that will attend an ouerture from every particular, and tarry for circumstances to accomplish all his purposes, & make no vie of instances to better his advantage, shall neuer wade farre in busineses of moment, nor atchieue that which he desireth. Which Caesar well obserued: for, vpon the accidentall discovery of the disposition of one towne, hee thereby tooke occasion to make triall how the rest stood affected: and either found them or made them answerable to his hopes.

Pefab. Ital.
Plut. Anto.

Concerning these places taken by Caesar, it is to be vnderstood, that *Pisaurum* is sited on the Adriaticke sea, and belongeth to the Dutchie of Vrbine; a towne famous of old, by reason of the prodigious opening of the earth, and swallowing vp the inhabitants before the battell of Actium, some few yeeres after it was thus taken by Caesar.

Fanò. Ital.

Fanum was so called of a faire Temple which was there built to Fortune. *Tacit. Annal. 10. Exercitus Vespasiani ad Fanum Fortunæ iter sumpsit.* It is a small towne on the same sea, and belongeth to the Pope.

Ancona.

Ancona is a famous towne vpon the Adriaticke sea, sited vpon a boaw-like promontorie, which taketh in the sea betwene two forlands; and fo maketh one of the fairest Hauens of all Italie, as well for largenes as for safetie. From whence it seeth that common laying, expreising the rarenesse and singularity of three things; *Vnus Petrus in Roma*, noting the beauty of Saint Peters Church; *Vna Turris in Cremona*, the excellent workmanship of a steeple there: And *Vnus Portus in Ancona*, which is this Hauen. The Emperour Traian, to giue it more shelter, and keepe it from the furie of the wind, raised the top of the Promontorie in fashion of a halfe moone, with a mount made of great Marble stones: and made it Theater wise, with descents and degrees to goe to the sea; together with an Arke triumphall in memorie thereof. The towne is now vnder the Pope.

THE

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



His word *Decurio* hath a double vnderstanding: for, *Romulus* hauing 3000 foote, and 300 horse, diuided them into three Tribes, & euery Tribe into ten Curies, containing 100 foote men and tenne horsemen. Whereby *Marcellinus* concludeth, that *Decuriones*, et *Centuriones à numero cui in Militia præerant dicebantur*. But *Vegetius* is more particular in this point. A Companie of footmen (saith he) was called a *Centurie* or *Maniple*: and a troope of horse was called *Turma*, of *Ter-denos*, containing 30 men, whereof the Captaine was named *Decurio*. In which sense Caesar speakeeth; *Ea res per fugitivos L. Aemylj Decurionis equitum Gallorum hostibus nunciatur*. But in this place it hath another signification: for, the *Romaines*, when they sent any Citizens to people and inhabit a place, they chose out euery tenth man; such as were found most able, and of best sufficiency, to make and establish a publike Councell: whom they called *Decuriones*; according as *Pomponius* and other Ciuilians vnderstandit. So that these *Decuriones* were the Senate of that place.

Decuriones.

Lib. 2. cap. 14.

Lib. 1. de bell. Gallico.

CHAP. VII.

Lentulus flieth in great feare out of Rome.

Caesar commeth to Corfinium.

Caesar.



These things being reported at Rome, the Cittie was suddenly strooke into such a terrour, that when *Lentulus* the Consul came to open the *Treasurie*, and to deliuer out money to Pompey according to the Act of Senate, he fled out of the Cittie, & left the inner chamber of the *Treasurie* open. For, it was reported (although vntruly) that Caesar was neere approaching, & that his *Canabrie* was hard at hand. *Marcellus*, the other Consul, together with most of the other Magistrates, followed after. Pompey, departing the day before, was gone to those legions which he had taken from Caesar, & had left in *Apulia* to winter. In the meane while, the inuolvement of souldiers ceased within the Cittie. No place seemed secure betwene that and *Capua*. There they began first to assemble and assure themselves; impressing for souldiers, such as by *Julius law* were sent thither to inhabit. And the Fencers which were there trained and exercised by Caesar, for the entertainment of the people of Rome, were by *Lentulus* brought out, set at libertie, mounted vpon horses, & commaunded to follow him. But afterwards, vpon aduise of his friends (euery mans iudgement disallowing thereof) he disperfed them heere and there throughout *Campania*, for their better safetie and keeping.

Sanctiore Actatio.

Capua.

Lex Italia.

D 3.

Caesar,

Picenum. Caesar, dislodging from *Auximum*, marched throughout all the Countrey of *Picenum*, and was most willingly received by all the Praefectures of those Regions, and relieved with all necessaries which his souldiers stood in need of; insomuch as Commissioners were sent unto him from *Cingulum*, a towne which *Labienus* had founded, and built from the ground at his owne charges, promising to obey whatsoever he commaunded: whereupon he required souldiers, & they sent them accordingly. In the meane time, the twelfth legion overtooke Caesar, and with these two hee marched directly to *Asculum*, a towne which *Lentulus Spinther* held with ten Cohorts: who, vnderstanding of Caesars approach, left the place, and labouring to carry the troopes with him, was forsaken by the greatest part of the souldiers: and so marching with a few, was surprised by chance vpon *Vibullius Rufus*, sent of purpose by Pompey into the Countrey of *Picenum*, to confirme and settle the people. *Vibullius*, being aduertised how matters went there, tooke the souldiers, and so dismissed him of his charge: gathering likewise from the confining Regions, what cohorts hee could get from *Compeis* former inolements; and amongst others, entertained *L. Hirrus*, flying with sixe cohorts out of *Camerinum*, whereof he had the keeping. These being all put together, made 13 cohorts; and by long marches, he made towards *Domitius Aeneobarbus*, who was at *Corfinium*, telling him that Caesar was at hand with two legions. *Domitius* had raised twenty cohorts, out of *Albania*, *Marsia*, and *Pelignia*, adiacent Countreys. *Asculum* being taken in, and *Lentulus* driven out, Caesar made inquirie after the souldiers that had left *Lentulus*, and commaunded them to bee inrolled for him. And after one daies abode for the provision of Corne, he marched towards *Corfinium*. Vpon his approche thither, *Domitius* sent 5 cohorts out of the towne, to breake downe the bridge of the Riuer, which was about three mile off. The vauntgard of Caesars Armie, encountering with *Domitius* souldiers, draue them from the bridge, & forced them to reitrat into the towne; whereby Caesar past ouer his legions, made a stand before the towne, & incamped himselfe vnder the walles.

L. Hirrus.
Camerinum
Domitius
Aeneobarbus
Corfinium
Albania
Marsia
Pelignia

2500 men.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

*Pompey & consilio in uicinis
de his sequebat.
T. Infinita con
la Timiditate.*
Lib. 2.

De Officiis.

IT is well obserued by *Guichardine*, that Insolencie & Timiditie are neuer found alunder, but doe alwaies accompany one another in the same subiect; for, the minde beeing the center of all such motions, doth according to euery mans nature, giue the like scopetopassions of contrariety, and extend them both to an equidistant circumference: as, if courage shall happen to dilate it selfe to Insolencie, then is doubtfulness in like manner enlarged to Cowardice; & will imbase mens thoughts as lowe, as they did rise in height by insulting. For which cause it is aduised by such as treat of Morality, that men be well wae in admitting dilatation of passions, or in suffering them to flie out beyond the compasse of reason, which containeth the measure of Equabilitie, commended by *Cicero*, to be obserued throughout the whole course of mans life. *Lentulus* the Consul may be an instance of this

this weakenes, and learne others moderation by shunning his intemperancie. For, in question of qualifying the rage of these broiles, & sorting of things to a peaceable end, his arrogancie was incompatible with tearmes of agreement, and overlwaied the Senate with heedlesse impetuositie. And againe, when his authority, and Consular grauitie should haue settled the distracted Comons, and made good his first resolution, his over-haste flying out of the Citie, did rather induce the people to belieue, that there was no safetie within those wals, nor for so small a time, as might serue to haue shut the Treasurie at his heeles; and so became as abiect, as before hee shewed himselfe insolent.

Concerning these words (*Aperto sanctiore Aerario*) it is to be noted, that *Aerarium* was their publike Treasurie; and by the appointment of *Valerius Publicola*, was made within the Temple of *Saturne*: whereof diuers men make diuers coniectures. *Macrobius* saith, that as long as *Saturne* continued in *Italie*, there was no theft committed in all the countrey: and therefore his Temple was thought the safest place to keepe money in. *Plutarch* thinketh rather, that the making of the Treasurie in that place, did allude to the integritie of the time wherein *Saturne* raigned; for, avarice and deceit was not then known amongst them. *S. Cyprian* is of an opinion, that *Saturne* first taught *Italie* the vse and coynage of money; and therefore they gaue the keeping thereof to his Dietie. Howsoever, it is manifest, that not onely the publike Treasurie was there kept, but also their Records, Chartes, Ordinances and Edicts: together with such bookes as were for their immemorable greatnes, called *Libri Elephantini*; contayning all their Acts of Senate and deedes of Armes, archieued by the Commanders abroad, as also their militarie Ensignes which they fetched alwaies from thence when they went into the field: and there likewise did such Embassadours as came to Rome, enregister their names, as *Plutarch* affirmeth.

It was called *Aerarii* of *Aes*, signifying Brasse; for that the first money vsed by the *Romaines* was of that metall, vntill the yeere of Rome 485, as *Pliny* witnesseth; when they began first to coyne peeces of silver marked with the letter X, whereof they tooke the appellation of *Denarium*, as valuing ten asses of brals, which before they vsed for their coyne; and euery of the laide asses waied 12 ounces. Touching their order obserued in their Treasurie, for their disposing and laying vp of their moneys, we must vnderstand, that as bodie politike require necessarie and ordinarie treasure to be employed in such manner, as may best concurre with the publike honour and weale of the same: so there must be speciall care to provide against vnusall and extraordinary casualties, which are not remoued but by speedy and effectuall remedies. According to which prouidence the *Romaines* disposed of their treasure, and tooke the twentieth part of their receipt, which they called *Aurum vicesimarium*, and referred it apart in an inner chamber; where it lay to priuiledge, that it was a capitall crime to touch it, but in extreame and desperate necessity: as in time of warre with the *Galles*, or in a sedition and tumult of the people. *Liuius* affirmeth as much, where he saith, *Cetera expedientibus quae ad bellum opus erant consilium aurum vicesimarum, quod in sanctiore Aerario ad ultimos casus seruaretur, promi placuit, prompta ad quatuor Millia pondo Auri.*

Aerarium.
Plutarch. in vita
Publicola.
Aerarium populi
Romani in
aele Saturni
habuit. Festus.

Libri Elephantini.

Signa ex Aerario
prompta feruntur
ad Dictatorum. Liv.
lib. 4.

Lib. 3. cap. 33.

Aurum vicesimarium.

Lib. 24.

THE

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



Vch as affect offices and dignities in a State, must euer haue meanes to couert *Soverainty*, according as may best lure with her *Politia*, either as she is espoused to a Monarch, or leit in trust to a Multitude. Hence it was, that the Romaines to gaine the fauour of the people, & to make way for their owne ends, were very sumptuous in setting forth shewes and spectacles, of diuers sorts and fashions; and specially of Gladiators or Fencers, as best fitting a Romaine disposition, & more pleasing then others of any kind. *Equidem (saith Tully) existimo, nullum tempus esse frequentioris populi, quam illud Gladiatorum, neque concionis vilius, neque verò vllorum Committiorum.* And in another place; *Id autē spectaculi genus erat, quod omni frequentia, atque omni hominum genere celebratur, quo multitudo maximè delectatur.*

Their manner was to keepe great numbers of these Fencers, in some conuenient and healthfull townes of Italie, as at Rauenna, & Capua (which were as Seminaries of these people) and there to traine them vp in the feate of fencing, vntill they had occasion to vse them in their shewes, either at their triumphall entries into the City vpon their victories, or at the funerall solemnities of some personage of memorie; or otherwile at their feasts and iollities.

*Quin etiam exhibere viris conuiuia cade
Mos olim, et miscere epulis spectacula dira.*

They fought commonly man to man, at all aduantage, and were sildome excused, vntill one of the two lay dead vpon the place. Neither was hee then quitted that had slaine his companion, but stood liable to vnderake another, and so a third, vntill he had foiled fixe or leauen Combattants. And if his hap were to preuaile so often, he was then honoured with a Garland wound about with ribands of wooll, which they called *Lemmisci*, and receiued of the Prætor a great knotted staffe, called *Rudis*; which he afterward carried about with him as an ensigne of libertie. These bloody spectacles continued vnto the time of Constantine the great; and were by him prohibited, as likewise also by Arcadius and Honorius; and vntill abolished after the raigne of Theoderick, king of the Gothes. Let him that would looke further into the fashion of these shewes, read what Lipsius hath written concerning the same. That which I obserue herecin, is, the vse which the State made heereof: for, howsoeuer these fights and solemnities were sette forth for the compasing of priuate ends; yet neuertheless, the Common-weale drew benefit from the same. For, a multitude beeing of a fickle and mutable nature, are no way so well settled with contentment of the time, or kept from nouelties and innovations, as with publick shewes and entertainements: which are as staies to their affections, that they swarue not from the government by which they liue in ciuill consociation. So we read how the Grecians instituted, as popular entertainements, their Olympian, Nemean, Istmean, and Pythian Games; The Romaines, their Apollinary, Secular, Gladiatory, and Hunting shewes, with Tragedies and Comedies: and all

Pro Ro. Ro.

And therefore they were called, *Disputay à busis.*

Sil. Italico.

Lemmisci, Spectatum satis et donatum, canente Horac. The Romaines neuer sted these Gladiators in any military seruice, but only in Ciuill warres. At deforme insuper auxilium, duo milia Gladiatorum: sed per ciuilia arma, seuera ductibus, p[er]p[et]rat[is]. Tac. l. i.

Commentary of the Ciuill Warres.

all for the satisfaction of the people. Wherein, howsoeuer the Grecians seem more iudicious, for inventing such Games as might both exercise and entertaine the people, yet the Romaines failed not of the end aymed at in these spectacles; which was, to inure them to bloud and slaughter, and to make the dreadlesse in cases of horroure.

But, to leaue all shewes of this nature, as either too little for earnest, or too much for pastime; it shall suffice to note, that these publique entertainements are so farre expedient as they consist of pleasure and comlineesse: for, as their chiefe end is to pleasure and content the people; so their manner must be directed by lawfulness and honestie. In which respect, a Tragedy is more commendable then a Comedy; forasmuch as few comicall arguments doe sympathise with honestie.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.



O be great, and of a large proportion, doth not take away casualties of inconuenience; nor can it giue a priuiledge, to free thinges from distemperature: tall men are as subiect to Feauers, as others of lesser stature; and great Empires as easily disturbed, as the states of pettie Princes.

*O faciles dare summa Deos, eademque tueri
difficiles!*

Lucan. lib. 1.

It is easier to attaine the end of high desires, then to keepe it being got: and better is the assurance of seeking, then of possessing. The Romaine people that had over-awed the world with Armes, & left no kingdom vnsoiled with the fear of their legions, were as much dismayed at a subiects disloyaltie, as was possible for a meane State to be amuzed vpon an a'arum of any danger. And that City which suffered no enimie to approche neer her confines, but in the condonion of a Captiue, was not trulted as able to giue her owne people safety.

Parare, et quere arduū tueri, difficultas. Liv. lib. 37.

*sic turbare urbem
Præcipiti lymphata gradu, velut unica rebus
Spes foret afflictis patrios excedere muros,
Inconsulta ruit.*

Lucan. lib. 1.

The aduantage is, that kingdomes of great command, haue great helps in cases of disturbance; but are otherwile as subiect to apprehensions of distrust, as those of lesser power to resist.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Cæsar goeth on with the siege of Corfinium,
and taketh it.

DOMITIVS, being thus ingaged, sent out skilfull men of the Countrey, with promise of great reward to carie Letters to Pompey, intreating and praying, that he would come and relieue him; for, Cæsar, by reason of the straightnesse of the passages, might with two Armies bee easily shut up: which opportunitie if he neglected, himselfe, with about 30 cohorts of souldiers, besides a great number of Senators and Romaine Knights, were in danger of running a hard fortune. In the meane time, hee exhorted his men to courage and resolution; placed his * Artillery on the walles; assigned euery man his quarter to bee made good; promised in publique assembly of the souldiers, foure akers a peece to each man out of his owne lands and possessions: and the like rateable parts to the Centurions and Enocates. Meane-while, it was told Cæsar, that the inhabitants of Sulmo, a towne distant seauen miles from Corfinium, were desirous to receiue his commandments, but that they were restrained by Q. Lucretius, a Senatour, & Atius Pelignius, that kept the towne with a garrison of seauen cohorts. Whereupon, he sent thither M. Antonius with five cohorts of the scauenth legion: whose Ensignes were no sooner discovered by those of the towne, but the inhabitants and souldiers came all out, to gratulate and welcome Antonius. Lucretius and Atius conuained themselves ouer the wall. Atius beeing taken and brought to Antony, desired to be sent to Cæsar. Antonie returning the same day, brought Atius & the souldiers that were found in Sulmo, to Cæsar; whom hee tooke to his Army, and sent Atius away in safetie.

Cæsar, the three first daies, made great workes to fortifie his Campe; caused store of corne to be brought from the townes next about him; and there determined to stay the coming of the rest of his forces. Within the space of those three daies, the eight legion came vnto him, with 22 cohorts newly inrolled in Gallia, together with CCC. horse, which the King of Noricum had sent vnto him. Vpon the arriuall of which forces, he made second Camp on the other side of the towne, and appointed Curio to command it. The rest of the time was spent in compassing the towne with a Rampier and with Castells: the greatest part of which worke beeing finished, it chanced at the same time, that such as were sent to Pompey, returned. The Letters beeing read, Domitius dissembling the truth, gaue out in the counsell of warre, that Pompey would come speedily to succour them: and therefore wished that no man should be dismayed, but to prepare such things as were of use for the defence of the towne; and hee himselfe conserring secretly with some of his familiar friends, consulted how he might escape away. But forasmuch as his looks agreed not with his words, and that his carriage seemed more troubled and timorous then vsuall, & likewise his secret conferences,

15000 men, or
there about.

* Tormenta.

Sulmo.

Duces velint
istius labor
de industria
mulum. Seneca
ad Poly.

as

Commentary of the Ciuill Warres.

as also his avoiding of publique counsell and assemblies, as much as hee could, the matter coulde bee no longer dissembled. For, Pompey had writt backe, that hee woulde not hazard the cause, by drawing it into such tearmes of extremitie: neither was Domitius ingaged in the keeping of Corfinium by his aduice or consent; & therefore, if by any meanes hee coulde, he should quit the place, and bring the forces vnto him: But the siege was so straight, and the workes did so begird the towne, that there was no hope of effecting it. Domitius purpose beeing knowne abroad, the souldiers within the towne, about the beginning of the euening forsooke their stations, and drew themselves apart, and thereupon had conference with the Tribunes of the souldiers and Centurions to this effect: That they were besieged by Cæsar, and the fortifications almost finished; their General Domitian (in hope and confidence of whom they were engaged in that place) setting aside all matters what soeuer, was bethinking himselfe how hee might escape and flie away: and in regard thereof, they were not to neglect their owne safetie. The Marsi at first began to differ from the rest, vpon that point; possessed themselves of that part of the towne which seemed to be strongest: and such a dissension thereby grew amongst them, that they had almost gone to blowes. Howbeit, vnderstanding a while after (by messengers which past to and fro betweene them) of Domitius purpose to flie away, whereof formerly they were ignorant, they agreed together, and with one consent brought Domitius out into open publique; and sent some to Cæsar, to let him know, they were ready to open the gates to receiue his commandments, and to deliuer Domitius aliuie into his hands. Vpon advertisement whereof (albeit Cæsar found it a matter of great consequence, to gaine the towne with as much speed as hee could, and to take the souldiers into his Campe, least eyther by large promises and gifts, or by entertaining other purposes, or otherwise through false bruits or deuised messages, their mindes might happily be altered, as oftentimes in the course of war, great and eminent chances & alterations do happen in a smal moment of time; yet for that he feared least the night time might giue occasion to the souldiers vpo their entrance to sack & pilfer the towne) hee commending those that came vnto him, sent them back againe, & willed that the gates & the walles should be kept with a good guard. He himselfe disposed the souldiers vpon the worke, which hee had begun, not by certaine spaces and distances, as he had accustomed the dayes before, but by continuall watches and stations, one touching another round about all the fortifications. Moreover, he sent the Tribunes & Captaines of the horse about, and willed them to haue a care that there might be no eruptions or allies, and that they should looke to the private slippings out of particular men. Neither was there any man so heauie or dull, that suffered his eyes to be shut that night; for, so great was the expectation of what would ensue, that no man thought of any other thing, then of what would happen to the Corfinians, to Domitian, to Lentulus and the rest. About the fourth watch of the night, Lentulus Spinther spake from the wall to our souldiers that had the watch, and signified that hee would willingly haue leaue to come to Cæsar: which being granted, he was sent out of the towne, attended with some of Domitians souldiers, who left him not vntill he came in sight of Cæsar. With him he dealt concerning his life, & praised him

Lentulus
Spinther.

Collegium Pontificum.

him to pardon him; put him in mind of their former familiarity; acknowledged the fauours receiued from Cæſar, which were very great; namely, that by his meanes, he was choſen into the Colledge of Priests; that vpon the going out of his Prætorſhip, he obtained the prouince of Spaine; and in his ſuit to be Conſull, hee was much aſſiſted by him.

Cæſar, interrupting his ſpeech, told him, that hee came not from his gouernment to hurt any man; but to defend himſelfe from the iniuries of his aduerſaries; to reſtore the Tribunes of the people to their dignitie, that were thruſt out and expelled the Cittie; and to put himſelfe and the people of Rome into liberty, which were oppreſſed with the partialities of a few factious perſons. Lentulus, being reaſſured vpon this anſwere, prayed leaue to returne into the towne; and the rather, that this which he had obtained touching his owne ſafety, might giue hope to the reſt: amongſt whom, ſome were ſo affrighted, that hee doubted they would fall into ſome deſperate courſe; and hauing obtained leaue, hee departed. Cæſar, as ſoone as it was day, commaunded all the Senators and Senators children, together with the Tribunes of the ſouldiers and the Romaine Knights, to be brought out vnto him. Of Senatours, there were L. Domitius, P. Lentulus Spinther, Vibullius Rufus, Sex: Quintilius Varus, the Treafurer, L. Rubius, beſides Domitians ſonne, and many other young men: with a great number of Romaine Knights and Decurions, whom Domitian had called out of the Municipall Townes. Theſe being all brought forth vnto him, were protected from the inſolencies and iniuries of the ſouldiers. Moreouer, he ſpoke a few words vnto the, concerning the ill requitall on their behalfe, for the great benefites hee had done vnto them: and ſo ſent them all away in peace.

Dum uiuim.

The gold which Domitian had laid up in the publique Treafury, being brought vnto him by the two chiefe Magiſtrates or Bailieſes of Corfinium, he redeliuered to Domitian; leaſt hee ſhould ſeeme more continent in taking away mens liues, then their moneys: although he knew, that this money was part of the publique treafure, and deliuered out by Pompey to pay ſouldiers. He commaunded Domitians partie to be ſworne his ſouldiers. And that day removing his Camp, went a full daies march through the confines of the Marmurci, Frentani, & Larinati, and came into Apulia.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Latius patet officiorum quam iuris Regula.

Stultitia videtur, alienam reſu periculo curare. Saluſti. de bello Iugurth.

NS it is true, that a friend is not ſolie tied to the reſpects of right; but doth giue more advantage by offices of good indenuour, then by that which dutie requireth: ſo is it dangerous for a man to put his ſickle further into a harueſt, then happely may deſerue thanks of the owner. Neither can it be cleered from imputation of ſollie, to care an other mans buſineſs, with hazard and perill of our own fortune. Howbeit, the Current & drift of things, doth ſometimes ſo ingage both our perſons and affections, either in the maine action it ſelfe, or in ſome circumſtances of the ſame, that we cannot avoid the hazard of rebuke, if our indenuours doe not fort

with

with his liking that is to approoue them. VVhereof Domitius may be an inſtance; who, taking Corfinium on the behalfe of the State, was neuertheleſſe diſauowed in his merit, and conſequentlie, brought into extremitie of danger, for his over-forwardnes in the ſeruite of his Country. Such libertie hath ſoueraintie, either to take or leaue, when the euent ſhal not riſe anſwerable to a good meaning.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

NHen a partie is fallen into an exigent, it hath no better remedie for reliefe then that of the Comick, *Redimas te captum quàm queas minimo*; which is not vnderſtood, that we ſhould cleere the head, and leaue the reſt of the members to miſfortune: for, that were to draw a double miſchicfe on the whole bodie. But the head is to eſcape with as little preiudice to the other parts, as by wiſedome and vertue may be gained; and ſo much the rather, leaſt in ſeeking to purchaſe ſafety with hazard of the other members, it draw the whole deſtruction vpon it ſelfe; as it fell out with Domitius: Who, going about to ſlie out of the towne, and to leaue ſuch forces as by his meanes were imbarked in that cauſe, was juſtly made the ſacrifice of their peace. Sulla deſerued better to be followed by men of adventure: for, being moued to eſcape himſelfe away by night, and to leaue his troopes to ſuch fortune as Iugurth vpon advantage ſhould put vpon them; answered, *Etiã ſi certa peſtis adefſet, manſurum potius, quàm proditis quos ducebat, turpi fuga, incertæ ac forſitan paulò poſt morbo interituræ vitæ parceret*. And therefore, if a Commaunder ſhall at any time goe about to betray his forces, with hope of his owne ſafety, the iſſue will bring out either his diſhonour, or his conſuſion.

Saluſti. de bello Iugurth.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

SVch as vndertake great deſignes, doe likewiſe proiect the meanes of archieuing the ſame, & doe propound vnto themſelues ſuch principles to be obſerued, as they take to be ſpeciall way-makers to the fortune they reach at; from which grounds they ſildome or neuer ſwarue. As appeareth by this of Cæſar; who aiming at the ſoueraintie of that Empire, and knowing no way ſo direct to leade him thereto, as to cline vp by the ſteps of Mildneſs, and to make his Aduerſaries debtors to his clemency, he left aſide his Maximes of war, to hold firme that principle; and did forbear to gaine a towne of great importance, with that ſpeed which occaſion & opportunitie did afford him, and to take the troopes into his Campe, for the preuention of ſuch chaunces and changes, as doe happen in a ſmall moment of time; leaſt his ſouldiers entering into the towne, after the ſhutting of the evening, might take leaue of the night time to make forfeiture of his mercie.

E.

It

It shall therefore be well-beseeming the wisdom of a Leader, to haue alwaies respect to the principles of his Meanes, and to distinguish between that which is fit and that which is more fit, in the native carriage of his business.

THE FOURTH OBSERVATION.

Collegium Pontificum.

Plutarch in the life of Numa.


Capit. institut. Lib. 3.4. cap. 1. Lib. 2. Epist. ad Qu. fratres. Epist. 5.

In L. 1. §.

L. Pater filii §.

Lib. 36.


Acometus the great Turke. Interpreter Basha. Nailes, or pater of nailes, Basha. Beshangi Basha. Gardener

 Concerning this *Collegium Pontificum*, the Colledge of Priestes; we are to note, that Numa, the founder of the Romaine Commonwealth, for the preventing of partialities and factions in that State, which at that time consisted of two Nations or Tribes, did breake the whole bodie into manie small parts and fractions, making his diuision by Artes and Occupations; whereby he ordained, that all Minstrels or Trumpeters should bee incorporated into one Brotherhood: and that in like manner, Goldsmithes, Carpenters, Diers, Shoemakers, Coriers, Tawyers, Belfounders, Potters, & all other trades & Sciences, should haue their peculiar body or Fraternitie; appointing them feasts, assemblies, and seruices, according to the worthiness of each mysterie, as Plutarch hath obserued in the life of Numa.

Valerius Maximus maketh mention of the Colledge of Pipers or Minstrels. And Plinie, in like manner, mentioneth the Colledge of Coppersmithes. Cicero taketh notice of the colledge or companie of Marchants, which hee calleth *Collegium Mercurialium*; for that of old time, the nimble tongued Mercurie was believed in, as the Guider and Protector of Marchants. The priuiledges & customes where-with these Fraternities were endowed, are set downe by Caius, the Ciuilian. There are certaine Colledges at Rome, saith hee, incorporated by Act of Senate, and established with good ordinances and constitutions, hauing certaine things in common, in imitation of the publique weale: And as Scenola further noteth, with power to make lawes, for the better government of such Colledges and Societies; so the same be not contrary to the fundamentall lawes of the State. After the same manner, the Priestes had their peculiar Colledge or corporation; & at the first institution were but foure in number, and all of Patrician families, vnto the yeere of Rome 454: at what time there were foure of the Commons chosen, and added to the former number; whom Sulla increased to 15, as Dio: witnesseth. And these were called *Collegii Pontifici*, wherof this *Pontifex Maximus* was president: one of the absolute dignities of Rome; as being for tearme of life, and of greatest and diuine authority. Which generall distribution of the Romaines into trades and mysteries, doth not vnwisly bring into remembrance, that which is vsuall amongst the Turkes, who by their law, are al bound to be of an occupatiō; not excepting the Grand Signior himselfe. For, hee that now vpholdes the Ottoman familie, by the name of *Sultan Acomet*, is a professed maker of rings, which the Turkes doe weare on their thumbe when they shoote, to let the string go easily without hurting them: and his father Mahomet was a Fletcher, and made arrowes. In like manner, all his Courtiers are of trades and occupations; and euery man is called by the title of his Art; as, he that was lately Visier Basha to the present Sultan, was called by the name of *Nateash Basha*; the Visier Painter, being indeed the

the Sultans Painter; neither are they ashamed to acknowledge as much: for, opening Letters which were sent into Turkie out of Christendome, that were limmed about the Margin, said, he could paint as well as that himselfe.

THE FIFT OBSERVATION.

 HE first thing which I obserue out of these passages at Corfinium, is the restoring back of such moneys to Domitian, as were brought vnto Caesar by the Officers of the towne; and which he knew to be of the publique treasure of the State. Which howsoever may seeme admirable to the hearers of these times, wherein there is but this one rule for matter of money, *Vnde habet querit nemo, sed oportet habere*: Yet such as will lay a sure foundation of honour, and thrive in the courses which they follow, must not be ignorant, that there is nothing more requisite to gaine opinion & reputation in the carriage of any publique business, then to bee cleare of the least suspition of couetousness. Neither is there any meanes that will sooner win a multitude, to belieue in those things which are set abroad by publique Authoritie, then those two virgin vertues, Abstinence & Continencie: especially when they are found in Princes and chiefe Comaunders, that can other wise iustifie their actions with souerainie & vncontroulement. Nor on the other side, did euer Apollo giue out truer Oracle then that, which saide; that there was no meanes to ruine Sparta but by Auarice.

In which sense, C. Pontius, the Samnite, wished, that the Gods had reserued him to times wherein the Romaines would haue bene corrupted with gifts: for, then he would soone haue seene an end of their Common-weale. And certainly, that Empire could neuer haue towred so high, nor continued firme so many ages, had not her foundation bene laid by men of admirable temper in this kind: Such as was Paulus Aemilius; who hauing sacked Macedonia, and brought as much wealth into the publique Treasurie, as gaue an end to Tributes and Subsidies, was no way the richer (but in honour) for all that hee had taken. And such also was Scipio Africanus; that of all the wealth of Carthage, brought nothing into his priuate house, but a high and triumphant Name, as a merit of his vertues and deedes of Armes: Leaving behind him this Oracle, as a document to following times; That couetous Captaines are good to none but to the Enemie. And to conclude, such was M. Curius, who hauing triumphed of the Samnites, the Sabines, and Pyrrhus, refused a great mass of Gold, which was offered him by the Samnites: esteeming it more honourable, to command them that had Gold, then to haue Gold of his owne. Howbeit, such is the frailtie of humane nature, that for the most part, men haue alwaies suffered their desire of money, to increase with their wealth, although it were to their ruine and destruction. VVhich Caesar well discerned, as appeareth by that which he writ to Oppius, touching this accident: *Hac noua sit vincendi ratio, ut misericordia et liberalitate nos muniamus.*

Caput autem est in omni procuratore negotii, et muneris Publici, et avaritie pellitur etiam minima suspicio. Nulla autem re, conciliare facilius beneuolentiam multitudinis possit, quam abstinentia. Cicero.

Cic. lib. 1. Offici.

Imperatores muneribus hiante, Hostibus sunt peritiles. Appian. de bell. Hispan. Cic. Cato Maior

THE SIXT OBSERVATION.



Pon occasion of Cæsars calling vnto him, out of the towne, *Senatores*, *senatorumque filios*, *Equitesque Romanos*, it shal not seeme impertinent, to note the degrees and conditions of state whereof the Romaine people consisted. For the better clearing whereof, it is to be vnderstood, that by that notable transaction at Comitium, between Romulus and Tatius, it was agreed; that both those Nations should dwell together at Romulus towne, which after his name, should bee called Rome: and that the inhabitants thereof, should be named *Quirites*, after the name of Tatius Citie. Howbeit, speciallie they were diuided into three Tribes, whereof they which were of Romulus partie, were called after his name, *Ramenenses*; those that came with Tatius, *Tatienfes*; and the third Tribe *Lucerences*, of *Lucus*, a Groue: so far as much as they being neither of Romulus retinew, nor yet of the Sabines, were neuertheless met together at that place, from diuers parts, as at a Groue where commonly assemblies were made to offer sacrifice, and to performe their heathenish solemnities.

Each of these Tribes were diuided by Romulus into ten *Curiae*; and so made the number of 30 *Curiae*. And out of each of these *Curiae*, he chose 3 persons, such as by their preface and sufficiency, seemed fittest, and most worthy; which amounted to ninetie. To whom, out of euery Tribe hee further added three, and one more of his owne choosing, to make the number vp a hundred; whom he established as his Councel or Senate: by whose aduise he resolved of all matters of consequence, either concerning peace or warre, as Dionisius Halicarnassens noteth. Howbeit, Plutarch saith, they were sildome assembled but to vnderstand the Kings pleasure: and had no other preeminence in the Common-weale, sauing they were the first that did knowe what was purposed. Howsoever; they were stiled by the name of *Senatores*, *quasi seniores*, as thereby qualified to be admitted to Counsell: and in the same sense they were called *Patres*.

The Senate being thus established, Romulus selected out of euery of those *Curiae* ten young men, and so made vp the number of three hundred for a guard to his person: who for their readinesse and nimblenesse were called *Celeres*, all mounted on horsebacke: whence grew their *Ordo Equestris*, or band of Romaine knights, which were the meane betweene the Senate and the people; and as a Seminarie to supply the Senate; for, out of them were the Senators taken. The rest, that were not of these two Orders, were comprehended vnder the name of the Commons, or Populacy. Whereby it appeareth, that Rome consisted of three estates; Senators, Knights, and the Commons, according to that of Aufonius;

Martia Roma triplex; Equitatu, Plebe, Senatu.

Touching the number of Senators, it is further to be noted, that Tarquinius Priscus, to gaine the fauor of the people, tooke 100 of the Commons, & added them to the Senate, who were called *Senatores minorum Gentiu*. And Brutus hauing

Plutarch, in 91-
ta Romul.

Senatus.

Lib. 2.

Celeres or Equi-
tes: ordo Eque-
stris.

Plebs or populam

Senatores mi-
norum Gentium.

hauing reduced it to a Common-weale, made the vp three hundred out of the band of Knights; and from that time they were called *Patres conscripti*. Neither were they at all times limited in that number: for, the seditious *Gracchi* added 300 more vnto them: and Iulius Cæsar admitted vnto the Senate all manner of persons. In which regard, Augustus (as Suetonius saith) *Senatorum affluentem numerum, deformi, et incondita turba (erant enim super mille, et quidam indignissimi) ad modum pristinum et splendorem redegit.*

Concerning a competencie of wealth, to make a man capable of the place of a Senator; we may obserue, that in the raigne of Seruius, the King, hee that was worth a thousand asses (which are about 300 pound sterling) was eligible. But the riches of the Empire increasing, a Senators wealth was rated at nine thousand pound, according to Suetonius; *Senatorum sensum ampliavit, ac pro octingentorum millium summa duodecies H-S taxauit, suppleuitque non habentibus*. The wealth of a Romaine Knight, was rated at three hundred three score, or there abouts.

This Corfinium, was the chiefe towne of the Pelignians, and stood in the center of Italie, where all the confederate people assembled when they consulted of warre against the Romans, for their right of Burgeshippe, or freedom of the Citie, which was then denied them: which war was called *Bellum sociale, Marsicum, and Italicum*. There is now nothing remaining of that towne but the ruines, as a marke of the place where it anciently stood vpon a Plaine, commonly called *Pentina*, or *Sant Peligno*.

Patres conscripti.

Suetonius, 35.

Suetonius, 41.

Corfinium.
Strabo, lib. 6.

CHAP. IX.

Pompey goeth to Brundisium: Cæsar maketh
meanes to treat with him.

Cæsar.



Pompey, vnderstanding of these things which had past at Corfinium, departed from Luceria, and went to Canusium, and from thence to Brundisium; causing all the power hee could to be raised by new musters and inuolments, arming spears, beards and slanes, and mounting them on horsebacke; of whom he made some 300 horse. In the meane time, L. Manlius, the Prætor, fled from Alba with sixe cohorts; and Rutilius Rupus, Prætor, fled from Taracina with three cohorts: who descryng a farre off the Causitie of Cæsar, commaunded by Binus Curius, forsaking the Prætor, turned their Ensignes towards Curius, and ioyned with him. In like manner, the daies following, diuers other cohorts came in as they marched, some to the foote troopes, and some to the horse. Cn. Magius of Cremona, maister of the workes, and of the munition in Pompeys Army, was taken on the way, and brought backe to Cæsar, whom he sent backe againe to Pompey, with commission to treat with him to this effect; For-

Agereum.

as much as there had yet happened no opportunity of meeting or conference, hee was now determined to seek him at Brundisium; for, it much imported the common-weale, and every mans safety in particular, that they two might confer together. Neither could things bee so well handled, vpon so great a distance of way, where the articles of treatie must be caried to and fro by a third partie, as when they met face to face to conclude of the conditions.

His message being first given, he came to Brundisium with sixe legions, foure legions of old souldiers, and the other raised by new inuolments, or made up as he came along the Countrey: for, he had presently dispatched Domitians cohorts from Corfinium into Sicily. At his coming, he found the Consuls gone ouer to Dyrrachium, with the greatest part of the Armie, and Pompey remaining at Brundisium with twentie cohorts. Neither could hee certainly bee informed, whether he remained at Brundisium to make good the towne, whereby he might the easier be maister of the Adriatick sea, and command both the vpper parts of Italy, and the Regions of Greece, and so to keepe the warre on foote on the one side and on the other; or whether he staid there for want of shipping. Howsoeuer; he would not endure, that Pompey should thinke hee could not be forced to quit Italie; and therefore resolved to stop up the mouth of the Hauens, & to take away the vse thereof, which he went about in this manner: Where the mouth of the Hauens was narrowest, hee raised great mounts of earth on either side nere unto the shore; for, there the Sea was shallow: but going further into the deepe, where no such mounts could be raised, hee placed double flottes of wood, right against the same mounts, of thirtie foote square; and at the corners cast out foure Ankers to fasten them. These flottes beeing thus placed, hee then added other flottes of the same scantling, and covered them with bavin and earth, to the end men might come readily vpon them to defend them. Hee armed them in front and on each side, with hurdles and gabions; and on euery fourth flotte, made a towre of two stories high, the better to defend them from violence of shipping, and from burning.

Against this worke, Pompey sent out great ships of burthen, which he found in the Hauens, armed with towers of three stories high, full of munition, & all sort of weapons, to hinder and disturbe the same. So that euery day they fought a farre off each with other, with slings, arrowes, and other casting weapons. Which businesse Caesar so carried, as being willing not to let fall the conditions of peace, if happily it might be effected. And albeit hee greatly wondered that Magius, whom hee had sent to Pompey, did not returne againe; and that this Treatie so often attempted, did hinder much his designs: yet he thought it fitt by all meanes to perseuer therein: and therefore sent Caninius Renilus, one of his Legates, and an inward friend, and nere allied to Scribonius Libo, to speake with him, commaunded him to perswade Libo to mediate a reconciliation, and that Caesar himselfe might speake with Pompey. It might be, that there vpon, both of them would yeelde to lay downe their Armes vpon equall conditions: the greatest part of which honour would redound to Libo, if by his intercession the war might take an end.

Libo, hauing heard Caninius, went straight to Pompey; and within awhile returning,

Caesar besieged Pompey at Brundisium, the 23 of Februar. Anni. viii. ccd. 704.

Pompey married Libo his daughter.

returning, told him: That forasmuch as the Consuls were absent, there could be nothing done touching an agreement. Where-vpon, Caesar resolved to let fall the matter of Treatie, which hee had so often attempted, and to prepare for warre.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

His accident of taking Cn: Magius, hath made knowne an officer of great place and vse in the Romaine Armie, of whom otherwise their Histories make little mention. For, howsoever there is found in these Commentaries, many particular descriptions of admirable and incredible workes; such as may seem to be made rather by Giants & Cyclops, then any labour of man; yet there is no mention of any *Præfæctus Fabrum*, or Maister of the workes in any of Caesars Armies. Howbeit, Vegetius, expressing their singular care to haue in abundance all manner of provisions requisite for an Armie, saith; That to euery legion did belong Carpenters, Bricklayers, Smithes, Painters, & other Artizans, skilfull and fit to build lodgings for their wintering Campes; to make Engines and deuises for warre; such as were their portatiue, or ambulatorie towres, targets, morions, corslets, bowes, arrowes, darts, and piles: or whatsoeuer else might serue, either for offence or defence. Which Artificers were all knowne by the name of *Fabri*; and he that was Chiefe, and had the command of them, was called *Præfæctus Fabrum*. And in like manner, Plutarch sheweth, that there was such an officer; as also, that the place was given by the Generall; where hee saith, that Vibius a Sicilian, refused to lodge Cicero, as hee passed to exile, thorough Lucania; although that in his Consulshippe hee had bestowed vpon him the place of *Præfæctus Fabrum*. And albeit Caesar maketh no mention of any such officer; yet Catullus dooth it for him, in such biting Trimetres as will not be forgotten:

*Quis hoc potest videre, quis potest pati
Nisi impudicus, et vorax et bellus,
Mamurram habere, quod comata Gallia
Habebat et vltima Britannia?*

Of which Mamurra, Plinie thus writeth; Cornelius Nepos, saith hee, writeth, that Mamurra, a Romaine knight, borne at Formia, and Maister of the workes vnder Caesar, in Gallia, was the first that covered all the walles of his house, which he built in Mount Cælius, with leaues of Marble. Neither let any man disdain the Author as a meane person; for, this is that Mamurra, whom Catullus dooth note in his verses; whose house vv as farre more stately then Catullus did expresse, by saying hee had gotten all the wealth of Gallia Comata. For, the saide Cornelius affirmeth, that hee was the first in Rome that

Præfæctus Fabrum.

Lib. 2. cap. 11.

Plutarch in the life of Cicero.

Lib. 36. cap. 6.

*Epist. ad Attic.
lib. 9. Epist. 8.*

*Odys. Homer.
23.*

that made the pillars of his house of solide Marble, euen hewen out of the quarries of Caristus, or Luna: Thus farre goeth Pliny. Out of which may be noted, that exorbitancie in gaining, doth produce the like course in spending; and howsoever such commings in may be close and secrete, yet the issuings out will proclaime it in profuse and laushing manner: and therefore, such as command in these places, and haue such meanes to enrich themselves, had neede to be cleane fingered. Caesar writing to Oppius, mentioneth the taking of this man, as a thing of some note. *Cn. Marium, Pompei Praefectum deprehendi scilicet, meo instituto vsus sum, et eum statim missum feci: iam duo Praefecti fabrum, in meam potestatem venerunt, et a me missi sunt.* Concerning the vse of these manuell Artes, and the prerogative they haue in well ordered States; it is to be noted, that without these, no Citie can conueniently be built, fortified, or furnished with Armes. And therevpon such Artizans, haue alwaies challenged a place of chiefe regard in the Common-weale. Whence it was, that Vlis- ses scorned not *se fabrum profiteri*.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



HE *Maxime proprium* of warre, is opposition; and that vniuersall, rather then any other kind of repugnancie: for, there is no sympathizing condition betwene two enemie Armies, otherwise then by mutuall exchange of *velle et nolle*, throughout the whole course of their intendements; as may be here obserued vpon Caesars arrivall at Brundisium. For, finding Pompey to remaine there after the departure of the Consuls, and not certainly informed of the reason of his stay; least he should think he could not be forced to quit Italy, Caesar went about to thrust him out headlong: or otherwise, if his purpose were to follow after the Consuls to Dyrrachium, Caesars designe then was to shut him in, and so to haue followed the rule of contradiction, by which souldiers are directed in their archieuements.

*Brundisium quidam Poetae bre-
uitatis causa
Brondon dice-
runt. Festus.*

Concerning the site of Brundisium, which hath euer been famous for the commodiousnesse of the Hauen, and the vsuall port where the Romaines tooke shipping for Greece; being but a hundred Italian miles distant from Apollonia in Epirus: We are to note, that the towne standeth vpon a Langet of earth, extended into the Hauen Peninsule-like from the maine land, resembling the neck and head of a Stagge, and in that regard is called Brundisium, of *βρύντις*, which signifieth a Stagge: which Langet hath many crooked guts, or inlets of the Sea, capable of great shipping; besides the two maine Ports on either side of the towne, which with the rest of the Hauen, make the safest and fairest roade of that part of the world. The mouth of the Hauen where Caesar made his flottes, is very straight; and opposite therevnto, some three miles distant into the Sea, standeth a small Iland, to abate the violence and rage of the waues. Now, to besiege Brundisium, it was requisite to take away the vse and benefit of the Hauen: which Caesar attempted with such rare and artificia-ll works (of mounds where the Sea was shallowe, and of flottes where the water

water was deepe; and thole made firme with earth, and fenced with hurdles & turrets) that the Reader may discern it, by the description, to bee a Maister-piece of excellent invention.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

IT is truly said of old; That peace is not deare at any rate. Which Antiochus well vnderstood, when he bought it of the Romaines for twelue thousand Attick talents, and 540000 bushels of wheate: Esteeming it as the soueraine happinesse of mans fortune; and an extraordinary effect of those intelligent spirits, which guide the motions of the celestiall spheres, to keepe the elements in a disagreing concord, and the feete of men in the pathes of tranquillitie. Hence it is, that such as are instruments of so great a good, and shall thereby happen to redeeme a Nation from horror and confusion, haue in all ages been crowned with honor & renowne, as the due rewarde of a Mediatour of Peace. And therefore Caesar, perswading Libo to negotiate a cessation of Armes, and to worke in Pompey a disposition to an agreement, propounded the honour which attended this seruice, and the merit of that endeavour which brought backe peace into the Empire.

*Liui. lib. 8.
Dec. 4.*

CHAP. X.

Pompey leaueth Brundisium, and shippeth himselfe for Greece.



HE worke beeing halfe perfected, and nine daies labour bestowed vpon it, the shippes that had transported the Consuls and the other part of the Armie, returned from Dyrrachium to Brundisium: and therevpon, Pompey beganne to fitt himselfe for a departure; Being induced therevnto, either by the workes which Caesar had begunne, or by a resolution formerly taken to quit Italie. And the better to retard Caesars prosecution (least vpon his issuing out, the souldiers should enter the towne) he mured vp the gates, and stopt the enterances of the streets and passages; sunke ditches and trenches crosse the waies & therein stuck sharp piles & stakes, and couering the same with slight hurdles, leuelled it with thin & light earth: leauing onely two waies free, which went vnto the Trauen, which he hedged in with a strong Palisado of huge sharpe Piles.

These things beeing thus prepared, he commaunded the souldiers to get a ship-board, without noyse or tumult; and left vpon the walles, and in the towers here and there, some of the readiest Slingers and Archers, to bee called away vpon a warning

Caesar.

warning ſigne, when the reſt of the ſouldiers were all ſhipped; appointing Gallies to take them in, at an eaſie and ſafe place. The inhabitants of Brundiuſum, oppreſſed with the iniuries and contamelies of Pompeys ſouldiers, did fauor Caſars partie; and underſtanding of this departure, whiſt they were running vp and downe, and buſied about getting aboard, gaue notice thereof from the tops of their houſes. Which beeing perceined, Caſar (not to omit any opportunitie of atchieuing his purpoſe) commaunded ladders to bee prepared, and the ſouldiers to take Armes. Pompey a little before night weied Anker: and the ſouldiers keeping guard on the wall, vpon the watch-word giuen, were all called fro their ſtations, and by knowne paſſages repaired to the ſhippes. Caſars ſouldiers with Ladders got vpon the wall: but beeing admoniſhed by them of Brundiuſum, to take heed of the blind ditch, they ſtood ſtill. At laſt, they were brought a great compaſſe about, and ſo came to the Hauens; and with ſkiſſes and boates, ſeized two ſhips with ſouldiers, which ſtuck by chance vpon the Mounts which Caſar had made.

Cicero. Vallum.

Plutarch in the life of Pompey

OBSERVATIONS.

Pompey ſuch as this manner of Pompeys departure from Brundiuſum, and the flight he vied to imbarke himſelfe and his Armie without danger of Caſars entering the towne, is commended for one of the beſt ſtratagems of warre that euer he vied; Let vs a little conſider the parts thereof, which preſent theſelues of two ſorts: the one conſiſting of the workes he made, to hinder and retard Caſars entrance, if happellie hee ſhould haue knowledge of his departure: and the other, in the cleanlie conuaince of his men aboard, without noiſe or tumult; & the ſemblance hee made of keeping the towne, by continuing watch vpon the walles, to the end there might be no knowledge taken thereof. The workes were of three ſorts. For, firſt hee mured and ſtopped vp the ends and enterances of ſtreets and lanes, which might giue acceſſe to a purſuing enemy. And to that end alſo, hee ſunk ditches, or trenches, croſſe the waies and paſſages: which he ſtuck full of ſharp ſtokes and Galthrops, and covered them with light and thin hurdles, that the Enemy might not eſpy them; And thirdly, hedged in the waies leading to the Port, with a ſtrong Palizado of huge ſharp piles: And ſo vied both the Lions and the Foxes ſkin, to auoid the danger which might haue fallen vpon him, if Caſar happily had found meanes to attache them, as they were incumbered in getting to their ſhips, and diſpoſing themſelues to flee away. VVhich beeing an occaſion that might haue giuen him great advantage, was in this manner carefullie preuented by Pompey. Howbeit, this his quitting Brundiuſum, is cenſured but for a faultie reſolution handſomlie caried: for, Cicero dooth much blame him for abandoning Italie; calling it a Themistoclean policie, to perſwade his partie to forſake their Countrey, and to leaue the beſt of their pleaſures, and the weakeſt of each ſexe, to ſuch miſerie and deſolation, as mooued pittie in thoſe that conſidered but the condition of the dogges, and brute

Cicero. Epist. ad Atticum.

beaſtes

beaſtes; as it fell out at Athens, when Themistocles perſwaded the Athenians to leaue their towne and Countrey, and betake themſelues wholly to ſea, to fight againſt Xerxes.

CHAP. XI.

Caſar diſpatcheth forces into Sardinia and Sicilie.
Cato endeauour to keepe Sicily for Pompey.



Albeit Caſar well knew, that it much imported a ſpeedy end of the buſineſſes, to get ſhippes and paſſe the Seas after Pompey, before hee could ioyne himſelfe with the forces of the tranſmarine parts; yet doubting the lets, and the long time before it could be effected, for that Pompey had taken with him all the ſhipping hee could get, and therby left him for the preſent no meanes to follow after: it remained that hee attended ſhipping to be brought from remote parts; as, out of Gallia, from Ancona and the Streights: which at that time of the yeere, would require a long and troubleſome paſſage. In the meane time, he thought it no way fit, that Pompeys old Army, & the two Prouinces of Spaine, ſhould be ſettled and aſſured; (one of them being deepeelie ingaged to Pompey for many great and ample benefiſts) or that they ſhould haue time to riſe new troopes, eſpecially of horſe; or that Gallia or Italie ſhould be ſolicited or wrought from him in his abſence: And therefore for the preſent, reſolved to deſiſt from making any further purſute after Pompey, and to goe into Spaine; giuing order to the Duumviri of all the Municipall townes, to provide ſhipping, and ſend it to Brundiuſum. He ſent Valerius, a Legate, into Sardinia, with one legion; and Curio, the Proprator, into Sicily with three legions; commaunding him, after he had poſſeſſed Sicily, to tranſport his Armie into Affrica. Marcus Cotta governed Sardinia, and M. Cato Sicily. Tubero ſhould by lotte haue held Affrica.

Caſar.

Baileiffes.

The Caralitani, underſtanding that Valerius was to be ſent vnto them, before he had left Italy, of their own accord thruſt Cotta out of the towne. Cotta amuſed thereat, and perceiuing withall, that the whole Prouince gaue conſent vnto it, fled preſently out of Sardinia into Affrica. Cato prepared and new trimmed the Gallies in Sicily, giuing order to the townes to build new, and proſecuting his direction with great diligence: Moreouer, by his Legats, muſtered and inrolled Cittizens of Rome, in Lucania and Brutia, requiring rateable numbers of horſe and foote from the townes in Sicilie. Which thinges beeing almoſt accompliſhed, underſtanding of Curio his coming, he complained in publique how he was abandoned and betrayed by Pompey; who, without any prouidence or preparation, had ingaged himſelfe in an vnneceſſary warre: and yet being deman-

ded

ded by himselfe, and the rest in the Senate, answered confidently, that hee was provided of all necessaries fit for warre: And after he had thus publicly complained, fled out of the Province. By which meanes, Valerius found Sardinia, and Curio Sicily, voide of government, and there brought their Armies.

Tubero, arriving in Affrica, found Atius Varus commanding the Province: who (as wee haue formerly shewed) hauing lost his cohorts at Auximum, fled forth with into Affrica; and of his owne authorite, possessed himselfe of the Province, which he found without a Gouvernour. He got together by new inolements, two compleat legions, which hee raised by his knowledge and experience of the people of that Country, by reason hee had governed that Province as Prætor some few yeeres before. Tubero, arriving with his fleet at Vrica, was by Varus kept out of the towne and the Haue; neither would he suffer him to set his sonne ashore, which was sicke, but compelled him to wey Anker and depart.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Plutarch in the
life of Pompey

THis Chapter maketh the first period of this warre, as it is taken from the beginning of these Ciuill broiles, vnto Pompeys forsaking Italie, which was begun and ended in the space of 60 daies: and also openeth the gate to second resolutions, which are prosecuted as the sequel of the Historie will manifest: Containing likewise the reasons, why Cæsar made not present pursuit after Pompey, as the hinges of the succeeding war, and the true causes of the consequents of the same. In the consideration whereof, albeit Cæsar vnderstood the advantage of him that prosecuteth a receding enemy, and the hopes which might be thereby conceiued of a speedie end of that warre; yet hauing no ready meanes to accomplish his desire, I thought it better to prevent such inconveniences as might happily haue fallen out vpon the same: and so to keep his partie in a progresse of their actiue thoughts, by clearing and assuring that Westerne part of the Empire, which Pompey had left vnto him by his departure; rather then to leaue an enemy on his back, or to admit a cooling and languishment of their resolutions, through expectation of shipping, to follow that course which otherwise had beene without exception.

Turri quæstæ
deficiunt est,
quam acquirere;
quoniam in ac-
quendo, signa-
tus p'sidentia
spe plus con-
stitit: et in
tunc: et in
quæstæ, sine pro-
pria v'state ne-
sum p'st. D.
Duple Zonaras

Europa prima
et præcipua
mundi pars.
Appian.
Europa, ævix
vixit: et omni
gentium populi
longæque terra
sub imperio
Plin. lib. 3. c. 11.

In the carriage whereof, we may obserue, that as vpon the first breaking out of these troubles, they leambed for the townes of Italie, & sought to strengthen their parties, by such as had no voice in the grand Chapter of the Senate, but onely inioyed the benefit of Municipall rights; so now being parted asunder, and the contagion of this intestine euill spread abroad, and grown to more ripeness, they made like haste to fasten vpon the remoter Provinces, wherein Cæsar had the better portion. For, in his share, were contained Italia, Gallia, Britannia, Hispania, Sicilia; which beeing the prime Countreys of Europe, were consequently the flower of that Empire, for that Europe hath euer been taken for the principall and chiefe part of the world.

THE

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

SEcondly, wee may obserue, in Cato, the effects of a Stoicall or formal spirit, which are more valuable in the ensignes of peace, then in the difficulties of warre. For, howsoeuer hee made shew of bestirring himselfe, in rigging and trimming vp the Gallies of his Province, commanding more to be built, raising new troopes of horse & foote, and prosecuting his commands with purpose of an exact account: yet in the end, vnderstanding of Curio his coming, spent his furie in complaining of his friends, and laying the cause of those garboiles vpon him, whom by election and consent he had formerly set vp, to make head against such, as otherwise may be supposed would haue contained themselves in a better measure of moderation.

CHAP. XII.

Cæsar goeth to Rome; and, calling a Senate, complaineth of the iniuries done vnto him.



These things beeing ended, that the souldiers might for the residue of the time bee a little eased and refreshed, Cæsar brought them backe into the next Municipall townes; hee himselfe went directlie to the Citie: and hauing called a Senate, hee laeth open the iniuries and wrongs offered vnto him by his Adversaries; sheweth them, that he neuer sought honour in the State by extraordinary meanes, onely hee looked to haue enioyed the full time of his Consulship, and there-with to haue been contented: which was no more then any Cittizen might stand for. The Tribunes of the people had required, that consideration might be had of him in his absence, notwithstanding the opposition of his enemies, and Cato his bitter resistance; spending the time after his old manner, with long and tedious speeches: which if Pompey (beeing Consul) had disliked, why did he suffer that to passe which was enacted? But if then he did allow and like of it, what reason had he to hinder him from inioying a benefit which the people of Rome had bestowed vpon him? From that, hee fell to speake of his patience: which appeared, in that of his owne accord, hee mooued that either party might quit their forces, which might haue bin very preiudiciall to his honour and dignitie: Declared what had beene the malice and bitterness of his Adversaries; who refused to doe that themselves, which they required of another man: choosing rather to imbroile and confound the whole State, then to forgoe the command of an Armie: Spake at large as well of the wrong done vnto him, by taking the two legions from him, as also for their hard and insolent dealing, in putting the Tribunes of the people by their place and authoritie.

F.

He

He forgot not likewise to relate the conditions which be propounded; the conference which he desired, and would not be graunted. In regard whereof, hee praied and required, that they would take the charge of the Common-weale, and giue a helping hand to him for the gouernment thereof. But, if they should vpon any doubt or mistrust, refuse to ioyne with him, hee would not much importune them, but would take it into his owne handes; and in the meane time, let Commissioners bee sent to Pompey to treat of peace. Neither did hee respect what Pompey a little before had saide in the Senate (That to whom soeuer Embassadors were sent, to such seemed to be ascribed Authoritie and Preheminence; as, on the contrary part, such as sent thē, manifested an apprehension of feare); for, these were arguments of pusillanimitie. For his part, as he had gone beyond him in deedes of Armes and noble aēt's; so would hee in like manner, endeavour to excell him in iustice and equitie.

The Senators were well pleased that Embassadors should be sent: but there was no man found that would go; euery man refusing in particular, for feare of Pompey: who, vpon his departure from Rome, had saide in the Senate, That hee would hold him that staid at Rome, in the same condition with them that were in Cæsars Campe. So that three daies were spent in debate and excuses; L. Metellus, Tribune of the people, being drawne by Cæsars aduersaries, to protract the time, and to hinder any matter which Cæsar should propound vnto them.

L. Metellus.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Irst, wee may obserue, how irksome it is to humane nature, for him that hath tasted the sweetnesse of authoritie, to forgoe the raines of command, and againe to inrolle his name in the list of common dutie; descending from the throne of soueraintie, to the condition of obedience, & to lose his eminencie in respectles equalitie: especially, if the honour be Militarie, and of Martiall nature. For, that fasteneth on vs with a stronger hold, then any other power; being lesse capable of moderation, and waited on with the eyes and expectation of present and future ages. Whereby, men growe desperately jealous of the opinion of the world, and cannot indure to quit themselves of that care, although they haue attained to the full time of their deliuerance: but to be supplanted in the midst of so glorious a race, or to be pulled out of the feare of Magistracie, by an abortiue miscarriage, is able to inrage an ambitious spirit, so farre beyond the bounds of modestie, that it will not spare any endeour, to confound the greatest Empire, with irrecoverable calamities.

Felicitation et
moderationis de-
uotum, Contu-
bernum.

THE

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



SEcondly, wee may obserue the disposition of those Senators, that by their staying at Rome, became neutrall in that Faction; and there-vpon, refused either to take Cæsars commandes, or to present themselves to Pompey, as Mediators of peace. Plutarch hath two reasons why the Senators would vnder take no such matter of Commission as was required by Cæsar. The first is this which is heere expressed; euery man fearing the displeasure of Pompey, who at his departure from Rome, had protested to hold them for enemies that went not along with him: where-as Cæsar censured their forbearance with better advantage to himselfe; and tooke their neutralitie as an argument of becoming his followers. The other reason which Plutarch auoucheth, is the opinion which the Senators had of Cæsars double dealing; as not carying his hart in his mouth, but pretending that which he neuer meant. For, they could not be perswaded that his end was a cessation of Armes, or such a peace with Pompey as should haue kept on foot their auncient libertie; but sought rather pretexts of good meaning, to colour his designe of making Rome his seruant. How-soeuer; wee may not omit what is reported to haue happened betweene him and Metellus, more then hee himselfe speaketh of. For, going about to take Money out of the Treasurie, hee was there stoutly resisted by this Metellus, of whom hee complaineth; alleading the Lawes and Aēt's of the State, forbidding any man to touch that Money, but in such times of extremitie as were therein expressed.

To which, Cæsar answered; That those Lawes were onely made for time of peace: but now, Armes and warre required an other course of proceeding. Neuertheless, Metellus would not suffer him to breake open the doores, vntill Cæsar aduised him to be gone if he loued his life; for, it was easier for him to dispatch him then to speake it: and so entered and caried away the Treasurie. VVhere-vpon, groweth that of Florus; *Censum et patrimonium populi Romani, ante rapuit quam imperium.*

And Appian, deriding the scrupulositie of the auncient Romaines, that would not touch that Treasurie but in extremitie of warre against the Celtes or Galles, saith; that Cæsar might lawfullie take it; for that hee had vanquished and subdued the Galles; vvhereby the Romaines had no further cause to feare them.

Denunciante
Pompeio pro ho-
stibus habitum
viri qui reipub.
defensionis ipse
melios ac neu-
trius partis, for-
orum filii nume-
ros, futuros pro-
nunciant. Suet.
tonius. 75.
Cicero. 10. E-
pist. ad Atticū.
Plutarch.
Lucan.
Appian.
Florus.

Non nisi per no-
strum robur por-
tussa patebunt
templa latius,
nullasque feres,
sine sanguine sa-
cro, sparsas, rap-
tor opes. Lucan.
lib. 3.
Dignū te Cæsa-
ris ira, nullus
honor faciet.
Idem eodem.

CHAP. XIII.

Cæsar leaueth the Cittie, goeth into Gallia,
and treateth with the Mar-
sellians.

Cæsar, perceiuing their resolution, after hee had spent there some few daies (that he might not lose any more time, and leaue those things vndone which he purposely intended) hee left the Cittie, and went into the further Gallia. Vpon his arriual there, hee vnderstood that Pompey had sent into Spaine Vibullius Rufus, whom Cæsar had a little before taken at Corfinium and dismissed him: and that Domitian likewise was gone to take Marselleis, with eight Gallies, which he set out from Sicilia and Sardinia, and manned them with slaues, men infranchised, and his owne husbandmen: Sending, as messengers before, certaine young noble men of Marselleis, with whom Pompey vpon his departure from the City had earnestly dealt, that Cæsars new fauours, might not put out of their remembrance the old benefits which hee had done vnto them. Those of Marselleis hauing receiued this message, (but their gates against Cæsar; called into the Cittie the Albicans, barbarous & mountainous people (who of auncient time had held amitie with them, and dwelt vpon the hilles aboue Marselleis) brought Corne from all the adiacent Regions & Castles into the towne; set vp offices & forges to make Armes; repaired both their walles, their naue, and their gates.

*Cæsar called out vnto him some fiftene of the chiefest men of Marselleis, and treated with them, that the beginning of the warre might not growe from that towne; who should rather follow the example of all Italie, then apply themselves to the will of any one man: not omitting such other persuasions as hee thought pertinent to a sound resolution. These men reported at Marselleis what Cæsar had deliuered, and by the common consent of the towne, returned this answer; That they vnderstood, that the people of Rome was diuided into two parts, neither was it in them to iudge, or could they discern which of the two was in the right. The Leaders of these two factions, were Pompey and Cæsar, both speciall Patrons and Benefactors to their Cittie; of whom, one had augmented the publique reuenues of the State, and indowed it with the landes and territories of the Volgi, Aremici, and the Heluij: The other, hauing conquered and subdued * Gallias, gaue it vnto them; whereby their tributarie in-comes were much augmented; and therefore, as they were equallie bound to both for their fauours, so would they carie to both an equall respect, not ayding either of them against the other, or receiuing them within their gates.*

Whilest these things were in handling, Domitius arrived at Marselleis with his shipping, and being receiued in, was made Gouverneur of the Cittie, and

By this Gallias
is vnderstood
some place
neere to Mar-
selleis.

and had the whole direction of the warre comited vnto him. By his appointment, the fleet was sent out into all Coasts; and such shippes of burthen as they found, they brought in: the nailes, timber, and tackling whereof, they tooke to mend and rigge out other shippes. What Corne soeuer was found in the Cittie, was brought in publique keeping; reseruing the surplus of victuall and prouision, for a sidge, as occasion should require.

Cæsar, prouoked with these iniuries, brought three legions to Marselleis, determined to make towres and mantelets ready for an assault, and to builde twelue new Galleis at Arles: which were armed, rigged, finished, & brought to Marselleis, within thirtie dayes after the timber was cut downe. Of these he made D. Brutus Admirall, and left C. Tribonius to follow the sidge.

OBSERVATION.

*R*om the Marsellians we may learne, that it is farre easier to say well then to doe well; for, howsoeuer they were able to discern the truth, and to giue an answer to Cæsar, well-beseeming the same and opinion of their literature and knowledge (being an Academie little inferiour to the best, and in later times more frequented by the Romanes, for the studie of Oratorie and Philosophy, then Athens, or any other such chiefe seat of the Mules); yet in their actions they disauowed all: taking vpon them most vnseasonably to arbitrate those differences, and to shew their opinion of the quarell, by taking part with one faction. Wherein their error the more appeard, in that the partie grieved was not liable to their award, but rather had occasion to gaine thereby a double honor to himselfe; first, by forcing them, and then by pardoning their rashnes. And yet some VVriters doe thinke, they did no more then they were tied vnto by former treaties, and leagues with the Empire (which they tooke to consist in Pompeys partie) whereof they were loiall & zealous confederates; as appeareth by their loue, when Rome was taken by the Galles: for, hauing newes therof, and vnderstanding of the composition which was to be made to raise the sidge from the Capitoll, they provided all the gold & silver they could get, & sent it to Rome for that seruice. In regard whereof, they were indowed with manie Priuiledges and Immunities, both in the Cittie, and elsewhere in the Empire. Howsoeuer, their hap being to respect more an exact obseruance of what had passed, then the fatall succceeding course of things, drew vpon them a sharpe and bitter warre; whereof they could not bee freed, but by submitting themselues to his mercy whom they had reiected. And thus wee see verified that of the Poet;

Quicquid delirant Reges plectuntur Achiui.

VVhich implieth also how dangerous it is, for men of authoritie and imploiment, to be subiect to wilfull ambition. For, as their seruice is of great importance to government, when it is attended with well qualified affections; so are their motions as fearefull, which are carried with the violence of exorbitant

F 3.

passions:

Horace.

*Augusto duum
viciissima post
Marsellia bona-
rum artium fides.
Tacit. 3. Annal.
Strabo. lib. 4.*

*Cumque alijs
populi terro-
re paucent,
Phocæis in du-
bys ausa est ser-
uare inuentura.
Non Graia le-
uitate fidei,
natæque iura, et
causæ non fata
sequi. Lian. lib. 3.*

passions: especially, considering the meanes they haue, either to misemploy the power of the State, or to giue way to such inconveniences, as may necessarily peruert all things but the ends they aime at: besides the aptnes of a high spirit, not to doubt the truth of that saying which is attributed to Cæsar, *Si violandum est ius, regnandi gratia violandum est.*

CHAP. XIII.

Cæsar hasteth into Spaine.



Whilest these things were prepared and put in order, he sent C: Fabius, one of his Legates, with three legions, that had wintered about Narbone, before him into Spaine; commanding him with all speed and diligence to take the passage of the Pyrenean hills, which were kept at that time with the forces of L: Afranius: and gave order for the other legions which wintered further off, to follow after. Fabius, according to his directions, made haste, put the Garizon from the passage, and by great iourneys marched towards Afranius Armie.

Afranius.

Petreius.

Varro.

* Salus estibus.

* Caudana.

* Inuenerunt.

* Afranius.

* Afranius.

* Afranius.

* Afranius.

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* Afranius.

* Afranius.

Vpon the arrivall of Vibullius Rufus, who (as it is formerly related) was sent by Pompey into Spaine, Afranius, Petreius, and Varro, Pompeys Legates (of whom the one gouerned the neerer Prouince of Spaine with three legions, the other, held the Country from the * forrest of Castile, to the riuer * Aua, with two legions; and the third commanded the Vettones and Lusitania, with the like number of legions) did so dispose and diuide their charges, that Petreius was appointed to bring his legions out of Lusitania, through the territories of the Vettones, and ioyned himselfe with Afranius: and that Varro, with his power, should keepe the further Prouince of Spaine. Which beeing so resolved & determined, Petreius hauing commanded the Lusitanians to leue horsemen, and other Auxiliarie forces; and Afranius likewise hauing made the like leue, in the territories of the * Celtiberi, * Cantabri, and the rest of the barbarous Nations bordering vpon the Ocean: Petreius came speedily through the Vettones to Afranius; and induced by the opportunitie of the place, by mutuall consent, resolved to keep the warre on foote neere about Ilerda.

There were with Afranius (as formerly hath been shewed) three legions, besides Targettiers of the neerer Prouince, & Buckler-bearers of the further Prouince, some 80 cohorts, and of both Prouinces about 5000 horse. Cæsar had sent his legions into Spaine, accompanied onely with sixe thousand Auxiliarie forces, and three thousand horse, which had been with him in the former warres. And the Gallies at his request furnished him with the like number; besides the noblest and valiantest amongst them, of whom hee had made particular choice to follow him in that warre. To these were added the better sort of the Aquitani, and high-landers, borderers vpon the Prouince in Gallia. Hee was aduertised that

Pompey

upon the first
 they have, either to employ
 such inconveniences, as may neces-
 sitate at, besides the aptness of a high
 hill, is attributed to Cæsar, *Si via-*

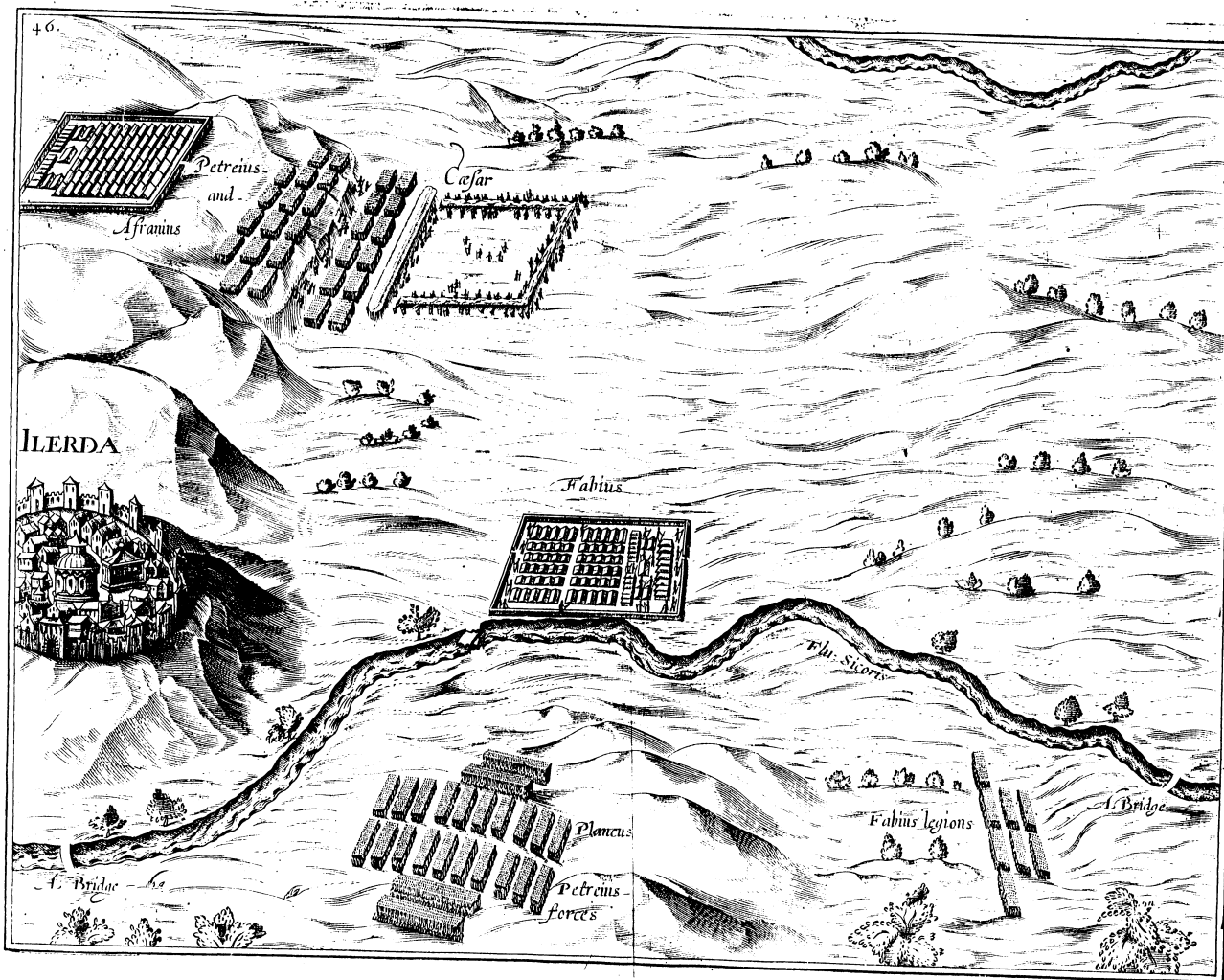
KILL

into Spaine.

were prepared and put in order,
 one of his Legates, with three legi-
 ons, entered about Narbone before him
 surrounding him with all speed and dili-
 gence, the passage of the Pyrenean hills, which
 at that time with the forces of L. Afrani-
 us, who had wintered further off, to follow af-
 ter him, put the Garrison from the
 hands of Afranius's Army.

As it is formerly related, was sent by
 L. Afranius, Pompey's Legates (of whom
 one, with three legions, the other,
 with two legions, to the river * Ana, with two legi-
 ons in Lusitania, with like num-
 ber of troops, that Petreus was appoin-
 ted to the territories of the Vellones,
 at Carro, with his power, should keep
 the Gauls from being further deter-
 mined, Petreus
 to him, and other Auxili-
 ary forces, made the like leuie, in the territories
 of the barbarous Nations bordering
 on the Vellones to Afranius; and
 by mutual consent, resolved to keep the

ly had been (fewed) three legions, be-
 sides Buckler-bearers of the further Pro-
 vinces about 5000 horse. Cæsar had sent
 with him about 1000 Auxiliary forces,
 with him in the former wars. And
 with the like number, besides the noblest
 he had made particular choice to follow
 the better sort of the Aquitani, and
 in Gallia, there was advertised that
 Pompey



Pompey was on his iourney, coming through Mauritania into Spaine, and that he would speedily be there with his legions: and thereupon, hee borrowed money of the Centurions and Tribunes of the souldiers, and gaue it to his Armie; whereby he gained two points: for, first he ingaged the Captaines by that lone to indonour his good succeffe; and secondly, bought the good affections of the souldiers by largesse and distribution. Fabius omitted no opportunity, to get the fauour of the Citties neere about him: which he labored aswel by Letters as Messengers, & had already made two bridges ouer the riuer * Sicoris, distant one from another about foure miles. and ouer these bridges sent out his men to forrage; for he had spent all that was to be found on this side the riuer. The same thing, and vpon the same occasion, did the Leaders of Pompeys Armie; and oftentimes their Caualry met & incountred together. And as it hapned, that 2 legions going out to forrage according to their daily custome, and had passed the riuer, the cariage & the Canahry following after, vpon a sudden (by the ouerpestering of horses, and swelling of the water) the bridge brake; and the rest of the Canahry was secluded & cut off from the legions. Which Petreius and Afranius perceining, by the hurdles and planks that came downe the riuer; Afranius, presently by the bridge which was adioyning to the towne & his Camp, put ouer 4 legions, and all his Canahry, & went to meet with Fabius his 2 legions. Vpon whose approche, L. Plancus that commanded the legions, being constrained by necessity, tooke the upper ground, diuiding his men into two Battalions, & making their fronts to stand 2 contrary waies, to the end they might not be circūvented by the horsemen. And although the number were very farre vnequall, yet hee valiantly withstood very violent charges of the enemy. The Canahry being thus ingaged, the Ensignes of two legions were defcried as far off, which Fabius had sent by way of the further bridge, to second these other two; suspecting that which was come to passe, that the Commanders of the aduerse Army, would take the occasion and benefit of this accident, to cut off our partie. Vpon whose approche, the battell ceased; and the legions on either side were brought backe into their Campes.

Helperios inter,
Sicoris non vlti-
mus Annus,
Saxus ingenti,
quum ponit Am-
p. Elitar arcu.
Hibernas possi-
tus agnos.
Lucan. lib.

Plancus sine
Platens, à Pla-
nitie p. dum,
play footed.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

THE first obseruation may be taken, from this desigine of Cæsars vpon Spaine, beeing at that time vnder the government and command of Pompey; The standing or falling whereof, did much import the successe of that warre: for which respect it was, that when Cæsar could not buckle with the person of his enemy, hee vsed all meanes to beat downe his authoritie, as the next in degree to his essence and beeing, and most concerning his honour and reputation. For, if he tooke from him those Prouinces, which the State had commended to his charge, and left him no interest in the obedience of such, whom he might in a sort challenge for his owne people; what assurance could the other parts of the Empire haue in his protection? or what could hee elswhere expect of that which these refused him?

The

Lib. Ethic. 4.

The excellencie of a General, is that perfection of iudgement commended by Aristotle, inabling him to discern, *quid primum*, or what is most materiall in that varietie of vndertaking, which falleth out in following a warre. And if that cannot with any conueniencie be attained, then to know the next point of importance, and so consequentie to distinguish the degrees of difference, as they stand ranked in the order of iudicious proceeding.

Petereus and
Afranius had
70000 men, or
thereabouts.
Caesar 35000.

For the effectuall prosecuting of which designe, let vs take a short view of their forces on each side, according as we find them mustered in this chapter; that by the inequalitye of their troopes, we may iudge of the want or sufficiencye of their directions. Afranius, as it is said in the storie, had three legions, and Petereus two legions, together with 80 cohorts of Auxiliarie forces, supplied vnto them by the two Prouinces of Spaine; which cohorts equalled the number of eight legions: and so in all, made thirteene legions. And according to the vsuall rate at that time of 5000 in a legion, amounted to 65000 men, together with 5000 horse; which came to seauentie thousand men, or thereabouts. To confront so great an enemy, Caesar had five legions, 12000 Auxiliarie troopes from the Galles, and peraduenture 1000 Eucati: which according to the former rate of a legion, did rise to 35000, or 40000 men at the most. Whereby the one exceeding the other, well neere in a double proportion of strength, and yet failing in correspondence of successe, calleth the verity of that prouerbe in question, *Ne Hercules contra duos*. Besides, the inequalitye of the place, where the triall was to bee made, being wholly deuoted to the greater partie; which is a matter of no small consequence. For, hee that maketh warre in a Countrey, absolute in fauouring the enemye and confronting his purposes, had need of more forces then the aduerser partie, or better fortune in his proceedings. And therefore Fabius, to prevent such mischiefs as might grow by that advantage, fought all meanes to draw some of the townes to his faction; and to make himselfe friends for his better support and securitie, according to that which was said of old; That warre cannot be made without some peace.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Rabbes saye,
that the Credit
or will sell
good to his
Debtors.

Laelius.

Secondly, wee may obserue the meanes he vsed, to secure himselfe of the loyaltie of his Armie, and whollie to ingage the soldier in his fortune. For, the money hee borrowed of the Tribunes and Centurions, was a speciall Tie of their affections to his seruice; forasmuch as no man witheth ill to him, by vvhose welfare and prosperitie he hopeth to thrive; for, so (wounding himselfe through another mans bodie) the hurt would fall vpon his owne head: but rather desireth such an accomplishment of his hopes, as may make himselfe partaker thereof. And on the other side, the largesse he made vnto the souldiers, did so oblige their indeuour to his purposes, that they were thereby readie to performe as much as warlike Laelius had promised in his owne person, on the behalfe

behalfe of the rest.

*Pectore si fratris gladium, iuguloque Parentis
Condere me iubeas, pleneque in viscera partu
Coniugis, inuita peragam tamen omnia dextra.*

Lucan. li. 1.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.



Hirdly, let vs consider the effects of diligence and prouident foresight, which doe oftentimes redeeme an Armie from a dishonourable overthrow; as may be learned from two circumstances in Fabius directions. First, in that he trusted not to one passage ouer the riuer Sicoris, but made two feuerall bridges, as well for the conueniencie as the better securitie of his people. Secondly, vpon the occasion which the enemy might take by the breaking of the bridge, to distresse the legions on the other side of the water, hee presently sent out succours to prevent such a casualtie: which albeit might seeme to haue proceeded out of curious suspition, or idle feare, yet fell out to be no more then was requisite and expedient. Vvhich may reach a General to be carefull euen of possibilities; and to prevent contingencies, with the certaintie of industrious directions: accounting alwaies that which may happen, to be as certaine as any thing we most expect.

P'ni antro non
sedit mus.

Quicquid fieri
potest, quasi futu-
rum cogite-
mus. Senec.
Epist. 24.

THE FOURTH OBSERVATION.



Concerning Spaine, wee are to note, that the Romaines at first diuided it into two Prouinces, which they called the Neerer, & the Further; or according to Strabo, the Vtter and the Inner; and were separated asunder by the riuer Iberus. And thence also they were called *Cis Iberum*, et *ultra Iberum*. The Neerer Prouince, beeing the lesser, continued without alteration during the Romaines government, and was sometimes called *Tarraconensis Prouincia*, of Tarraco, the principall towne of the same. But the Further, in proceesse of time was diuided into two partes; the one called *Betica*, and the other *Lusitania*: and so the whole Region of Spaine came to be diuided into three Prouinces. It was first entered by the Romaines, by occasion of the notable siege of Sagunt: for, P. Scipio, hauing subdued the Carthaginians, reduced Spaine into a Prouince, and left it gouerned by Proconsuls, vnto the time of Cornelius Lentulus, & Lucius Stertinius. Afterwards, it was gouerned by Proprators, and sometimes by Praetors, according as the Empire came to be enlarged; and had thereby many governments, for the preferment of such as had supplied the better places of dignitie in the State. Neuerthelesse, in the times of trouble, the Gouernours had alwaies Consularie power; as, in the warre against Sertorius, *Quintus Metellus*, Proconsull, et *Cn. Pompeius*, *Questor*, cum *Consulari potestate missi sunt*: And at this time, Pompey gouerned it by two Deputies or Legates, Touching the

Spaine.
Citerior, et P'ter-
ior.
Exterior, et
Interior. lib. 3.

Anno 8 C. 555.

Liuit.

the forme and figure of the Countrey, Strabo liketh it to an Oxe hide: the necke whereof ioyneth to the Pyrenean hilles, which rise in towres from one Sea to another, as limits and bounds between France and Spaine; taking their name (as some thinke) from Pyrene, the Maid that Hercules deflowred, whom Sil. Ital. mentioneth.

*Pyrene celsa nimboſi verticis arce
Diuifos Celtis, latè proſpectat Iberos;
Atque aterna tenet magnis diuortia terris
Hoſpitis Alcida crimen: qui ſorte laborum
Gerionis peteret cum longa tricornis arma
Poſſeſſus, Baccho, ſana Bebrycis in aula
Lugendam forma, ſine virginitate reliquit
Pyrenem.*

Deſertumque tenent Montes per ſecula nomen.

*Lib. 5.
Diodoro de Mi-
ſandis anſulta-
tibus.*

But according to the opinion more generally received, of the Greeke word *Παῖς*; for that Shepherds and Heardſmen ſet them once on fire, as witneſſeth Diodorus Siculus. And Aristotle; *In Liberia (inquit) combuſtis aliquando paſtoribus Syluis, calenteque ignibus terra, maniſeſtum argentum deſluxiſſe: cumque poſtmodum terra motus ſuſperueniſſet, eruptis hiatibus, magnam copiam argenti collectam; atque inde Maſſilienſibus proventus non vulgares obtigiſſe.* The Countrey of Spaine is commended for many things, as may appeare by diuers Elegies: amongſt which, that of Claudianus the Poet is written, as though the Author had been a penſioner to the Kingdome.

*Quid dignum memorare tuis Hiſpania terris
Vox humana valet? primo luat aqore ſolem
India: tu ſeſſos, exacta luce, ingales
Proluis, inque tuo reſpirant ſydera ſuætu.
Dives equis, frugum facilis, pretioſa metallis,
Principibus ſacunda pijs.*

CHAP. XV.

Cæſar, comming to his Armie, aduanceth forward, and incampeth neere vnto the Enemye.

Cæſar.



Within two dayes after, Cæſar came into the Campe with nine hundred horſe, which he had kept with him for a convoy. The bridge broken by the tempeſt, was almoſt reedified; and that which remained vndone, he commaunded to be finiſhed in the night. And hauing ſcene the nature and ſituation of the place, he left ſix cohorts to keepe the Campe & the bridge, with all the cariages of the Armie. And the next day, putting all

all his forces into a triple battell, he marched towards Ilerda: and there ſtanding awhile in Armes, offered battell, in an equall and indifferent place. Afranius brought out his forces, and made a ſtand in the miſt of the hill, vnder his Campe. Cæſar, perceiuing that Afranius at that time was not diſpoſed to fight, determined to incampe himſelfe ſome 400 paces from the foot of the hill. And leaſt the ſouldiers ſhould be interrupted in their workes, by the ſudden aſſaults and incurſions of the enemy, he forbade them to fortiſie it with a rampire or wall, which muſt neceſſarily be diſcouered and ſcene aſarve of; but cauſed a ditch to be made of fiſteene foote in breadth, in the front of the Campe next vnto the Enemye. The firſt and ſecond battell (according as was directed) continued in Armes; and the third battell performed the worke behind them vnſcene, before it was vnderſtood by Afranius that Cæſar would incampe in that place. Which beeing finiſhed, he drew his legions within the ditch, and ſo ſtood in Armes all night.

The next day, he kept all his Armie within the ditch. And for aſmuch as the matter to make the Rampire was to be fetched farre off, he kept the like courſe for the finiſhing of the reſt; allotting each ſide of the Campe, to be fortiſied by a ſeueral legion, with a ditch to be ſunk about, of the ſame cantling: and in the meane time, made the other legions to ſtand ready in Armes againſt the enemye.

Afranius and Petreius, to the end they might amuſe the ſouldier, and hinder the worke, brought downe their forces to the foote of the hill, and prouoked them to fight. Forbeit, Cæſar intermitted not the worke, truſting to XII legions in Armes, and the munition of the ditch. The Enemye not making any long ſtay, or aduancing further then the foote of the hill, ledde backe their troopes into the Campe. The third day, Cæſar fortiſied his Campe with a Rampire; and commaunded the reſt of the cohorts and the cariages which were left in the other Campes, to be brought vnto him.

Promo tum Cæſar Olympo, in neſtem ſubita circumdedit agmina ſoſas, dum prima præſtant acies, hoſtemque ſeſſat. Luc. 1.4.

OBSERVATION.

IT may be obſerued for Cæſars cuſtome throughout the whole courſe of his warres, to approche as neere the enemye as conveniently he could; that ſo he might the better obſerue his paſſages, and be ready to take the fauour of any opportunitie, which either the nature of the place, or the motions of the aduerſary would afford him. Which was the rather his aduantage, in regard of his dexteritie, and ſuperlative knowledge in the vſe of Armes, together with the experience of his old legions: whereby he was able, not onely to improve his owne deſignes to the vtmoſt of an honourable ſucceſſe, but to returne the diſgrace of any attempt made vpon his Armie, vpon the heads of them that were authors of the ſame. For, otherwiſe, his accoſting ſo neere an enemye, might haue turned to his owne loſſe; as beeing full of hazard, & ſubiect to more casualties then hee that ſtandeth further off. And therefore the rule is; that he that deſireth to ſit neere his aduerſarie, muſt be exceeding circumſpect, and ſure of ſome aduantage, either from

Lib. 1. cap. 5.

from the place, or the ouer-awing power of his forces, or else out of his owne vertue, or by some other meanes, to ouer-sway the inconueniences which attend such ingagements. As may appeare by that which Frontinus obserueth hence, touching the straight, wher-into Caesar was fallen; being either to giue battell, which the enemy refused: or to make good that place, from whence he could not retire but with danger. Whereupon, a little before night hee stole the making of a ditch on the backe of his Armie; and retiring himselfe within the same, stood in Armes all night, for his better safetie.

The vse of such ditches are of much importance, and haue oftentimes redeemed an Armie from great extremities: and were so frequent vpon all occasions with the Romaines, that he that shall deny them to be good ditchers, shall doe them wrong. And not onely they, but other Nations, could tell how to make vse of the Spade.

Pericles of Athens, being forced by them of Peloponnesus, into a place that had but two out-lets of escape, sunke a ditch of a great latitude, thwart one of the passages (as though he meant to keepe out the enemy) and let his soldiers to breake out the other way. The Peloponnesians, thinking hee could no way escape by the passage where the trench was cut, applied themselves whollie to the other place, where the souldiers made shew of breaking out: whereby (through the help of bridges which he had formerly provided) hee escaped ouer the ditch without resistance. Sometimes they added other helps to these trenches, especially when they fought handsome meanes to get themselves away: whereof Sertorius may be an instance. VVho, hauing the enemy pressing him in the reare, and being to passe a Riuer, drew a ditch and a rampire at his backe, in the fashion of a halfe moone: which rampire, he heaped with wood and combustible matters; and so setting it on fire, kept off the enemy, and passed with ease ouer the water.

In like manner, Herculeius, one of Sertorius Legates, hauing rashly entered with a small power into a long and narrow passage, between two hills; & finding himselfe pursued by great forces of the enemy, sunke a crosse trench between the two Mountaines: and piling the rampire with wood, set it on fire, & so cut off the enemy.

CHAP. XVI.

Caesars attempt to possesse himselfe of a small hill:

what disadvantage he ran into, by missing of his purpose; what meanes he vsed to recouer himselfe.



Etweene the towne of Ilerda, and the next hill where Petreius and Afranius were incamped, there was a Plaine, of about three hundred pases; in the midit whereof stood a little Mole, rising higher then the rest: which if Caesar could get and fortifie, he hoped to cut off the enemy from the towne & the bridge, and from such victuals and provisions as were brought

brought to the towne: whereupon, he tooke three legions out of the Campe; and hauing put them into order of battell, hee commanded the Antesignani of one legion, to runne before and possesse the place. Which being perceived, the cohorts that kept watch before Afranius Campe, were presently sent a neerer way to take that Mount. The matter came to blowes: but forasmuch as Afranius parties came first to the place, our men were beaten backe; and by reason of new supplies sent against them, were constrained to turne their backs, and retire to the legions.

The manner of fight which those souldiers vsed, was first to runne furthestlie vpon an enemy, to seize any place boldly and with great courage; not much respecting their orders or ranks, but fighting in a scattered and dispersed fashion. If they chaunc'd to be thoroughly charged, they thought it no shame to giue way and retire; accustomed there-vnto, by frequenting the Lusitanians, and other barbarous people, vsing that kind of fight: as it commonly falleth out, that where the souldiers haue long liued, they get much of the vse and condition of those places. Notwithstanding, our men were much troubled thereat, as vnaccustomed to that kind of fight: for, seeing every man leaue his ranke, and runne up and downe, they feared least they should be circumented, and sette vpon in flanke, and on their bare & open side; where-as themselves were to keepe their order, and not to leaue their places, but vpon extraordinary occasion.

Vpon the routing of the Antesignani, the legion that stood in the corner, left the place, and retreated to the next Hill; almost all the Armie being affrighted, vpon that which had happened beyond every mans opinion, contrarie to former vse.

Caesar, encouraging his men, brought out the ninth legion to second them; by that meanes compelling the enemy (insolent of good successe, and shrewdly pursuing our men) to turne their backs, and to retire to the towne of Ilerda, and there to make a stand vnder the malles. But the souldiers of the ninth legion, caried on with endeuour, and going about to repaire their losse, they rashly followed the enemy into a place of disadvantage, and came vnder the Hill whereon the towne stood: and as they would haue made their retreat, they were charged afresh from the upper ground. The front of the place had an vnequie broken ascent, and was on each side steepe; extended onely so much in breadth, as would serue three cohorts to imbatell in: neither could the Cavalrie come to helpe them. The Hill declined easly from the towne about foure hundred pases in length: and that way our men had some conueniencie of retreat, from the disadvantage to which their desire had vnadvisedly led them. The fight continued in this place: which was very vnequall, both in regard of the straightnes thereof, as also for that they stood vnder the foote of the Hill, whereby no weapon fell in vaine amongst them. Notwithstanding, by prowesse and valour they patientlie endured all the woundes they received. The enemies forces were supplied and renewed, by such cohorts as were often sent out of the Campe through the towne, that fresh men might take the place of such as were wearied out. And the like vvas Caesar faine to doe, sending freshe Cohorts to that place to relieue the wearied.

After they had thus continuallie fought for the space of five houres together, and that our men were much over-charged with an vnequall multitude; hauing spent all their weapons, they drew their swords, and ascended vpon the hill, to charge and assault the enemy: and hauing slaine a few of them, the rest were drinen to make a retreat. The cohorts beeing thus put backe to the walles, and some of them for feare hauing taken the towne, our men found an easie retreat. Our Causalrie did from a lowe ground get vpon the toppe of the hill, and riding up and downe betweene the two Armies, made our souldiers to retreat with better ease: and so the fight succeeded diuersly.

About scauentie of our men were slaine in the first onset. And amongst these was slaine *Q. Fulginius*, Captaine of the first Hastate Centurie of the fourteenth legion; who, for his exceeding valour, was preferred to that place from the lower orders. And of Afranius partie were slaine *T. Caelius*, Centurion of a Primipile order, and foure Centurions more, besides two hundred souldiers. But such was the opinion of that daies business, that either side believed they left with the better.

Afranius party was so perswaded, for that they long stood to handy blowes, and resisted the violence of our souldiers, although in all mens iudgement they were the weaker: as also, for that they first tooke and held the place which gaue occasion of that fight; & in the first encounter, compelled our men to turne their backs. Our men, in like manner, thought they had the better, in regard they had maintained fight for five houres together, in a place of disadvantage, & with an vnequall multitude: that they ascended vpon the hill with their swords drawne, and compelled their aduersarie to turne their back, & to retreat into the towne, mangle the disadvantage of the place.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

IN this direction which Cæsar gaue, to take the little Hill betweene Ilerda and Afranius Campe, we may obserue the danger depending vpon the mischieuing of an action. For, the failing of a purpose, in seeking to obtaine that which would prooue of great aduantage, doth oftentimes drawe men into as great inconueniences. And as the end in euery designe pretendeth gaine, so the meanes thereof doe giue way to hazard: from whence it consequently followeth; that such as are employed in execution, had neede to vse all indeuour, not to falsifie the groundes of good directions, by negligent or inconsiderate cariage; but rather, to make good any want or defect, by serious and warie prosecution of the same.

And therather, for that it specially concerneth their good, that haue the charge and handling of commaundes; for, they first are like to feele the smart of anie error committed therein; or otherwise, to haue the honour of anie fortunate successe, for as much as Vertue hath all her praise from Action.

Concer-

Et videtur sub-
dulo Martepi
pendit. Lucan.
lib. 4.

Omnis laus vir-
tutis in actione
consistit. Arifst.
Eth.

Concerning the vse of running, we are to vnderstand, that the Romaines (amongst other their exercises of Armes) had speciall practise of this, as auailable in foure respects, according as Vegetius hath noted; First, to the end they might charge the enemy with greater force and violence. Secondly, that they might possesse themselves with speed, of places of aduantage. Thirdly, that they might readily discover, as should be found expedient vpon all occasions. And lastly, to prosecute a flying enemy, to better purpose and effect. And this, as Seneca saith, they practised in peace; that beeing accustomed to needlesse labour, they might be able to discharge necessarie duties. And Liuius, amongst the militarie exercises vsed by Scipio, to fit his men for those glorious exploits which hee afterwards atchieued, saith; That the first day, the legions ran foure miles in Armes. And Suetonius affirmeth, That Nero, hauing appointed a race for the Prætorian cohorts, caried a Target lifted vp before them with his owne hand. And that Galba did more admirably; for, beeing sured of purpose to make himselfe eminent, directed a field race with a Target, himselfe running as fast as the Emperours Chariot, for twentie miles together.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

THE second thing to be noted in these specialties, is the bold enterprise of Cæsar's men, in charging the enemy with their swordes drawne, against the Hill; and making them to giue backe, had an easie and safe retreat from the danger wherein they were ingaged. Whereby wee may obserue, that difficulties of extremitie, are neuer better cleared, then by aduenturous and desperate vndertakings: According to the condition of diseases, and distemperatures of the body; which beeing light & easie, are cured with milde and easie potions: but beeing grievous and doubtfull, doe require sharpe and strong remedies. VVhich doth also in like manner appeare throughout the whole course of Nature, and particularly in waights: for, as ponderous and heauie bodies are not moued, but with a counterpoise of greater force; no more can extremities of hazard bee auoided, but by like perillous enforcements.

And hence groweth the difference betweene true valour and fool-hardy rashnesse; beeing but one and the same thing, if they were not distinguished by the subiect wherein they are shewed. For, to runne headlong into strange adventures, vpon no iust occasion, were to these more leuitie then discretion: And againe, to vse the like boldnesse in cases of extremitie, deserueth the opinion of vertuous endeour. As is well obserued by Homer, in the person of Hector, perswading the Troians that fledde away, to stand and make head against the Grecians; This is the time, saith he, considering the danger wherein wee are, to vse that prowesse and courage which we boast of.

And accordingly, Diomedes censured Glaucus in the same place, for offering himselfe to the furie of the Grecians; Either thou art some God, saith he,

G 2.

or

Lib. 1. cap. 9.
The vse of
running.

Miles in media
pace decurret,
sive vilo iussu, et
supernaculo labo-
re lassatur, ut
sufficere neces-
sario possit. Seneca
Epist. 18.
Lib. 26.

Medici leuitior
egrotantes, leui-
ter curant: gra-
uioribus autem
morbis, pericu-
losas curaciones
et aucipites ad-
hibere coguntur.
Cicero. li. 1. de offi-
cijs.

Iliad. 6.

or else but a lost and forlorne man. VVhich may serue to learne vs the true vlt of courage; that ordinarily is neuer more shewed then in misemployment.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

The parts of a Legion.

Hauce already, in the obseruations of the second Commentary of the warres of Gallia, discoursed particularly of the partes of a legion: VVhere it appeareth, that in Caesars time, a legion consisted of fife thousand men, or thereabouts; and according to the sufficiency and experience of the souldiers, was diuided into three parts. The first and meaneft of such as followed an Ensigne, were called *Hastati*. The second, *Principes*. And the third and chiefe sort, *Triarii*: and according to this diuision, had their place and precedencie in the Armie.

Againe, each of these three kindes, was diuided into tenne companies, which they called *Maniples*; and euery *Manipulus* was subdiuided into two *Centuries* or *Orders*: and in euery Order there was a *Centurio* or *Captaine*. These orders were distinguished, by the numbers of the first, second, third, and so consequently vnto the tenth orders, which were the last & lowest of each of these three kindes. So that this Q. Fulginius, here mentioned, was *Centurio* of the first and prime order of the *Hastati*: And T. Cæcilius, *Centurio* of the first order of the *Triarii*, which by excellencie was called *Primipilus*, or the Leader of the first companie of a legion.

Antesignani.

Lib. 22.

Lib. 9.

Now, concerning their imbattelling, we are to note, that according to this former diuision of *Hastati*, *Principes*, and *Triarii*, vpon occasion of fight, they made a triple battell, one standing in front to another; which we call the vanguard battell, and reareward. VVhereof the *Hastati* were called *Antesignani*: not for that they had no Ensignes of their owne; for, euery *Manipulus* had an Ensigne: but because they stood imbattelled before the Eagle, & other the chiefe Ensignes of the legion. To which purpose is that of Liuius, *Pugna orta est non illa ordinata per Hastatos, Principeisque et Triarios, nec ut pro signis Antesignani, post signa alia pugnaret Acies*. And againe; *Cadunt Antesignani: et ne nudentur propugnatoribus signa, fit ex secunda prima Acies*. VVhereby it appeareth, that most of the chiefeft Ensignes were with the *Principes*, which were called *Subsignani*, as the *Triarii* *Postsignani*.

Lib. 5.

Amongst other benefites of these so particular diuisions of an Armie, that is not the least which is noted by Thucydides, *Vt in sua imperatoris breui spacio ad singulos milites deferri possent*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVII.

Caesar, brought into great extremitie by ouerflowing of two Riuer.



HE enemy fortified the Mount for which they intended, with great and strong workes; and there put a Garizon. In the space of those two daies that these things were in doing, there fell out vpon a suddaine a great inconuenience: for, such a tempest happened, that the like waters were neuer scene in those places. And further besides, the snow came downe so abundantly from the Hilles, that it ouer-floved the banks of the Riuer; and in one day brake downe both the bridges which Fabius had made: and thereby brought Caesar into great extremitie. For, as it is formerly related, the Campe lay betwene two Riuer, Sicoris and Cinga, being distant about 30 miles one from another. Neither of these Riuer were passable: so that all the Army were of necessity cooped up in that straightness; neither could the Citties, which had formerly ranged themselves with Caesars partie, furnish any supplies of victuall and prouision: nor such of the Armie as had gone far for forrage, being hindered by the riuer, could returne to the Campe; nor yet the great conuoyes and reinforcements, comming to him out of Italy and Gallia, could gette to the Campe.

Caesar.

Cinga rapidus
magis quam
mazina.

The time was very hard; for, there was neither old corne left of their winter prouisions, nor that on the ground was as yet ripe. The Citties and townes neere about were all emptied; for, Afranius before Caesars coming, had caused all the Corne to be brought into Ilerda: and that which remained, was since Caesars comming all spent. And for Cattell (which might haue relieved this necessity) by reason of the warre they were remooued by the bordering townes, and carried further off. Such as were gone out to forrage, and to seeke Corne, were by the light Armed Portingalls, and the Buckler-bearers of the heather Spaue, much troubled and molested: for, these men could easily passe the riuer, forasmuch as none of them used to goe to warre, without bladders for that purpose. On the contrary part, Afranius abounded with all necessary prouisions; great quantity of Corne was formerly provided and stored up; much was brought in from all the Prouinces round about, hauing also great plenty of forrage in his Camp: for, the bridge at Ilerda afforded meanes of all these things without danger; and the Country beyond the riuer was whole and untouched, which Caesar could not come vnto by any meanes. The watres continued for many dayes together. Caesar used all meanes to reedifie the Bridges: but neither the swelling of the Riuer would permitte him, nor yet the cohorts of the Enemies, placed on the banks of the other side, suffer him to goe forwardes with it: which they might easilie hinder, both in regard of the nature of the riuer; the

G 3.

greatness

greatnes of the water; as also, for that they might easily cast their weapons fro along the banke, unto one place or point. Whereby it was very hard, at one and the same time (the River running so violently as it did) to doe the worke, and to shunne the weapons.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Irst, we may obserue, that the strength of a multitude is not prui-
ledged from such casualties as betide the weakenesses of particular
persons; but doth oftentimes vndergoe extremities, which can
neither by prouidence be prevented, nor remoued by industrie: &
are such as proceede not from the indeuour of an enemy, but out of the cir-
cumstances of time and place; together with such accidents as are interlaced
with the same. In respect whereof it was, that Cambises told Cyrus; That in
the course of warre he should meet with some occasions, wherein he was not
to labour and contend with men, but with chaunces and things, which were
not to be ouercome with lesse difficultie then an enemy; and are the more
dangerous, according as they giue way to scarcitie and lack of victuall. For, as
it is laid in the same place, *Scis breui, finem habiturum Imperium, si commea-
tu exercitus caret.*

The remedies whereof, are first, Patience; which is as requisite in a fouldi-
er, as either courage or any other abilitie: and in such cases keepeth an Army
from discontentment and disorder, vntill meanes of better fortune. And sec-
ondly, Good indeauour, which auaieth much in such chaunces; the effect
whereof, will appeare by that which Caesar wrought, to redeme his Armie
from these inconueniences.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Concerning that which is heere noted of the Spaniards, that made
nothing of passing a River with the helpe of bladders, which the
Romaines werereadier to wonder at then to imitate; it is obser-
ued, that as people exquisitely fashioned to a ciuill life, by a firme &
settled policie of government, are firme and reall in the whole course of their
proceedings, and accordingly doe shew their punctualitie, as well in their fol-
lemities and priuate carriages, as in their magnificent and stately buildings:
so on the other side, barbarous and rude Nations, that liue vnder generall and
slight lawes, are as slight and rude in their actions; as amongst other things,
may appeare by that the Spaniards thought it no scorn, to vie the help of blad-
ders in passing ouer a Riuer, as a deuise comming next to hand: which the peo-
ple of a wife and potent State, would not haue done, but by a sure and substan-
tiall bridge.

The vie of which bladders, as it hath been auncient amongst people of that
nature, so it is continued in the same manner, by the Sauages, inhabiting Gron-
land,

*Sunt quaedam in
quibus non ad-
uersus homines
certamen est, sed
cum ipsi rebus
quas superare
indignis est. Isti
de Inst. Cyri.*

*Diligentia in
omnibus rebus
summum valde.*

*Bladders vs'd
by the Span-
iards, in pass-
ing ouer the
rivers.*

land, and the North parts of America; as appeareth by the discoueries made
of late by the Moscouy Marchants, about the Northwest passage: fro whence
such as are imploied in those voiaiges, haue brought great and large bladders
or bagges, made of Seale skinnies, ingeniously deuised to be filled and blowed
with wind, and tied behind at their girdle, and at their collar, to helpe them-
selues in swimming. And after the same easie fashion, the Indians of Peru, as
Iosephus Acosta writeth (in stead of wood and stone) made their bridges ouer
great Riuer of plaited Reedes, which they fastened to the bankes on each side
with stakes: or otherwise of bundles of straw and weedes, by which, men and
beasts (if there be any credit in his storie) passe ouer with ease. Howbeit, as
when the ancient Greeks would note a man of extreame insufficiencie; They
would say he could neither reade nor swim: So Caesar seemed of the same opi-
nion, by commending the skill of swimming, as a thing of much consequence
in the vie of Armes. Whereof he made good experience in Egypt; where he
cast himselfe into a small boate, for his better safetie: and finding it ouer-
charged, and ready to sinke, he leapt into the sea, and swam to his Fleet, which was
200 paces off, holding certaine papers in his left hand, aboue the water; and
trayling his coate of Armes in his teeth, that it might not be left to the enemy.

Lib. 6. ca. 14.

reeling & falling

CHAP. XVIII.

Afranius marcheth with three legions, to cut off a
party. The scarcitie of victuall in
Caesars Armie.



It was told Afranius, of great troopes and conuoies that were
comming to Caesar, but were hindered by the waters, and a-
boade there by the Rivers side: for, thither were come Ar-
chers out of Ruthenia, and Horsemen out of Gallia, with ma-
nie carres & carriages, according to the custome of the Galles.
There were besides, of all sorts, about sixe thousand men,
with their seruants and attendants; but without order, or any knowne com-
mand: for, euery man was at his owne libertie, traouelling the Countrey with-
out feare, according to the former freedome & safetie of the waies. There were
likewise many young men of good ranke, Senators sonnes, and Knights of Rome;
besides Embassadors from sundry States, & diuers of Caesars Legates. All these
were kept backe by the Riuer.

Afranius went out in the night time with three legions, and all his horse, to
cut off this partie, and sending his Canallie before, sette vpon them vnawares.
Howbeit, the Canallie of the Galles, put themselves speedily in order, and buck-
led with them. And as long as it stood vpon indifferent tearmes, they, being but
a few, did withstand a great number of the enemy: but as soone as they dis-
uered

Caesar.

Tam comes fam-
per magnorum
prima miliorum
Sena famu-
larum: nulliplo
obsequio ab hosti-
bus regis, toto
consequio pro-
prietis omni ex-
equium Ciceroni.
Lucan. lib. 4.

Primum cana-
lax madefacta
vomerum parum
Texitur in pup-
pum, caeloque in-
duta iuueno
vestrum patrum
venerum fere-
bantur amem.
Lucan. lib. 4.

uered the Ensignes of the legions comming towards them, some few of them be-
ing slaine, the rest betooke themselves to the next hilles.

This small time of encounter, was of great consequence for the safetie of our
men: for, by this meanes, they had opportunitie to take the upper ground. There
were lost that day 200 Archers, a few horsemen, and no great number of the
souldiers boyes, together with the baggage. Victualls, by reason of all these
things waxed very deere, as well in regard of the present want, as also for feare
of future penurie, as commonly it happeneth in such cases; insomuch as a bushell
of Corne was worth fiftie pence. Whereby the souldiers grew weake for want of
sustenance; and the inconueniences therof, daily more and more increased. For,
so great was the alteration which happened in a few daies, that our men were
much afflicted with the extreame want of all necessary provisions: whereas they
on the other side, hauing all things in abundance, were held for victors. Caesar
sent vnto those States which were of his party, and in stead of Corne, gaue them
order to furnish him with Cattell; dismissed souldiers boyes, and sent them to
townes further off; relieuing the present scarcitie by all the meanes he could.

Afranius and Petreius, together with their friends, enlarged these things in
their Letters to Rome: rumour and report added much heere vnto; as that the
warre was euen almost at an end. These Messengers and Letters beeing come to
Rome, there was great concourse from all parts to Afranius house, much con-
gratulation and reioicing for these things: and there-upon, many went out of
Italy to Pompey, some to be the first messengers of the newes; others, that they
might not seeme to expect the euent of the war, and so prooue the last that came
to that partie.

When the matter was brought to these difficulties and extremities, and all
the waies were kept by Afranius souldiers and horsemen; Caesar gaue order to
the souldiers, to make such boates and Barks as hee had in former yeeres taught
them the vse of in the warre of Britaine: the keeles whereof were built of light
stufse, and small timber, and the upper partes made with wicker, and covered
with hides. Which beeing finished, he laded them vpon Carres, and carried them
in the night some twentie two miles from the Campe. And in those Barks, trans-
porting his souldiers ouer the riuer, vpon a suddaine posselt himselfe of a little
hill, which lay continent vnto the water side: which hill he speedily fortified, be-
fore the enemy had notice thereof. Afterwards, he brought ouer a legion to that
place, and made a bridge fro side to side in two daies space: and so the conuoies,
which had gone forth for provisions & forrage, returned backe in safeties; wher-
by he began to settle a course for provision of Corne.

The same day, he passed ouer the riuer a great part of his Cavalrie, who fal-
ling vnlooke for vpon the forragers (scattered heere and there without feare
or suspicion) cut off a great number of men and cattell. Where-upon, the Enemy
sending certaine Spanish troopes, bearing little round bucklers, to second and
relieve the forragers, they diuided themselves of purpose into two parts; the one
to keepe and defend the booty which they had gotte, and the other, to resist and
beate backe the forces sent to charge them. One of our cohorts, which had easilie
runne out before the Armie, was intercepted, & cut off: the rest returned by the
bridge into the Camp in safety with a great booty.

THE

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



Hefe Rutheni inhabited that part of prouince where Rhodius now
standeth: amongst whom Caesar had ordinarily a legion or two in
Guarizon, for the better keeping of the Countrey in obedience, be-
ing a stout and warlike people, and vsing archerie, as appeareth in
this place. Which, howsoever the course of time hath brought into vter
contempt, yet let vs not seeme to take notice, that anciently it hath been vsed
by such as performed the greatest feates of Armes: for, Hercules had but two
sorts of weapons to atchieue labours of so much variety; a Club for such mon-
sters as would contest with his valour, and Boaw and Arrowes for others that
kept further off. And in the old warre of Troy (if Homer may bee believed)
Pindarus, Duke of Lycia, hauing a ftable of gallant Courfers, left them all at
home, least hee should not find meanes at Troy, to giue them their ordinarie
keeping; and came on foote with his boaw and arrowes, with such reputation
of his deedes of Armes, that Aeneas fought him out in a conflict, to resist the
rage and extreame presures of Diomedes. And on the contrary part, Teucer
relieued the distressed Grecians from a hot and desperate pursute, by slaying
with his boaw eight valiant Troians before he tired his foote.

Concerning the vse of which weapon, howsoever it may seeme ridiculous
(to such as vnderstand nothing but the course of the present age) to recall the
long boaw to the seruice of a battell; yet they may remember, that the Gray-
goose wing gaue our forefathers such aduantage, that they wrought wonders
amongst all Nations for deedes of Armes: which wee should imitate with as
much hope of successe, if we could handle our boawes in any measure as they
did. Of this I haue already formerlie treated.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

It is a saying as true as it is old, that An ill hap commeth not alone, but
is alwaies attended with such consequents as will enforce other in-
conueniences; as may be obserued by this extremitie heere mentio-
ned. For, the mischiefe was not bounded with the affliction which Caesar suf-
fered for want of needfull prouision, notwithstanding the weight was such as
could not bee borne by ordinarie patience: but the enemy enlarged it to his
further aduantage, vaunting of it as a helpelesse remedy, and making out dis-
patches to send victorie to Rome. VWhich gaue him yet further preiudice in
the opinion of the world; and made those his enemies, that formerlie shewed
no dislike of his proceedings. And thus euery ill chance hath a taile of many
other misfortunes; which if either prouidence or indourment may prevent, it
shall much import a Commaunder to auoide them.

Rutheni.
Sabinum flau-
langa statione
Rutheni. Luc.
lib. 1.

Symphidale.
Iiad. lib. 5.

Iiad. lib. 7.

An ill chance
commeth not
alone.

T H E

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

Necessitas fortiter ferre docet, consuetudo facit. Seneca. de tranquill. cap. 10

lib. 5.

Corraclies.

AS Necessitie maketh men constant in their sufferings, so Custome giueth easines and meanes of deliuerance; according as may appear by this direction of Caesar, which was wholly drawne from former experience. For, first the Boates heere prescribed, were such as heved in the warre of Britannie; and as far as may bee gathered out of the former Commentaries, were those he commaunded to be built for his second iourney: which he would now imitate, in regard of the flatnes of their bottomes, and not otherwise. For, it is not to be supposed, that those Barkes were couered with skinnes; vnlesse peradventure hee used some such as these vpon occasion in that warre, not expressed in the storie.

Herodotus in his *Clio*, describeth the like; The boats (saith he) which come from Babylon, downe the Riuer Euphrates, are made by the Heardsmen of Armenia, of light Timber, in a round fashion, without beake or poope, & are couered with skinnes, the hairie side inward; and in these they take their passage. Such as fish for Salmon in the Riuer of Seuerne, vse the like boates in all respects, which they call *Corraclies* of *Coriam*: being all couered with horse-skinnes tanned. Secondly, the means heved to passe ouer without impeachment from the Enemy, by carying those boates in the night time vp the Riuer to a place of securitie, was such, the likewhercof he had formerly practised in Gallia, to passe the Riuer Loier, being then guarded on the other side by the Enemy. Whereby we see, how much vse and continuance doth inable men, beyond others of smaller experience: according to that, *Dies Diem docet*.

CHAP. XIX.

The Mafsilians encounter with Brutus at Sea, and are beaten.

Caesar.

WHile these things were done at Ilerda, the Mafsilians (by the direction of L. Domitius) rigged and set out 17 Gallies, whereof eleuen were couered; besides many lesser vessels which went along with them, to make the Nauie seeme the greater for the astonishment of the Enemy. In these they put a great number of Archers, and many Albickes, of whom wee haue formerly made mention; encouraging them both by rewards and promises. Domitius required certaine shippes for himselfe, and them he filled with Shepheards and Countrymen, which he had brought thither with him. The Nauie being thus furnished, set forward with great confidence towards our shipping, whereof D. Brutus was Admirall, and lay

lay at Anker at an Iland right ouer against Marsellies. Brutus was far inferior to the enemy in shipping; but Caesar hauing pickt the chiefeft and valiantest men out of all the legions, as well of the Antesignani as Centurions, put them aboard the Fleet, they themselves requiring to bee employed in that seruice. These men had prepared hookes, and grapples of iron, and had likewise furnished themselves with many Piles and Darts, and other sorts of weapons: and understanding of the Enemies comming, put to sea, and encountered with the Mafsilians. They fought on either side very valiantly and fiercely; neither were the Albickes much inferiour to our men in prowesse, being rough mountainous people, exercised in Armes: and hauing a little before fallen off from the Mafsilians, did now remember the late contract and league they had made with them. The Shepheards, in like manner (a rude and vntamed kind of people, stirred up with hope of liberty) did strue to shew their valour in the presence of their Maister.

The Mafsilians, trusting to the nimbleness of their shipping, and in the skill and dexteritie of their Pilots, did frustrate (in a deluding manner) the flocke of our shippes, when they came violently to stemme them. And, so far as much as they had lea-roume enough, they drew out their Naue at length, to compasse and inclose our men about: And sometimes, they would single out one of our ships, and set vpon them with diuers of theirs together, and wipe off a side of their oars in their passage along by them.

When they came to deale at hand (leaving aside the art and skill of the Pilots) they tooke themselves to the stoutness and valour of the Highlanders. Our men were faine to vse worse oare-men, and more vnskilfull Pilots; who being lately taken out of shippes of burden, did not well knowe the true names of the tackling, and were much troubled with the heauiness and sluggishness of the shipping; which being made in haste of vnseasoned timber, was not so nimble or ready for vse. But, as the matter came to handie blowes, euery single shippe did willingly vnder-take two at once; and hauing grappled with either of them, fought on each side, entering valiantly the enemies shippes, killing a great number of the Highlanders and Shepheards. Part of the ships they sunke, some they tooke with the men, & the rest they beate backe into the Tiauen. That day the Mafsilians lost nine shippes, with those that were taken. This newes was brought to Caesar at Ilerda.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

IHaue formerlie obserued the manner of their sea-fight, consisting of three parts; The first was, their nimble & skilfull managing of their shippes, either forceably to assault, or to lauite and beare off, as might fall for their best advantage: wherein the Mafsilians, by reason of the skilfulnesse of their Pilots, had great confidence. The second, was their fight before they came to grappling, as well with great engines, such as were their Balista and Catapultæ, casting stones and logs of wood one against another, as also with slings, arrowes and darts; resembling our great artillerie, and

Sea-fight.

and small shot; for which purpose, their shippes were built with fore-cattles & turrets, and other aduantages of height, for their casting weapons. The third, was their grappling and forceable entry; wherein, forasmuch as the matter was referred to the arbitrement of valour, the legionarie souldier caried the cause. Whence we may obserue, that their legions were the nurseries of their valiant and worthy men, as well for the sea as the land: being fitted by the discipline of their Militarie exercises, to vndertake any seruice subiect to humane industrie; whereof they gaue an account woorthie the Schoole wherein they were instructed.

Neither is it scene at any time, but that such kingdomes as make care to traine vp their men in Academies of vertuous Actualitie, doe alwaies keepe their honour at a high price; affording, at all times, men of absolute and compleat carriage, both for desaignement and performance.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Hauc a little before shewed out of Liuie, that the *Antesignani* were ordinarily taken for the *Hastati*; which, being the easiest sort of souldiers, according to the generall diuision of a legion, doth seeme to contradict the passage in this Chapter, *Sed delectos ex omnibus legionibus fortissimos viros Antesignanos, Centuriones Caesar ei classi attribuerat.* For the better cleering whereof, we are to note, that as the *Hastati*, or first battell of a legion, were generally taken for the *Antesignani* (as standing before the Eagle, and other the chiefest Ensignes, which were alwaies amongst the *Principes* or second battell); so euery Maniple, hauing an Ensigne in the midst of the troope, the souldiers that stood in front before the Ensigne, were likewise called *Antesignani*, and were the best souldiers in the Companie: for, the Centurion, standing alwaies in the head of the troope, was accompanied with the valiantest and worthiest men; the rest, filling vp the reare, comforted with the Lieutenant, who there-vpon was called *Tergiductor*.

Whence wee may admire the temperance and disposition of a Romaine Armie; being first generally diuided into three batells, whereof the meanest were in the vauntguard, to make trial of their strength, and to spend the heat of their young blood in the first affront of an enemy: The *Veterani*, or olde souldiers, being left in the reareward, to repaire any losse, which either force or casualtie should cast vpon their Leaders. And againe, to counterpoise themselves, in such a manner as the weakest might not alwaies goe to the wall, their priuate Companies were so ordered, that the best men were alwaies in front. Whereby they made such an exquisite temper, as kept euery part of the Armie in their full strength:

CHAP.

CHAP. XX.

Vpon the making of this Bridge, the Enemie resolueth to transferre the warre into Celtiberia.



Mpon the making of this Bridge, Fortune suddenly changed. The enemy, fearing the courage and valour of our Cavalrie, did not so freely range abroad as they had wont to do; sometimes seeking forrage within a small distance of the Camp, to the end they might find a safe and easie retreat if occasion required: Sometimes fetching a great compass about to avoid the guardes & stations of our horsemen. And if they had received but the least check, or had but descried the Cavalrie as farre off, they would haue cast downe their burdens, and fledde away.

At last, they omitted forraging for many daies together, and (which was neuer use, by any Nation) sent out to seeke it in the night. In the meane time, those of Osca and Caliguris, being in league together, sent Embassadors to Caesar, with offer of their service, in such sort as he should please to commaund it. Within a few daies, the Tarraconenses, Lacetani, and Ausetani, together with the Illurganoneses, which border vpon the River Ebrus, followed after. Of all these hee desired supplies of Corne, and provision: which they promised to furnish; and accordingly got horses from all quarters, and brought graine into the Campe. In like manner, the Regiment of the Illurganoneses, vnderstanding the resolution of their State, left the Enemy, and came vnto him with their Colours: and suddenly a great alteration of things appeared.

The bridge being perfected, great Citties and States being come in vnto him, a course setled for provision of Corne, and the ramour blowne ouer of the succours and legions, which Pompey was said to come withall, by the way of Mauritanias; many other townes further off, revolted from Afranius, and claue to Caesars partie.

The Enemie, being much affrighted and abashed at these things, Caesar (to auoid the great circuit by which hee continually sent his horsemen about by the bridge) hauing got a conuenient place, resolved to make many trenches of thirtie foote in breadth, by which he might draine some part of the river Sicoris, and make it passable by a foord. These trenches being almost made, Afranius and Petreius did therevpon conceiue a great feare, least they should be cut off altogether from victuall and forrage; forasmuch as Caesar was very strong in horse, and therefore they determined to leaue that place, and transferre the warre into Celtiberia: being therewith rather thereto induced, for that of those 2 contrarie Façtions, which in the former warre had stood for L. Sertorius, such Citties as were subdued by Pompey, did yet stand in awe of his Name and Authoritie:

H.

and

Caesar.

Osca.
Caliguris.

Ollagefa.

and that such, as from the beginning had continued firme vnto him, did intirely loue him, for the great benefites they had receiued from him; amongst whom Cæsars name was not knowne. There they expected great succours both of horse and foote, and made no doubt but to keepe the warre on foote vntill winter.

This aduice being agreed vpon, they gaue order to take vp all the boates that were on the riuer Iberus, and to bring them to Ollagefa; a towne sited vpon Iberus, twentie miles from the Campe. There they commaunded a bridge of boates to be made; and transporting two legions ouer Sicoris, fortified their Camp with a rampier of twelue foote in height: which beeing knowne by the Discoverers, Cæsar by the extreame labour of the souldiers, continued day and night in turning the course of the water, & at length, brought the matter to that passe, that the horsemen (with some difficulty) durst aduenture ouer: but the foot troopes, hauing nothing about the water but their heads, were so hindered as well by the depth of the Riuer, as the swiftness of the streame, that they could not well get ouer. Notwithstanding, at the same instant of time, newes was brought of the making of the bridge ouer the Riuer Iberus, and a foord was found in the riuer Sicoris.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Ilerda.

Lib. 1111.

Ill, concerning the places heere mentioned, the Reader may take notice, that Ilerda (now knowne by the name of Lerida) standeth vpon the Riuer Sicoris, in the Prouince of Catalonia; and beeing sited vpon a hill, is inclosed round with a wall of hewen stone, in a pleasant and fertile Countrey, both for Corne, wine, oyle, and fruite: as it is graphically described by Lucan;

*Colle tumet modico, lenique excreuit in altum
Pingue solum tumulo, super hunc fundata vetusta
Surgit Ilerda manu; placidis pralabitur undis
Hesperios inter Sicoris non vltimus amnes:
Saxeus ingenti quem pons amplectitur arcu,
Hibernas passurus aquas.*

It was formerly a Vniuersitie, and at all times famous for salt meates & pickled fish. Where vnto Horace alludeth, when hee tolde his booke, That although it so fell out that no man would regard it, neuerthelesse, it might serue at Ilerda to wrap Salt-fish in.

Aut fugies Vticam, aut vnctus mittèr is Ilerdam.

Ofca
Vidrix.

Ofca, now called Huesca, a towne likewise of Catalonia, in former time surnamed *Vidrix*; where Sertorius kept the sonnes of the Grandes of Spaine, as pledges of their loyaltie; vnder pretext of learning the Greeke and Latine tongue, which he had there caused to be taught, in forme of an Academie.

In

Lib. 2.

In this towne his hap was to bellaine by Perpenna, as Paternulus recordeth the storie; *Tum M. Perpenna pratorius, è proscriptis, generis clarioris quàm animi, Sertorium inter canam Aetofca interemit; Romanisque certè victoriam, partibus suis excidium, sibi turpissimam mortem, pessimo auctorauit facinore:* Which Aetofca, is by all men taken for this Ofca.

The inhabitants boast of nothing more at this day, then that S. Laurence was a Cittizen of their towne.

Calaguris.

Calaguris, now Calahorra, is seated vpon a hill on the bankes of Iberus; the people whercof are famous for their constancie, and faithfulness to their Commanders, and specially to Sertorius: as appeareth by that of Valerius Maximus; *Quò perseuerantius interempti Sertorij cineribus obsidionem Cn. Pompei frustrantes, fidem præstarent, quia nullum iam aliud in orbe eorum supererat animal, uxores suas, natoque, ad usum nefaria dapis verterunt; quoque diutius armata inuentus, viscera sua viscibus suis aleret, infelices cadauerum reliquias salire non dubitauit.*

Lib. 7. cap. 6.

Neuerthelesse, Afranius tooke the in the end, by continuall siege; amongst whom that antiquitie of Bebricius is very remarkable, which is yet extant neere to Logronno.

DIIS. MANIBVS.
Q. SERTORII.
ME. BEBRICIVS. CALAGVRITANVS.
DEVOVI.
ARBITRATVS.
RELIGIONEM. ESSE.
EO. SVBLATO.
QVI. OMNIA.
CVM. DIIS. IMMORTALIBVS.
COMMVNIA. HABEBAT.
ME. INCOLVMEM.
RETINERE. ANIMAM.
VALE. VIATOR. QVI. HÆC. LEGIS.
ET. MEQ. DISCE. EXEMPLO.
FIDEM. SERVARE.
IPSA. FIDES.
ETIAM. MORTVIS. PLACET.
CORPORE. HVMANO. EXVTIS.

In memorie of whose fidelitie, Augustus Cæsar tooke a band of these people for a guard to his person. In this towne was Quintilian the Rhetorician borne; and beeing brought from thence to Rome, in Neto his time, was the first that taught a publike Schoole for salarie: as witnesseth Saint Hierome; *Quintilianus ex Hispania Calaguritanus primus Rome publicam Scholam tenuit, et salario cohonestatus publico claruit.*

Celtiberia was the Countrey lying along the Riuer Iberus, inhabited by people comming out of Gallia Celtica: where vpon Lucan saith;

H 2

profu.

Suetonius in
Augusto.
Colores Calaguritanorum.
Ad Eusebii
Chronicon.

Celtiberia.

Lib. 4.

— profugique à Gente vetusta
Gallorum Celta, miscentes nomen Iberis.

Lib. 2. cap. 17.
Lib. 2. ca. 6.

Florus calleth them *Hispania Robur*. And Valerius Maximus affirmeth, That they were alwaies glad of warre, as beeing to end their life in happines and honour; and lamented their ill fortune to die in their beddes, as a miserable and shamefull end.

Sil. Ital.
Lib. 3.

*His pugna cecidisse decus, corpusque cremari
Tale nefas: caelo credunt, superisque referri,
Impatiens carpat si membra iacentia vultur.*

Lib. 6. cap. 9.

Their Armes and weapons were of singular raritie: for, besides the water of Bilbo, which gaue them an invincible temper; they had also a peculiar fashion of working them, as witnesseth Diodorus Siculus: hiding their plates of Iron in the earth, vntill the worst and weakest part were eaten out with rust, and of that which remained, they made very hard swords.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



HE suddaine alterations of warre, are like the changings of mens mindes vpon small accidents; which are so forceable to shake out resolutions, as made a great Philosopher, to describe a man by the propertie of *mutabile Animal*. And is notable scene in this; That Afranius, in the compasse of a few daies, triumphed of Cæsars ouerthrow, and fled away for feare of his power. Whence we may note the aduantage coming to a partie, when they shake off any eminent distresse: for, as the extremitie thereof threatneth ruine and destruction, so the alteration bringeth with it an opinion of victorie. And surely, such is the condition of all sorts of Miserie, that when the storme is ouer, and the bitterness of the affliction alaid, good times come redoubled vpon the Patients; as though the vicissitude of things, did inforce contrary effects. And therefore, a Commaunder, knowing the aduantage of such an opportunitie, must indeuour to improve the same, as my best serue to a speedie end.

CHAP. XXI.

The Enemy setteth forward, and is staid
by Cæsar.

Cæsar.



HE Enemy, ther-vpon, thought it expedient for him to make the more haste; and therefore leauing two Auxiliary cohorts for the safe keeping of Ilerda, hee transported all his forces ouer the Riuer Sicoris, and incamped himselfe with the two legions, which formerly he had caried ouer. There remained nothing for Cæsar to doe, but with his Cavalrie to impeache and

and trouble the enemy in their march. And forasmuch as it was a great compasse about, to goe by the bridge (whereby it would come to passe, that the Enemy would get to Iber a farre neerer way) hee passed ouer his horsemen by the foord. About the third watch, as Petreius and Afranius had raised their Camp, vpon a suddaine, the Cavalrie shewed themselves in the reare; and swarming about them in great multitudes, began to stay and hinder their passage. As soone as it beganne to bee day light; from the upper ground where Cæsar lay incamped, it was perceined, how the reareward of the enemy was hard laid to by our Cavalrie, and how sometimes they turned head againe, and were neuertheless broken and rowted: sometimes their Ensignes stood suddenly still, and all their foote troopes charged our horse, and forc't them to giue way; and then turning backe, went on their way againe. The souldiers walking up and down the Camp, were grieued that the enemy should so escape their handes, whereby the matter would consequently be spun out into a long warre: and went vnto the Centurions and Tribunes of the souldiers, praying them to beseech Cæsar not to spare them for any danger or labour; for, they were ready and willing to passe the Riuer where the horse went ouer. Cæsar, mooued through their desire and importunity, albeit he feared to expose his Army to a riuer of that greatnes, yet he thought it expedient to put it to triall: and therefore commaunded, that the weakest souldiers of all the Centuries should bee taken out, whose courage or strength shewed a disabilitie to under-take that seruice: and these he left in the Campe, with one legion to defend the same, bringing out the other legions without carriage or burden; and hauing set a great number of horses & cattell both aboue and belowe in the riuer, hee transported his Army ouer. Some few of the souldiers, being caried away with the streame, were succoured and taken up by the horsemen; insomuch as not one man perished.

The Army caried thus ouer in safetie, hee ranged them in order, and marched forward with a three-fold battell. Such was the endenour of the souldiour, that albeit they had set circuit of sixe miles to the foord, and had spent much time in passing the riuer; yet by the ninth houre, they did overtake the enemy that rose about the third watch of the night.

Assoone as Afranius and Petreius had discovered the legions as farre off (being terrified with the noneltie of that pursuit) they betooke themselves to the upper ground, and there imbatelled their troopes. In the meane time, Cæsar refreshed his Armie in the field, and would not suffer them (beeing wearie) to giue battell: and as they tried againe to goe on in their march, he followed after and staid them; whereby the enemy was forced to incampe sooner then was purposed: for, there were hilles a little before them; and for five miles together, the passages were very difficult and narrow.

By which meanes (beeing aduanced betweene the hilles) they hoped to bee free from Cæsars Cavalrie; and by keeping the passages, to hinder the Armie from following after; to the end they themselves, might without perill or feare, put their forces ouer the riuer Iberus: which by all meanes was to bee effected. Neuertheless, beeing wearied with trauielling and fighting all day, they put off the businesse to the next morning.

H 3.

Cæsar

Three of the
clock in the afternoon.

*V'sa concla-
mari.*

Cæsar also incamped himselfe on the next hill; and about midnight, some of their partie being gone out from the Campe, some-what far off, to fetch water, were taken by the horsemen. By them, Cæsar was aduertised, that the Enemy with silence began to remove, and to lead their troopes out of their Campe. Whereupon, he commaunded the signe of rising to be giuen, and the cry (dislodging and trussing up their baggage) to be taken up, according to the discipline and use of souldiers.

The Enemy, hearing the cry, fearing least they should bee impeached in the night, and forced to fight with their burdens on their backs, or to be shutte up in those straight passages by Cæsars horsemen, staied their iourney, and kept their forces within their Campe.

OBSERVATIONS.



His passage ouer Sicoris, was in the same manner as hee caried his Armie ouer the River Loier, in the teauenth Commentarie of the warre of Gallia; Vado per Equites inuento, pro rei necessitate opportuno, vt Brachia modo atque flumeri, ad sustinenda arma liberi ab aqua esse possent, disposito equitatu, qui vim fluminis frangerent, incolumem exercitum transduxit.

The horse that flood about, brake the force of the water, & those that were belowe, tooke vp such as were ouercome with the streame; and withall, gaue courage to the souldier to venture with better assurance, seeing the passage impaled in, on each side, to keepe them frō miscarying. His attempt vpon Sicoris, to abate the swelling pride of that Riuer, by diuiding it into many streames, was in imitation of the first Cyrus; who taking displeasure at the Riuer Cyndes, next vnto Euphrates the greatest Riuer of Asyria, drew it into three hundred and threescore chanel.

Croesus, not finding the River Halis passable by a foord, and hauing no meanes to make a bridge, sunke a great trench behinde the Campe, from the vpper part of the Riuer, and so drew all the water behind his Armie.

Vegetius hath a particular discourse of passing an Armie ouer a Riuer, whether it be by bridge or boate, or by wading, or swimming, or any other way: to which I referre the Reader.

CHAP.

*Hannibal, per
superiora Padu
videt, exercitum
gradacens, ele-
phantos inordi-
nem apposit ad
muerum flumi-
nis, et fluminem
Luit.
Acne quid Si-
coris, repetitur
audat undis,
Spargitur in sul-
cos, et cello gur-
gete riuus dat pa-
pas maioru a-
que. Lucan. l. 4.
Herodo. l. 11.
In the same
manner Euphra-
tes was diuided
first by Semi-
ramis, and af-
terward by A-
lexander. He-
rod. l. 11.
Lib. 2. cap. 7.*

CHAP. XXII.

*Afranius seeketh to take the Straites betweene certaine Mountaines; but was preuen-
ted by Cæsar.*

(.)



THE next day following, Petreius went out secretly with a few horse, to discover the Countrey, and for the same purpose, some went likewise out of Cæsars Campe. L. Decidius Saxo, was sent with a small troope to view the site of the Place, and either party returned with the same report: that for

fine miles, the way was open and champain, and afterwards, very rough and mountainous; and whosoever first tooke those straights, might easily impeache the enemy from going further. The matter was disputed in the Councell of warre, by Petreius and Afranius: the time of their setting forward, was debated: Most of them thought it fit to take their iourney in the night; for, by that means, they might com to those straights before it were perceived. Others were of opinion, that it was not possible to steale out in the night, as appeared by the cry of rising, taken up the night before in Cæsars Campe, vpon their remoouing: and Cæsars horsemen did so range abroad in the night, that all places and passages were kept & shut up. Neither were they to giue occasion of night fights, but to auoid the same by all the meanes they could; forasmuch as in ciuill dissen- sion, the ordinary souldier would rather suffer himselfe to bee ouer-mastered by feare, then continue firme in the allegiance which he had sworne vnto: where- as, in the day time, euery man hath shame and dishonor before his eyes; togethr with the preface of the Centurions and Tribunes: with which respects, a souldier is restrained, and kept within the bounds of duty. And therefore, the at- tempt was by all meanes to be vnder taken in the day time, although it fell out to some losse; yet neuertheless, the body of the Armie might passe in safetie, and possesse that place which they sought for.

This opinion preuailing in their consultation, they determined by breake of day the next morning to sette forward. Cæsar, hauing diligently viewed the Countrey; as soone as day began to appeare, drew all his forces out of his Campe, and marched forward in a great circuit, keeping no direct way. For, the waies which lead to Iberus and Offogesa, were taken up with the Enemies Campe; in- so much as they were to passe ouer great and difficult vallis. And in many places, broken Rocks and stones did so hinder them, that they were necessarie to giue their weapons from hand to hand, the souldiers lifting up one another, and so they passed most part of the way. Howsoever, no man thought much of the la- bour, for that they hoped to giue an end to all their trauell, if they could keep the enemy from passing ouer the Riuer Iberus, and cut off his victuals.

*Attollunt campo
gemina iuga
faxcarapæ, val-
le caua media
cellus hinc ardua
celsus continuat
colles, tuta quos
inter opaco au-
fractu latere
via: quibus ho-
ste posito fauci-
bus, emittit ter-
rarum in decus
Martem, inque
feras gentes Cæ-
sar videt? Lucan. lib. 4.*

*Ite sine illo or-
dine, ait, rastri-
que fuga cõuer-
te bellum, et
faciem pugne
multisq; inferte
minaci. Lucan.
lib. 4.*

At the first, Afranius soldiers ranne ioyfully out of their Campe to see the Armie, casting out words of derision & reproche, that for want of victuall, they sledded and returned to Ilerda; for, the way they held, was quite contrary to that they intended: whereby they seemed to goe backe againe: and the Commanders themselves, did much approve their owne confell, that they had kept their troopes within the Campe. For, that which confirmed this in their opinion, was, that they perceived they were come out without their cariages: whereby they hoped, necessity would not suffer them to continue long there. But when they saw the troopes by little and little to wind to the right hand, and that they perceived, how those that were in front, had fallt backward beyond their Camp, there was no man so dull, but thought it expedient presently to march out, and make head against them. Whereupon, they cried to Arme; and all their forces, excepting some few cohorts which were left to keepe the Campe, went out, and marched directly towards Ibernus.

The whole business consisted in speed and celeritie, which of the two should first take the straights, and possesse the hilles. Caesars Army was hindered by the difficultie of the way: and Afranius partie was retarded by Caesars Cavalry. The matter was come to that point, that if Afranius party did first get the hils, they might happily quit themselves of danger; but the baggage of the whole Armie, and the cohorts left in the Campe could not be saved: for, being intercepted & secluded by Caesars Armie, there was no meanes to relieue them.

It fell out, that Caesar first attained the place; and being come out from among those great Rocks into a plaine champaigne, put his Army in order of battell against the enemy.

Afranius, seeing the enemy in front, and his reareward hardly charged by Caesars Cavalry, got the advantage of a smal hill, & there made their stand: and from thence sent 4 cohorts bearing round bucklers, unto a Mountaine, which in all mens sight was higher then the rest; commanding them to runne as fast as they could, and possesse that hill, intending to follow after with all his forces, and altering his course, to gette along the ridges and toppes of the Mountaines to victorie.

As the cohorts were aduanced forward by an oblique circuit, Caesars Cavalry perceiving their intendement, sette upon them with such violence, that they were not able any time to beare their charge, but were all out in peeces in the sight of both Armies.

Quotum praefici vitula, quod perterritus miles in castris diffusus, timore magis quam religione confidere consuevit, ut lucē multum per se pudorem, omnium oculis ostendit.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Betreus and Afranius, in their Councell of warre, resolved by all meanes to shun night encounters, as a thing full of hazard and vncertainie, and apt for looseness and disobedience: for, the night, being neither a discoverer of errours, nor yet a distinguisher either of

of actions or persons; but wrapping vp both the virtuous & the faultie in her Mantle of obscuritie, doth not admit of directions, to follow an opportunitie, or to help a mistaking: but rather guiding way to Impunitie and licentious confusion, leaueth no hope of what is wished: VVhereas the light is a witness of euery mans demeanour, and hath both honour & rebuke to make dutie respected.

For which causes, Curio (as it followeth in the next Commentarie) in his harange before that vntimey expedition against king Iuba, reiecteth their aduice that would haue had him set forward in the night; *At etiam ut media nocte proficiscamur addunt: quò maiorem credo licentiam habeant qui peccare conantur: Namque huiusmodi res aut pudore aut metu tenentur, quibus rebus nos maxime aduersaria est.*

And, that the danger may appeare as well by effect as by discourse, let the Reader take notice of that battell by night, between Antonius Primus, on the behalfe of Vespasian, and the Virellian legions neere vnto Cremona. Whereof Tacitus hath this description; *Praelium tota nocte varium, anceps, atrox; his, rursus illis, exitiabile. Nihil animus aut manus, ne oculi quidem prouisus inuabant. &c.* And thus are all night workes condemned, wherein either order or honour are of anie moment.

Neque in vicis-
situdinis, ne in
sua flagitium.
Tact. Hist. li. 2

2. Historie.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

I Have already noted, in the former Commentaries, the vse of exact and particular discouerie of the Countrey, where a partie is engaged: then which, nothing doth more advantage a Commander to expedite the happie issue of a warre. For, by that meanes, he is not onely able to iudge of any motion which the enemy shall offer, and to giue sure directions to frustrate and make void the same; but also to dispose himselfe, according as shall seeme expedient for his safetie. VVherein, if a place of such consequence as is here mentioned shall by designe be ayimed at, this historie sheweth, how much it importeth either partie to obtaine it: and therefore Caesar had reason to make his passage through Vallis and Rocks, rather then to lose victorie, for want of labouring a little in an vncasie way.

This Lucius Decidius Saxo, or Didius Saxo, imploied in this discouerie, was afterward aduanced by Caesar, to bee Tribune of the people; whereat Tullie was much offended. How can I omit (saith he) this Decidius Saxo, a man brought from the furthest end of the world: whom we see Tribune of the people, before we euer saw him a Citizen.

Oratio. 13. Th.
1p.

CHAP. XXIII.

Cæsar refused to fight vpon an aduantage offered;
contrary to the opinion and desire of
all men.

Cæsar.

Here was an opportunitie then offered of doing some thing to purpose; neither was Cæsar ignorant thereof. Such an overthrowe giuen before their faces, did consequentlie so discourage them, that it was thought they would not endure a charge: especially, being compassed about with the Cavalrie, in an indifferent and open place, where the matter was to be decided by battell. Which was on all sides instantly desired at Cæsars hands: for, the Legates, Centurions, and Tribunes of the souldiers, came ioyntly vnto him, desiring him to make no doubt of giuing battell; for, all the souldiers were very ready, and forward there-vnto: whereas the contrary partie had shewed many arguments of feare and discouragement. First, in that they did not succour their fellowes. Secondly, in as much as they had not bouged from the Hill, which they had tooke for a retreat. Neither had they withstood the charge and incursion of the Cavalrie, but had thronged pell mell together, and confusedly mingled their Ensignes one with another; no man either keeping his place, or his colours. And if they had feared the inequality and disaduantage of the Place, they might haue taken some other of more indifference; for, certainly they could not long stay where they were, but must depart from thence for want of water.

Cæsar was in hope to end the matter, without either blowe or wound of his men; forasmuch as he had cutt off the enemy from victuall. And why then should he lose a man, although it were to gaine a victory? Why should he suffer his valiant and well-deseruing souldiers, to be so much as hurt or wounded? Or why should he put the matter to the hazard of Fortune? Especially, when it no lesse concerned the honour and reputation of a Commander, to vanquish an enemy by discretion and aduice, then to subdue them by force of Armes: being moued, withall, with a tender commiseration of such Cittizens of Rome, as were consequently to be hazarded or slaine in the fight; where-as hee desired to worke out his owne Ends with their safety.

This opinion of Cæsars, was disallowed by most men: and the souldiers would not sticke to speake plainly amongst themselves; forasmuch as such an occasion of victorie was overslipped, that when Cæsar would haue the, they would not fight. Hee, notwithstanding, continued firme in his opinion; and fell a little off from the enemy, to lessen and abate their feare and amazement. Petreius and Afranius, vpon the opportunity giuen them, with-drew themselves into their Camp. Cæsar, hauing possessed the Hilles with garrisons of souldiers, and shut up all the passages leading to Iberus, incamped himselfe as neere as he could to the enemy.

The

The Commanders of the aduersē partie, being much afflicted that they had absolutely lost all meanes of provision of victuall, and of gaining the River Iberus, consulted together of other courses. There were two waies left open; the one to returne to Ilerda, and the other to Tarracon. And while they were considering of these things, it was told them, that such as went out for water, were very much pressed by our Cavalrie. Where-vpon, they placed many courts of guard, as well of horse, as Auxiliary footement; interlacing the legionary Cohorts amongst them; and began also to raise a rampier from the Campe to the watering place, that the souldiers might safely, without feare, fetch water within the boundes of their fortification. Which worke, Petreius and Afranius diuided betwene themselves; and for the perfecting of the same, had occasion to goe farre off from the Campe: by means of whose absence, the souldiers taking libertie of free speech one with another, went out; and as any man had an acquaintance or neighbour in each others Campe, they sought him out. And first, they all gaue thanks to all our party, that they had spared them when they were terrified and amazed the day before: in regard whereof, they acknowledged to hold their liues by their fauour: And afterwards, inquired how they might safely yeeld themselves to their Generall, complaining that they had not done it in the beginning, and so haue ioyned their forces with their ancient friends and kinsmen.

And hauing proceeded thus farre in their communication, they require assurance for the liues of Afranius and Petreius; lest they should seeme to conceiue mischief against their Generalls, or betray them in seeking their owne safetie. Which things being agreed vpon, they promised to come with their Ensignes to Cæsars Campe; and ther-vpon, sent to Cæsar some of the Centurions of the first Orders, as Deputies to treat of peace.

In the meane time, they invited their friends on either side into the Camps; in as much, as both their lodgings seemed but one Campe. Many of the Tribunes of the souldiers, and Centurions, came to Cæsar, recommending themselves to his fauour: and the like did the Grandes and chiefe Princes of Spaine; who they had commaunded out, to take party in this warre, and to remaine with them as Hostages and Pledges. These inquired after their old acquaintances & auncient hostes, by whom each man might haue access to Cæsar with some commendation. In like manner, Afranius his sonne dealt with Cæsar, by the mediation of Sulpitius a Legate, touching his owne and his fathers life. All things sounded of ioy, and mutual congratulation, of them that had escaped such eminent dangers: and of vs, that seemed to haue effected such great matters without bloodshed. In as much as Cæsar (in all mens iudgement) reaped great fruit of his accustomed clemencie and mildnes; and his counsell was generally approoued of all men.

Et quamuis multo maculatus sanguine miles, que potuit secesse, timet. Lucan. lib. 4.

Hospitis ille ciet nomen, vocat ille propinquit: ad-monet hunc fluctis con'ors puer-vilibus at as: nec Romanus erat que non agnove-rat hostem. Lucan. lib. 4.

THE

THE OBSERVATION.

Neque enim in
hac inuictis
fortuna fuit
Lucan.

Non minus off
superiorum, co
loque, quia
gladiis.
Cesar, Comen
S. bell. Gall.
Terribus in
Eumebus.
Naturae inuiri
facta et humani
tatis legem vio
lat, qui vetera
victoriam indu
cit. Nicias.

D. Comitia.
lib. 1. cap. 26.
Lucan. in victoria
Eumebus, dicitur
in fuit. Conqui
tum bellanti.
Lucan. in Agri
cola.

THis Chapter containeth a passage of that note and eminencie, as the like is not read in anie storie. For, if we search the recordes of all Nations, from the very birth of Bellona, vnto times of latter memorie, it will no where else appeare, that a Generall spared any advantage to purchase a victorious name, by the bloodshed and ruine of his enimie: and that contrary to the will and desire of his Armie, that had vndergon such difficulties and hazards, to give an end to that warre. Contrary to his knowledge and late experience of the mutability and change of time and fortune. Contrary to the surest rule of warre; *Dolus an virtus, quis in hoste requirit?* And contrary to the vse of Armes, which are alwaies bent against an enimie to subdue him.

This is the fruit of that other part of Military knowledge, which men doe rather admire then attaine vnto, no lesse concerning the honour of a Commander; *Consilio superare quam gladio*, and was a maine stepe to raise him to the Empire. For, how soeuer the souldier (to prevent further labour) stood hard for blood, not respecting that of the Comick, *Omnia prius experiri verbis, quam armis sapientem docet*: yet if Caesar had bene so murious to Nature, as to haue left them to their owne desires, and suffered their furie to haue violated the law of humanitie, more then was requisite for victorie; they would afterwards haue loathed themselves, and cursed their swords for such vnseasoenable execution: and may be doubted, would haue reuenged it vpon his head, before the time came to strike the fatal stroke of the cusion of that State. Esteeming it also a part of diuine power, to saue men by noopes, according to that of Seneca; *Hac diuina potentia est, gregatim, ac publice seruare*. And therefore, hee chose rather to displeale the souldier for the present, then to lose that honour which attendeth the sparing of home-bred blood. Whereof forraine enemies are not altogether so capable.

CHAP. XXIII.

Petreius breaketh off the Treatie, and new sweareth the Souldiers to the Partie.

Caesar.



Afranius, being aduertised of these passages, left the worke which hee had begonne, and with-drew himselfe into the Campe; prepared (as it seemed) to take patiently whatsoever should befall him. But Petreius was no way dismayed thereat; for, having armed his household familie, hee went flying with them, & a Pratorian cohort of Buckler-bearers, together

together with some few stipendarie horse of the barbarous people, whom he was wont to keepe about him, as a guard to his person: and came suddainly and vnllooked for, to the Rampire; brake off the souldiers treaty; thrust our men off from the Campe; killing such as he could apprehend. The rest got together, & affrighted at the suddainenes of the danger, wrapt their coates about their left armes, and with their swords drawne, defended themselves from the Buckler-bearers and Horfemen: and trusting to the neerenesse and propinquity of their Campe, they tooke courage and got safely thither, being protected by the Cohorts that had the guard at the Campe gates.

This being done, Petreius went weeping about to the Maniples, calling the souldiers, and beseeching them not to leaue and forsake him, nor yet Pompey their Generall, that was absent: nor to deliuer them ouer to the crueltie of their aduersaries. Presently there-vpon, a great concourse of souldiers was about the Pratory, requiring that euery man might take an oath; not to abandon or betray the Army or their Generalls, nor yet to enter into priuate consultation thereof without consent of the rest. He himselfe first tooke an oath to this effect, & caused Afranius to take the same. The Tribunes of the Souldiers and Centurions, followed in order: and after them, the souldiers were brought out according to their Centuries, and were sworne the same oath.

They caused it also to be proclaimed, that who soeuer had any of Caesars souldiers, should cause them to be brought out; and being brought forth, they slew them publickly before the Pratorian Pavilion: But most men concealed such as were with them, and in the night time, sent them out ouer the Rampire. Whereby it came to passe, that the terrour where-with the Generalls had affrighted them, the cruelty they had shewed in punishment, together with the vaine religion of the new oath, had taken away all hope of yeelding for the present: and quite changing the souldiers minde, had reduced the matter to the former course of warre.

Caesar, for his part, caused diligent inquiry to bee made, of such souldiers as came into his Campe during the time of the treaty, and sent them away in safety. But of the Tribunes of the souldiers and Centurions, many of their voluntarie accord remained with him: whom afterwards he held in great honour; and aduanced the Centurions, and such Romaine Knights as were of the better ranke, to the place and dignity of Tribunes.

The Afranians were sorely laid vnto in their forraging, and watered likewise with great difficultie. Many of the legionarie souldiers had store of Corne, being commanded to take prouision with them from Illerda for twenty two daies: But the Buckler-bearers, and Auxiliary forces, had none at all, hauing also but small meanes to prouide and furnish themselves; for which cause, a great number fledde daily to Caesar.

Lucan. in Phars.
Illi enim, quos
erat, et mox di
suebat sangui
ne pacem. Luc.

Lucan. in Phars.
Illi enim, quos
erat, et mox di
suebat sangui
ne pacem. Lucan.
lib. 4.

Lucan. in Phars.
Illi enim, quos
erat, et mox di
suebat sangui
ne pacem. Lucan.
lib. 4.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Here every man is the maker of his owne fortune, is evidently scene in the severall carriages of these two Generalls. For, Afranius gave way to the souldiers treatie, and resolved to suffer whatsoeuer that transaction should cast vpon him. But Petreius, opposing himselfe to their desires, raised new troubles, had further designs, and another fortune. Wherein, forasmuch as the event of things riseth according as they are first directed, either by weake or strong resolutions; it better suiteth the temper of a souldier (howsoeuer the successe fall out with our desires) rather to be stiffe in what he wisheth; then to make his owne casines, the ready meanes of his adversaries happines.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Virtue at all times hath had this priviledge in the difference & degrees of State and Condition, to make a Noble mans word, equal to a Common mans oath: but the integritie of former ages, had a more generall prerogative, avouching every mans promise for the strictnesse of an oath. Hence it was, that the Romaines, vpon their inrollment for a war, gave but their promise to the Tribune of the souldiers, to keepe such ordinances as their *Militia* required: vntill at length, that the corruption of time (falsifying the simplicitie & truth of words) did enforce them to give an oath, as the surest bond of faith and obedience: as it is noted by Livie at large; The souldiers (saith hee) which was never before that time practised, were sworne by the Tribunes, to appeare vpon summons from the Consuls, and not to depart without leaue. For, vntill then, there was nothing required of them but a solemne promise (which the horsemen made by their Decuries, and the foote troops by their Centuries) not to leaue their Colours by flight, or through feare, nor to forsake their vank, vntill it were either to assault an enemy, to take vp an offensive weapon, or to saue a Citizen; & being at first but the offer of a free mind, was now by the Tribunes required by obligation of an oath.

The forme of this oath was diversly varied, as appeareth by Aul. Gel. and more specially in the times of the Emperours: for, Caligula made this addition to the souldiers oath; That they should hold neither their liues nor their children, dearer vnto them then the Emperour Caius and his sisters. Concerning the respect had of this Militarie oath, that which Tully reporteth of Cato is of excellent note. * Popilius, hauing charge of the Province of Macedonia, had (amongst other Romaine youths) Catos son, a young souldier in his Armie; and being occasioned to dismiss a legion, discharged likewise young Cato, being one of that legion: but he, desirous to beare Armes in that war, continued still in the Armie; wherevpon, Cato writ from Rome to Popilius, requiring him, that if he suffered his sonne to remaine in that warre, hee would by any meanes sweare him againe: for, being discharged of his first oath, hee could not lawfullie fight against the Enemy.

Euer

Anno Pub. Cid.
538.
Nullis vinculis
adstringendi
sunt, interuen-
do artium esse
potest. Lib. 22.

Lib. 16. cap. 3.

Lib. 1. c. 6.
M. P. cap.
lii.

Commentary of the Ciuill Warres.

Euer since Constantine the great, the souldiers were sworne by a Christian oath, as Vegetius noteth, to obey all things the Emperour should command them; not to leaue their warfare without licence, nor to shun death for the seruice of the Publique weale. And at this day, amongst other Nations; an oath is giuen to the souldier vpon his inrolement, to this effect; Well and lawfully to serue the King, towards all men, and against all, without exception of persons. And if they knowe any thing concerning his seruice, to reueale the same incontinentlie; not to leaue their Colours, without leaue either of the Generall, or his Lieutenant.

The auncient Romaines did charge their solemne and publique oathes, with many ceremonies: as appeareth by that form which was vsed in ratifying Treaties & Transactions; Their Heralds killed a hog, and cried out withall, that the like would happen to him that first falsified his faith.

Polybius reporteth, that he that read the oath wherby the Romans & Carthaginians sware their accord, had the haire of his head tied vp in an extraordinary manner: The parties invoking their Iupiter, to grant all prosperitie to him, that without fraud or deceit did enter into that agreement. But if (saith hee that tooke the oath) I shall either doe, or purpose otherwise; all the rest being safe and sound, let me alone (in the midst of the lawes and iustice of my Country, in my owne habitation and dwelling, and within my proper Temples and Sepulchers) perish most vnfavourably, euen as this stone flieth out of my hand: and (as he spake those words) cast away a stone.

I doe not find the vse of a Military oath in our Nation. Howbeit, the common forme of our oath, is as ceremonious and significant as any other whatsoever: which may be obserued by the three parts it containeth, as I have scene them alligorized in some Antiquities. For, first, the booke being alwaies a part of holie writ, implieth a renunciation of all the promises therein contained. Secondly, the touching it with our handes, interreth the like defiance of our works, neuer to be successefull or helping vnto vs. Thirdly, the kissing of the booke, importeth a vaine mispending of our vowes and praiers, if wee falsifie any thing thereby averred.

CHAP. XXV.

The endeuour which Afranius vsed to returne to *Flerda*; but failed in his designe.



THE matter being in this extremitie; of two meanes which were left vnto them, it was thought the readier and more expedient, to returne to *Ilerda*. For, hauing left there behind the little Corne, they hoped to take some good course for the sequell. Tarraco was further off, & thereby subiect to more casualties concerning their passage. In regard whereof, they resolved

Caesar.

Lib. 2. cap. 5.

Lib. 3. Histo.

resolved of their former course, and so dislodged themselves.

Cæsar, having sent his Cavalrie before, to incumber and retard the rearguard, followed after (himself) with the legions. The hindmost troopes of their Armie, were constrained (without any intermission of time) to fight with our horsemen. And their manner of fight was thus: Certaine expedite Cohorts, free of carriages, marched in the reare of their Army, and in open and champaigne places, many of these Cohorts made a stand, to confront our Cavalrie. If they were to ascend up a Hill, the nature of the place did easily repell the danger wherewith they were threatned; forasmuch as such as went before, might easily from the higher ground, protect them that followed after: but, when they came to a valley or descent, that those that were in the former ranks, could not helpe them in the reare; the horsemen from the upper ground, did cast their weapons with great ease and facility upon the Enemy. And then continually they were in great hazard and danger: and still as they approached neere unto such places, they called to the legions, and willed them to make a stand with their Ensignes, and so by great force and violence, expelled our Cavalrie.

Who being retired backe, they would suddainly take a running, and get all downe into the valley. And presently againe, being to ascend into higher ground, they would there make a stand: for, they were so farre from having help of their owne Cavalry (whereof they had great number) that they were gladd to take them betwene their troopes, (being much affrighted with former encounters) and so to shelter and protect them: of whom, if any chanced (upon occasion) to stray aside out of the rout the Army held, they were presently attached by Cæsars horsemen.

The fight continuing in this manner, they proceeded slowly on their way, and aduanced forward but by little and little; and oftentimes, stood still to succour and relieue their party, as then it fell out. For, having gone but foure miles on their way (being very hardly laide to, and much pressed by our Cavalrie) they rooke to an exceeding high hill; and there putting themselves into one front of a battell, fortified their Campe, keeping their carriages laden upon their horses. As soone as they perceived that Cæsars Campe was sette, and that the tents were vp, and their horses put to graze, they rose suddainly about mid-day, upon hope of some respite, by reason of our horse put out to feeding, and went on their iourney.

Which Cæsar perceiuing, rose and followed after, leauing a fewe Cohorts to keepe the carriages: and about the tenth houre, commaunding the forragers and horsemen to be called backe, and to follow after; Instantly the Cavalrie returned, and betooke themselves to their accustomed charge.

The fight was very sharpe in the reare, inasmuch as they were ready to turne their backs. Many souldiers, and some of the Centurions were slaine. Cæsars troopes preaced hard upon them, and threatned the ouertrowe of their whole Armie; inasmuch, as they had neither meanes to choose a fit place to incampe in, nor to proceede forward in their march. Whereby they were necessarilie informed to make a stande, and to pitch their Campe farre from any water, in an vnequall and disadvantageous place: but Cæsar forbore to meddle with them,

for

for the same reasons that haue been formerly declared: and for that day, would not suffer the souldiers to set up their Tents, that they might bee the readier to follow after, at what time soeuer by night or by day they should offer to break away.

The Enemy, hauing obserued the defect of our Campe, imploied all that night in aduancing their workes, and in casting their Camp with an opposite front to our Armie. The like they did all the next day; but so it fell out, that by how much their Campe was brought further on, and the fortification grew neerer to finishing, by so much further off they were from water: and so remedied one euil with a worse mischiefe. The first night, none of them went out of their Camp to fetch water: and the next day, they led out all their troopes together to water, but sent no man out to forrage. Whereby Cæsar, finding them oppressed with manie inconueniences, chose rather to force them to a composition, then to fight with them.

THE OBSERVATION.

IN this troublefome and confused retireit, which these Commanders vndertooke, to regaine the aduantages that formerly they had quitted at Ilerda, we may obserue the difficulties attending a weaker partie, when they would free themselves from the pressures of a strong confronting enemy. For, the frailtie of humane fortune, is alwaies so yoked with incomerances, and hath so many lets from the native weaknes of it owne indeuour; that if the opposition of forraigne malice, shall therewithall vnhappyie concur, to stoppe the current of our desires, there is little hope of better successe, then that which the ordinarie condition of extremitie doth afford: which is, to hazard the perill of a wound, in seeking to auoide the smart of a rodde; and to fall into Scylla, vpon a desire wee haue to shunne Charybdis, according as it befell this partie. Wherein let vs further note the aduantage which a Commander hath, either to take or leaue, when he is able to ouer-maister the Enemy in Cavalrie: for, the horsemen, seruing an Armie Roiall, by making discoueries, by forraging, by giuing rescue vpon a sudden, by doing execution, and retarding an Enemy in his march, if (ouer-awed by the Cuality of the Enemy) they cannot performe these seruices as is requisite; the contrary partie is the stronger by so many aduantages.

Incidit in Scyllam, cupiens vitare Charybdim.

CHAP. XXVI.

Cæsar went about to inclose the Enemy, and he to hinder Cæsar.



Howbeit, Cæsar laboured to inclose them about with a ditch and a rampier, to the end he might with better ease hinder their suddaine sallies and eruptions, to which he thought the Enemy would necessarily betake themselves.

Cæsar.

I 3:

The

Horat. Lucan.
proo. d. 1.


T. 1. l. 1. c. 1. m.
omnes, aut, terris
que xanti sub
trahes, non vlla
conset nubi san-
guine belli con-
atus hand gra-
ti iugulo qui
trouocat hollem
Lucan. lib. 4.

The Enemy being straightened for want of forrage, and to the end also they might be the readier to escape away, caused all their horses of cariage to be killed: and in these workes and consultations were two daies spent. The third day, a great part of Caesars workes being already perfected, the enemy (to hinder the business intended, concerning the fortifications) about two of the clocke in the afternoone, made the Alarum, brought out the legions, and imbattelled themselves vnder their Campe. Caesar calleth back the legions from their worke; and commaunding all his horse to troope together, putteth his Army in battell. For, hauing made such a shew of unwillingness to buckle with the enemy, against the will of the souldier and opinion of all men, he found himselfe subiect thereupon to much inconuenience: howbeit, he was resolved (for the reasons already specified) not to strike a battell; and the rather at this time, for that the space betwene his Campe and the enemies, was so little, that if he had put this to flight, it could not haue much auailed him, for the gaining of a perfect and absolute victorie. For, their Campes were not about 2000 foote asunder; whereof the Armies tooke up two parts, and the third was left for incursion and assault. So that if hee had giuen battell in that neereness of the Campe, they would haue found a speedy retreat vpon their overthrow. For which cause, hee resolved to stand vpon his defence, and not to giue the onset and charge them first.

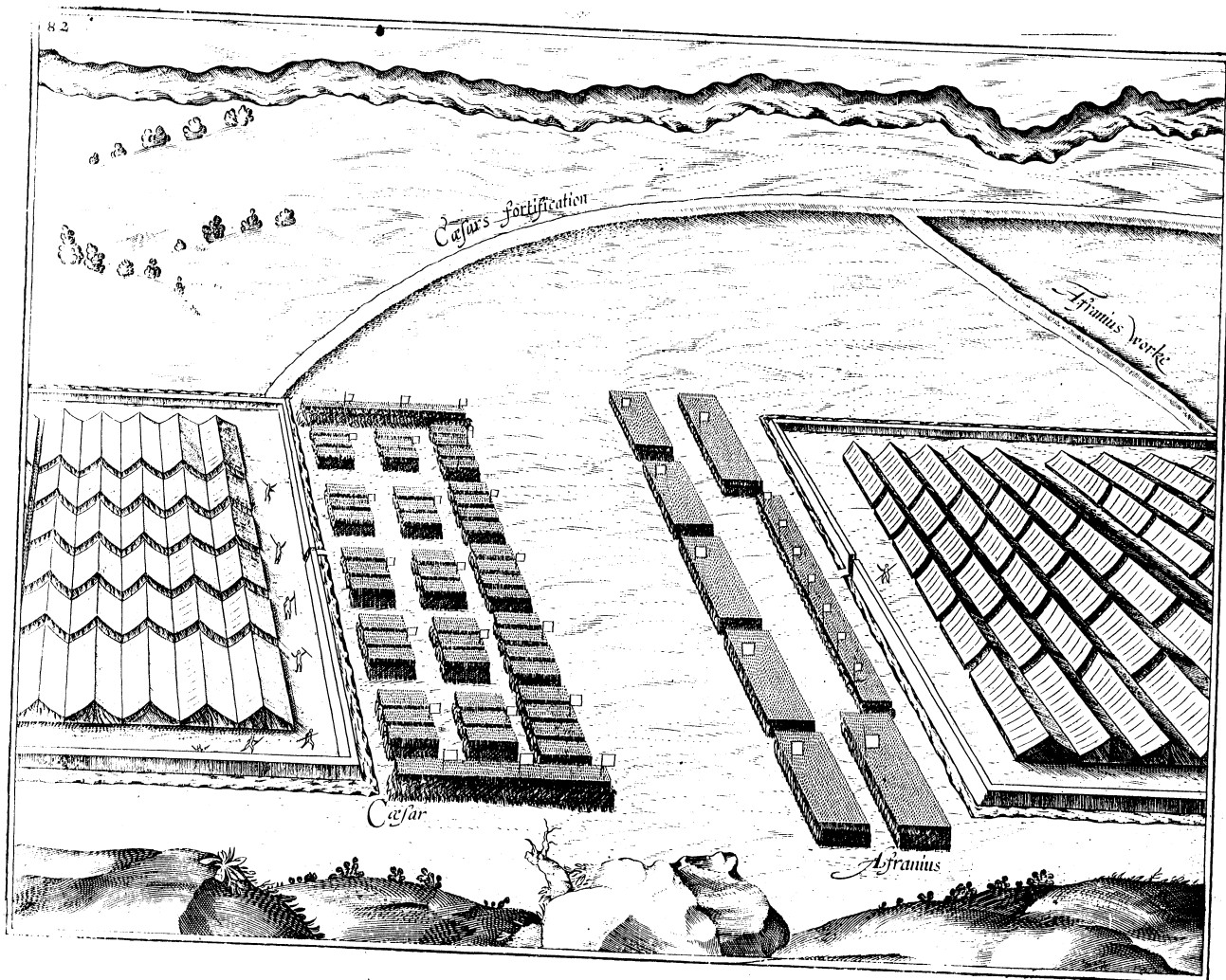
Afranius had put his Army in a double battell: the first, consisting of five legions; and the Auxiliary cohorts, which usually serued in the wings, were now placed for succours, and made the second battell.

Caesars Armie was ordered in a triple battell; the first was of foure cohorts, a peece of the five legions: the second, of three; and the third againe of three of each legion, following in order. The Archers and Slingers were in the midst, & the Cavalrie on the sides. Being thus both imbattelled, they seemed to obtaine their severall ends; Caesar, not to fight vnlesse he were forced to it: and the Enemy, to hinder Caesars fortification. But the matter being drawn out in length, they stood imbattelled vntill sunne setting: and then returned both into their Campes.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

 Contra opinionem enim militum, famamque omnium videri praelio diffugisse, magnū detrimentū afferebat, saith the historie. Whence we may obserue two points; First, that a Commaunder in striking a field, must partly be directed by his Armie: for, he may neither fight against the liking of the souldier, nor with-hold them from fighting when they are willing to imbrace it, if other circumstances doe indifferentlie concur there-withall. For, when men are commaunded to doe what they would doe, the matter is throughlie vndertaken; and the issue is commonlie answerable to the readines of their desires: but, being restrained in their affections, and put besides their aptness of their voluntarie disposition, there groweth such

It is hard catching Hares with unwilling houndes.



such a contrarietie betweene
as will hardly sympathise to be

And if a Leader of that far
as Caesar was, grew into distrust
he had to shunne a battell; w
sildome or neuer gaue argum
ued by this passage. The fec
learne especiallie to disguise
he meaneth not. For, albeir
cised with prerences as with
ces, contrary to the manner
business, as may rather sute w
it behooueth them to vse such
ster interpretations, how focu
certainly, the generalitie of
truth; according as Machau
which Ephicrates said of him
he feared nothing more, the
properlie he said heere. For
made them take vp so many
to composition, but that the
mount aloft, in all seasons an
led, to make way through al

THE SEC

IN the next place,
observed: which
Afranius duplex
obtainebat: Caesar
V. legione tenebant. Has sub
legionis sublequebantur: sa
tatis latera cingebat: And
make it haue answerable fer
shall we vnderstand those w
subsidijs? Shall we take the
and the other stood for succ
cies Afranius duplex: ex
hortes obtinebant? But nei
then two legions: whereas
hortes of the Countrey. A
I haue translated it accord
Acies erat Afranius dupl
hortes, obtinebant.

such a contrarietie betweene the Generalls order, and the souldiers obedience, as will hardly sympathise to beget good fortune.

And if a Leader of that fame and opinion, and so well knowne to his Army as Cæsar was, grew into distaste with his souldiers, vpon so good causes which he had to shunne a battell; what hazard that Commander runneth into, who sildome or neuer gaue argument of his resolution in this kind, may be conceived by this passage. The second thing which I note, is, that a Generall must learne especially to disguise his intendements, by making shew of that which he meaneth not. For, albeit the more iudicious sort of men are not so well satisfied with pretences as with deedes: yet forasmuch as the condition of Princes, contrary to the manner of private persons, requireth such a direction of business, as may rather sure with fame and opinion, then with particular ends; it behooueth them to vse such glosses, as may take away all petulant and sinister interpretations, howsoeuer their courses may aime at other purposes. And certainly, the generalitie of people, are better paid with apparances then with truth; according as Machauell hath obserued. But concerning Cæsar, that which Ephicrates said of himself, hauing imbattelled his Army to fight; That he feared nothing more, then that his enemy knew not his valour: may more properly be said heere. For, there was nothing abused the Enemy more, or made them take vp so many Brauados, or vse so much delay before they came to composition, but that they knew not Cæsar. For, as the Eagle is able to mount aloft, in all seasons and temperatures of the ayre; so was his sword itted, to make way through all resistance.

*Ceteris mortali-
bus in eo flant
consilia quid si-
bi conducere pu-
tent. Principum
diuersa fors est,
quibus precipua
rerum ad famam
dirigenda. Ta-
cit.*

*L'uniuersale,
de gli huomini si
posse, così di
quello che pare,
come di quello,
che è anzi: mol-
te volte si muo-
uono più per le
cose che paiono,
che per quelle
che sono. Lib. 1.
Sup. Tra. Liv.
cap. 25. Omnis aier A-
quilæ penetrabi-
lis.*

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

IN the next place, the manner of their imbattelling commeth to be observed: which generally in all Editions runneth thus; *Acies erat Afraniæ duplex, legio V. et III. in subsidij locum alarum cohortis obtinebat: Cæsaris triplex sed primam aciem quaternæ cohortes ex V. legione tenebant. Has subsidiarias, ternæ, et rursum alia totidem suis cuiusque legionis sublequebantur: sagittarij funditoresque, media cõtinebantur acie, equitatus latera cingebat:* And needeth the helpe of some excellent Criticke, to make it haue answerable sense to the other parts of this historie. For first, how shall we vnderstand those wordes, *Acies Afraniæ duplex, legio V. et III. in subsidij?* Shall we take the meaning to be, that the first legion stood in front, and the other stood for succours behind? Or shall we take it with Faernus; *Acies Afraniæ duplex: ex legione prima, et tertia, in subsidij locum alarum cohortes obtinebant?* But neither by the one, or by the other, is there found more then two legions: whereas there is expresse mention of fise, besides the cohorts of the Countrey. And therefore, as not knowing other more probable, I haue translated it according to Liplius correction, and made the text thus; *Acies erat Afraniæ duplex, legionum quinque: et in subsidij locum alarum cohortes, obtinebant.*

Their manner
of imbattelling

Lib. 4. de mili-
tia Romana.

The

The first battell consisted of five legions; and the second, of the Spanish and Auxiliarie forces. The like helpe must be sent to Caesar; for, otherwise, the text doth afford him but few cohorts: standing thus; *Primam aciem quater-na cohortes, ex quinta legione, tenebant. Has terna, et rursus alia &c.* For, undoubtedly, Caesar had five legions equall to Afranius; but, being farre inferior vnto him in Auxiliarie troopes, was driven to a more artificiall diuision, to helpe his weakenels in that point. And therefore, as the same Critick hath mended it, we are to read, *Quaterna cohortes ex quinque legionibus*: vvhich bringeth forth this sense; In the first battell were five times foure cohorts; in the second, five times three cohorts, and as many in the third battell. And by the addition of *suæ cuiusque legionis*, it appeareth, that euery legion was so di- uided into three parts, that it had foure cohorts in the first battell, three in the second, and three in the last.

Concerning the space which their Armies imbattelled tooke vp, it appea- reth, that the whole distance betwene their Campes, contained two thou- sand foote; whereof either Armie tooke vp one third, beeing 666 foote, 111 paces, a little more then a furlong: but that altered more or lesse, as place and occasion required.

CHAP. XXVII.

The Treatie of Peace.

Caesar.



HE next day, Caesar went about to finish and end the forti- fication which he had begun; and the Enemy, to try whether they might find a foord in the River Sicoris, and so get ouer. Which beeing perceiued, Caesar caried ouer the light armed Germanes, and part of the Cavalrie, and disposed them in guard along the River banke. At length, beeing besieged & shut vp on all sides, and hauing kept their horses without meate foure daies toge- ther, besides their extreme want of water, wood and corne, they required par- lee: and that (if it might be) in some place out of the presence of the souldier. Which Caesar denied, vnlesse it were in publike. Whereupon, Afranius his sonne was giuen in hostage to Caesar; and so they presented themselves in a place of Ca- sars appointing.

And in the hearing of both the Armies, Afranius spake to this effect; That he was not to be offended, neither with them nor with the souldier, for beeing faithfull and obedient to the Generall Cn. Pompeius; but now, hauing made suf- ficient prooffe of their dutie, they had also thoroughly suffered for the same, ha- uing indured the extremitie of want in all necessarie prouisions: Inasmuch as now they were shut vp as women, kept from water, kept from going out, oppress- ed with a greater waight of griefe in bodie, and of dishonor in their reputation, then they were able to beare: and therefore did confesse themselves to be vanquished and

and overcome: praying and beseeching, that if there were any mercy left, they might not vndergoe the extremitie of Fortune. And this hee deliuered as hum- bly and demissiuely as was possible.

To which, Caesar answered; That these tearmes of complaint and compas- sion, could be vsed to no man more vnproperly then himselfe: for, where-as euery man else did his duty; he onely, vpon fit conditions of time and place, refused to fight with them, to the end all circumstances might concurre to a peace: Albeit his Army had suffered much wrong, in the death and slaughter of their fellowes; yet he had kept and preferred such of their party as were in his power, and came of their owne accord to moue a peace. Wherein they thought, they went about to procure the safety of all their fellowes: so that the whole course of his proceed- ing with them, consisted of clemency. Howbeit, the Commanders themselues, abhorred the name of Peace, & had not kept the lawes either of treatie or truce: For, they had caused many simple men to be massacred and slaine, that were de- ceiued by a shew of treaty. And therefore it had befallen them, as it happeneth for the most part to peruerse and arrogant persons, to seeke and earnestly to de- sire that which a little before they had foolishly condemned.

Neither would he take the aduantage of this their submission, or of any other opportunitie of time, either to augment his power, or to strengthen his partie: but he onely required, that those Armies might be discharged, which for many yeeres together had been maintained against him. For, neither were those sixe Legions for any other cause sent into Spaine, nor the souldiers rolled there, nor so many and so great Nauies prepared, nor such experienced and skilfull Com- manders selected and appointed (for none of these needed to keepe Spaine in quiet) nothing heereof was prepared for the vse and behoofe of the Prouince, which (by reason of their long continuance of peace) needed not any such as- sistance. All these thinges were long agoe provided in a readinesse against him: New formes of government were made and ordained against him; That one and the same man, should be resiant at the gates of Rome, haue the whole superintendencie and direction of the Cittie busines; and yet notwithstanding, hold two warlike Prouinces for so many yeeres together, being absent from both of them.

Against him, and for his ruine, were changed the ancient Rights and Cu- stomes of Magistracie, in sending men at the end of their Pretorship or Consul- ship, to the government of Prouinces, as was alwaies accustomed; but in lieu of them, were chosen some that were allowed & authorized by a few. Against him the prerogative of age did nothing preuaile: but, whosoever they were that in former warres had made good prooffe of their valour, were now called out to com- mand Armies. To him onely was denied, that which was granted to all other Generalls; that when they had happily brought thinges to an end, they might dismisse their Armie, and returne home with honour, or at the least, without dishonour.

All which thinges, hee notwithstanding both had and would suffer patientlie; neither did he now goe about to take their Army from them, and retaine them in pay for himselfe, which hee might easily doe: but that they should not haue

meanes

At nunc sola
causa salutis,
regni donanda
Caesare credere
vita.

meanes to make head against him. And therefore, as it was said before, they should goe out of the Provinces, and discharge their Army; if they did so, hee would hurt no man: But that was the onely and last meanes of peace.

OBSERVATIONS.

Here is not any one vertue, that can challenge a greater measure of honour, or hath more prerogative either amongst friends or enemies, then fidelitie. For which cause it is, that men are more stricke in matters committed to their trust, for the behoofe of others, then they can well be, if the same things concerned themselves. And yet neuertheless, there is a *Quatenus* in all induements, and seemeth to be limited with such apparencie, as true affection may make of a good meaning: & was the ground which Afranius tooke to moue Caesar for a pardon; *Non esse aut ipsius aut militibus succurrendum, quod fides erga Imperatorem Cn. Pompeium conseruare voluerint; sed satis iam fecisse officio, satisque supplicij tulisse.* &c. which hee deliuered in a stile futing his fortune. For, as Cominatus hath obserued; Men in feare, giue reuerent and humble words: and the tongue is euer conditioned to be the chiefest witness of our fortune.

On the other side, Caesar produced nothing for his part, but such wrongs as might seeme valuable to make good those courses which he profecuted: as first, iniuries done by them, and that in the highest degree of blame against his souldiers, that went but to seeke for peace. Iniuries done by their Generall, in such a fashion, as spared not to euer the fundamentall rights of the State, to bring him to ruine and confusion. Whereby hee was moued to inducement that, which Nature tieth euery man vnto, *Propellere iniuriam*: and hauing brought it to these rearmes wherein it now stood, he would giue assurance to the world, by the reuenge he theretooke, that hee entered into that warre for this onelie end, that he might liue in peace: and so required no more but that the Armie should be dismissed.

CHAP. XXVIII.

The execution of the Articles agreed vpon.

Caesar.

HE conditions propounded, were most acceptable & pleasing to the souldiers; as might appeare by them: for, being in the condition of vanquished persons, and thereupon expecting a hard measure of Fortune, to be rewarded with libertie, & exemption of Armes, was more then they could expect: insomuch, as where there grew a controuersie of the time and place of their dismissal, they all generally standing

Multa, quae nobis causa minus faceremus, facimus causa amicorum. Cicero. Lucius.

Qui vincuntur victam habent linguam. Plin.

Nulli in scilicet, ut nihil a me, suffragio, quaestio, iudicio. Cicero. lib. 1. de offici.

standing vpon the rampier, signified both by their speeches and by their handes, that their desire was it might be done instantly; for, it could not bee provided by any assurance, that it would continue firme, if it were deferred vntill another time. After some dispute on each side, the matter was in the end brought to this issue; that such as had houses & possessions in Spaine, should be discharged presently, and the rest at the River Varus. It was conditioned, that no man should be iniured, that no man should be forced against his wil, to be sworn vnder Caesars commaund.

Caesar promised to furnish the with Corne, vntill they came to the riuer Varus: adding withal, that what soeuer any one had lost in the time of the warre, which should be found with any of his souldiers, should be restored to such as lost it, or if it were not to be had, he paid the value thereof in money. If any controuersie afterward grew amongst the souldiers, Petreius & Afranius of their owne accord brought the matter from time to time before Caesar. As, when the souldiers grew almost into a mutiny for want of pay, the Commanders affirming the pay day was not yet come, it was required that Caesar might vnderstand the cause, and both parties were contented with his arbitrement.

A third part of the Army being dismissed in those two daies, hee commaunded two legions to march before their Army, and the rest to follow after, and continually to incampe themselves not farre from them: and appointed *Q. Fufius Calenus*, a Legate, to take the charge of that business. This course being taken, they marched out of Spaine to the Riuer Varus, and there dismissed the rest of their Armie.

OBSERVATIONS.

HE Riuer Varus diuideth Gallia Narbonensis, from Italie; and was thought an indifferent place to discharge the Armie, whereby there might be an end made of that warre. Wherein if any man desire to see a parallell drawne, betwene Caesar and the other Leaders for matter of warre, it shall suffice to take the issue for a square of their directions; being drawne to this head within fortie daies after Caesar came within sight of the Enemy, as Curtio noteth in his speech to the souldiers.

Caro, seeing the prosperous successe of Caesar against Pompey, said there was a great vncertainie in the government of their Gods: Alluding peraduenture to that of Plato in his Politickes, where hee saith; that there are ages, wherein the Gods doe gouerne the world in their owne persons; and there are othertimes, wherein they altogether neglect the same; the world taking a course quite contrarie to that which the Gods directed. But Lucan spake from a surer ground, where hee saith;

Victrix causa Dñs placuit; sed victa Catoni.

And thus endeth the first Commentarie.

Varus flumini. Hoc petimus, viros ne tecum vincere cogat. Luc.

Rem ab euentu, facta notanda putes. Lib. 2. Ciuil.

THE SECOND COMMENTA-
rie of the Ciuill Warres.
(..)

THE ARGUMENT.

His Commentarie hath three speciall parts; The first, containing the siege of Marselleis: the strange vworks, and extreame indeauours to take and to keepe the Towne. The second expresth the vaine labour which Varro, Pompeies Licutenant, vnderooke, after that Afranius and Petreius were defeated, to keepe the Prouince of Andolozia out of Cæsars power and commaund. And the third part consisteth of the expedition Curio made into Affrica; and endeth with his ouerthrowe.

CHAP. I.

The preparations for the siege, aswell within as
without the Towne.



*W*hen these things were dooing in Spaine, C. Trebonius the Legate, beeing left to besiege Marselleis, had begunne in two places to raise Mounts, to make Mantilets and Towres against the Towne: One, next vnto the Port where the Shippes lay; and the other, in the way leading from Gallia and Spaine into the towne, iust vpon the creeke of the sea, neere vnto the mouth of the Rhone. For, three parts of Marselleis are in a manner washed with the sea: and the fourth is that which giueth passage by land; whereof that part which belongeth to the Castle (by reason of the nature of the place, fortified with a deepe ditch) would require a long and difficult siege. For the perfecting of those workes, Trebonius had commaunded out of all the Prouince, great store of horses for cariage, and a multitude of men; requiring them to bring rods to make Hurdles, and other materials for the worke: which beeing prepared and brought together, hee raised a Mount of fourescore foote high.

Cæsar.

K.

But

Porticus,
Agger,
Telsudo.

But such was the provision, which of ancient time they had stored up in the towne, of all equipage and necessities for the warre, with such provision of munition and engines, that no Hurdles made of roddes or Osiers, were able to beare out the force thereof. For, out of their great Baliste, they shot beames of twelve foote long, pointed with iron, with such force, as they would pearce through foure courses of Hurdles, and sticke in the earth. Whereby they were forced to roose their Gallery, with timber of a foote square, and to bring matter that way by hand. To make the * Mount, a Telsudo of sixtie foote in length was alwaies caried before, for the levelling of the ground, made of mighty strong timber, covered and armed with all things which might defend it from stones, or what else should be cast upon it. But the greatnes of the worke, the height of the wall, together with the multitude of Engines, did retard and hinder the proceeding thereof.

Moreover, the Albici did make often sallies out of the towne, setting fire to the mounts and to the turrets, which were kept by our souldiers with great fanaticie and ease, forcing such as salied out to returne with great losse.

OBSERVATIONS.

Artillery de-
rived from Ar-
cus and Telum.

Lib. to. ca. 17.

Lib. 3. Histo-
ria Baliste Pe-
trariae.

Lib. 4. cap. 29.

HAuing described in the former Commentaries these Engines & workes here mentioned, the Reader may please (for his better satisfaction) to review those places; as also further to note, that the word Artillery, was brought downe to these ages from the use of ancient Engines, which consisted of those two primitiues, *Arcum* and *Telum*. And, according as diuersitie of Art & wit found means to fit these to use and occasions, so had they severall and distinct names; whereof I find chiefly these, *Baliste*, *Catapultae*, *Tolenones*, *Scorpiones*, *Onagri*: Of each of which, there are diuers and severall sorts; as first, of the *Baliste*, some were called *Centenariae*; others, *Talentariae*, according to the weight of the bullet or weapon they shot. Of the rate and proportion whereof, Vitruvius, and his learned interpreter Daniel Barbarus, haue made accurate description. Againe, some were made to shoote stones: as appeareth by that of Tacitus, *Magnitudine eximia, quartadecima legionis Balista ingentibus saxis hostilem aciem praeuebat*; and others, to shoote darts and piles of timber, headed with Iron; as is manifested by this place. Moreover, the manner of bending of these Engines made a difference, some being drawne up with a wrinch or screw, and some with a wheele, some hauing long armes, and others hauing short: but the strings were generally either all of sinowes or of womens haire, as strongest & surest of any other kind. Of these, Vegetius preferreth the *Baliste*, and the *Onagri*, as vnresistible when they were skillfully handled. The word *Onagri*, as Amianus Marcellinus noteth, was of a later stamp, and imposed vpon those Engines which former time called *Scorpiones*; and was taken from the nature of wilde Asse, that are said to cast stones backward with their feete at the Hunters, with such violence, that oftentimes they dashed out their braines.

In

In the time of Barbarisme, all these Engines were generally called *Mangonella*: as appeareth by Viginierus, in his Annotations vpon Onofander. Which is likewise shewed, by that which Maister Camden hath inserted in the description of Bedfordshire, concerning the siege of Bedford Castle, in the time of Henry the third, out of an Authour that was present; *Ex parte orientali fuit vna Petraria, et duo Mangonella, quae quotidie turrim infestabant: et ex parte occidentis duo Mangonella, quae turrim veterem contriuerunt, et vnum Mangonellum ex parte Australi, &c.* But our powder hauing blowne all these out of vie, it were to no purpose to insit longer vpon them.

And of *Mangonellum*, a batterer or breacher, commeth our English word *Mangle*.

CHAP. II.

The Marcellians prepare themselves for a Sea-fight.



IN the meane time, L. Nasidius beeing sent by Cn. Pompeius with a Naue of sixteene shippes (amongst which, some few had their beake-head of iron) to the succour and supply of L. Domitius and the Marcellians, he passed the straights of Sicilie before Curio had intelligence thereof: and putting into Messana, by reason of the suddaine terror of the principall men, and the Senate that tooke themselves to flight, he surprised one Ship in the road and caried her away, and so held on his course to Marcellies. And, hauing sent a small Barke before, he certified Domitius and the rest of his comming, exhorting them by all meanes, that ioyning their forces with his supplies, they would once againe give fight to Brutus Naue.

Cesar.

Messina.

The Marcellians, since their former overthrow, had taken the like number of shippes out of their Arcenall, and new rigged and trimmed them, and with great industrie furnished and manned them for that service: for, they wanted neither Oare-men, Mariners, Sailors, nor Pilots, fit for that purpose. To these they added certaine Fisher-boates, and fenced them with fights and coverings, that the Oare-men might be safe from casting weapons; and these he filled with Archers and Engines. The Naue being thus furnished and prepared, the Marcellians (incited and stirred up with the prayers and teares of old men, women and maides, to giue help and defence to their Cittie in time of extreame danger; and to fight with no lesse courage and confidence then formerly they had accustomed) went all aboard with great courage, as it cometh to passe through the common fault of Nature; whereby we put more confidence in things vnscene and unknowne, or otherwise are more troubled therat: according as it then happened. For, the comming of Nasidius had filled the City full of assured hope and courage: and therupon, hauing a good wind, they left the Port, & came & found Nasidius at Taurenta (a Castle belonging to the Marcellians) & there fitted themselves for a fight; incouraging each other againe, to a valiant cariage of that service, and consulting how it might be best performed.

Tolous.

K 2.

The

Arles.

The right Squadron was given to the Marsellians, and the left to Nasidius. And to the place repaired Brutus, having increased the number of his Shippes: for, those sixe which he tooke from the Marsellians, he had added vnto the other which Caesar had caused to be made at Arles, and had mended them since the last fight, and fitted them with all necessities for men of warre. And thereupon, exhorting his souldiers to contemne the Enemy, as a vanquished partie, hauing already foiled and ouerthrowne them when they were in their strength, they set forward against them with great assurance.

Out of the Campe of C. Trebonius, & from all those higher places they might easily perceiue and see in the Cittie, how all the youth which remained in the towne, and all the aged, with their wiues and children, did from the publike places of guard, and from the towne walles, stretch out their hands towards heauen: or otherwise runne to their Churches and Temples; and there prostrating themselves before their Images, did desire victorie of their Gods. Neither was there any of them all that did not thinke, the event of all their fortunes to consist in that daies service: for, the chiefest of all their able men, and the best of all sorts and degrees, were by name called out, and intreated to goe aboard: to the end if any disaster or mischaunce should happen, they might see nothing further to be indeauoured for their safetie; and if they ouercame, they might rest in hope to saue their Cittie, either by their owne valour or by forraigne helpe.

OBSERVATIONS.

Quod maxime volunt, id facili credunt. *O*mmuni fit vitio natura, vt inuisis, latitantibus, atque incognitis rebus, magis confidamus, vehementiusque exterreamur, vt tum accidit. In cases of hazard, things brought vnto vs by report, doe more abuse our iudgement, either in conceiuing too great hopes, or yeelding too much to distrust, then any matter present can moue or influence: for, these perturbations attending vpon our will, are enlarged more according to the qualitie of our desires, then as they are directed by discourse of reason; and so draw men either easily to belieue what their wishes doe require, or otherwise to reiect all as vtterly loft.

The vncertainie wherof, and the disappointment ensuing those deceivable apprehensions, hath brought the hope of this life into very slight account, being reckoned but as the dreame of him that is awake; and as *Pia fraus*, or a chaurable delusion, to support vs through the hard chaunces of this world, and to keepe mans hart from breaking: for, euery mans helpe is hope; which neuer affordeth present reliefe, but asswageth the bitterness of extremities, by *Dabit Deus his quoque finem*.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

The fight, and the Marsellians ouerthrowne.

Caesar.

HE fight being begun, the Marsellians were wanting in no point of valour: but bearing in mind such exhortation as a little before had bene giuen the by their friends, they fought so resolutely as though they meant not to fight againe; or as if any one should chaunce to miscarie in that battell, he should make account that he did but anticipate for a small moment of time, the fatall end of his fellow Cittizens, who vpon taking of the towne, were to undergoe the same fortune of warre. Our Shippes putting on by little and little, were glad to giue way to the nimblenes and mobility of their shipping, which by the skill of their Pilots were well managed. And if it happened that our men had found meanes to grapple with any of their shippes, they presently came on all sides to their reskew. Neither did the Albici shew themselves backward when the matter came to hands, or were they inferiour to our men in courage or valour. Moreover, out of the lesser Ships were cast infinite numbers of darts, and other weapons, wherewith our men busied in fight were suddainely wounded.

In this conflict, two of their Triremes, hauing spied Brutus shippe (which by her flaggie might easily be discerned) came violently against him from two contrary parts: but the danger being foreseene, Brutus did so preuaile through the swiftnesse of his Ship, that he a little out-strippt them; whereby they coming with their full swing, did so encounter one another, that they were very much shaken with the blowe: for, the Beake-head of one being broken off, the water was ready to come in on all sides. Which being obserued by some of Brutus partie that were neere about, they set vpon them (being thus distressed) and quicklie sunke them both.

The Shippes that came with Nasidius, were found of no vse; for, there was not offered there vnto them, either the sight of their Countrey, or the exhortations and prayers of their kinsfolkes and allies, as motives to hazard their lines in that quarrell: so that of them there was none wanting. Of the Ships that came out from Marsellies, five were sunke, and foure taken. One escaped with Nasidius fleet, which made towards the hither Spaine. One of them that remained, was sent before to Marsellies; who comming as a messenger before the rest, and approaching neere vnto the towne, all the multitude ran out to heare the newes: which being once knowne, there was such a generall mourning and desolation, as though the towne were instantly to be taken by the Enemy. Notwithstanding, they left not off to make ready such necessities, as were requisite for defence of the same.

K 3.

OBSER-

OBSERVATIONS.



His was the second fight the Marcellians made, to keep the sea open for the ayde and reliefe of the Towne; beeing otherwise straightlie besieged by land, and yet not so tenderly cared as their flurting vpon by sea: the free passage whereof, brought in all their profit in time of peace, and their succours in times of warre; for which regard it was, that they commended to their gods, the successe of that enterprise, with as much deuotion, as teares, vovves and prayers could expresse.

The benefite a Towne besieged receiueeth from an open inlet by sea, cannot be better manifested, then by the siege of Ostend; for, by that occasion specially, it indured the most famous siege that was in Christendome these many yeeres. This L. Nalsidius, was rather a constant friend to the cause, then a fortunate Admirall: for afterwards, he refused not to take the like ouerthrow for Pompey the sonne, at Leucades, as hee did now for the father. And surely it falleth out (whither it be through the vncertainty of sea-faring matters, or that men haue fairer pretences at sea, to avoid occasions of hazard, then are found at land; or that *Pancta digna nascuntur in Mari*, according to the proverbe, or for what other cause I knowe not) that there are few of those which fought honor in this kind, who haue attained the least part of their desires. And yet neuer thelesse, some there are of famous memorie: as * Barbarusa, a terror of the Levant seas: Andreas Auria, of Genua, renowned for his great exploits vpon the Turke: together with diuers of our owne Nation; as namely, Sir Francis Drake, who for skill and fortune at sea, is held matchable with anie other whatsoever: Besides, M. Candish, for viages to the South, and Sir Martin Furbithier, for discoueries to the North.

Howbeit, these latter times haue aduanrage without comparison of former ages, through the inuention of the Sea compass with the needle: which was not found out little more then three hundred yeres agoe, by one Flauus, borne in the kingdome of Naples; without which, no shippe can shape a course in the Ocean: and to which nothing can be added, more then to find a perfect & ready direction for longitudes.

CHAP.

Dio Cassius.

Nihil tam casus fortuitior quam Mare.
Tacit. 14. Annual.

* King of Algiers in the time of Soliman.

CHAP. IIII.

The workes which the legionarie Souldiers made against the Towne.

(* * *)



It was obserued by the legionarie souldiers, that had the charge of the right part of the work, that it would much aduantage them against the often eruptions and sallies of the Enemy, if they built a towre of Bricke vnder the towne wall, in stead of a Hold or receptacle: which at first they made lowe and little, onely for the repelling of suddaine assaults. Thither they usually retreated: and from thence, if they were over-charged, they made defence, either by beating backe, or prosecuting an Enemy. This towre was thirtie foote square, and the walles thereof five foote thicke: but afterwards (as vse and experience is the maister of all things) it was found by insight and industrie of men, that this towre might be of great vse, if it were raised to any height, and was accordingly performed in this fashion.

When it was raised to the height of a storie, they so framed the floore, that the ends of the ioystles did not yttie out beyond the sides of the towre; least any thing might be thrust out, on which the fire which the enemy should cast might take hold: and then paved that floore, with as much bricke as the Mantelets and Gallions would suffer to bee laid. Vpon this tarras thus made, they laide crosse beames along the sides, as a foundation to an vpper storie, for the toppe and couering of the towre. And vpon these beames they raised crosse timbers, thwarting each other for the sides of the towre, and coupled them at the top with side beames.

These crosse timbers were longer, and bare further out, then the square of the towre; that there might be meanes to fasten coverings and defences, against the blowes and darts of the Enemy, whilst the workemen were finishing the walles and sides of that building. The toppe or vpper storie of this towre, they likewise paved with bricke and clay, that no fire might fasten on it; and laid matteres on the toppe thereof, to the end the floore might not be broken, with any weapons shot out of Engines, nor the pavement shivered in peeces with stones cast out of Catapults.

Moreover, they made three nettings or mats of Hawfers, equall in length to the sides of the towre, and foure foote in breadth. And vpon those three sides which confronted the Enemy, they fastened them vpon poles to hang before the towre: which kind of defence they had in other places tried to be of prooffe, & not to be pierced with any weapon or engine. And as one part of the towre came to be covered, finished, and fortified, against any violence of the enemy, they carried their

Cesar.

their Mantelets and defences to the rest unfinished. The top of which towre, they framed vpon the first storie, and then raised it vp with wrinches or serues, as farre as the close netting would serue them for a defence. And so covered with these belters and safeguards, they built up the sides with bricke; and then againe seruing up the toppe higher, they fitted the place to build the sides higher: and as they came to the height of a story, they laid the ioystes of the floore in such sort, as the ends thereof were bid and covered with the wall or sides that were of brick; and so from that story, they proceeded to another, by seruing up the top, and raising their netting. By which meanes, they built very safely sixe stories, without any wound or other danger at all; and left windowes and loopeholes in the sides, for the putting out of Engines in such places as they thought conuenient. When by means of that towre, they were in hope to defend the works neere about it, they then made a Musculum or mouse of sixtie foote in length, & of two foote timber square, to conuay them safely from this towre of Bricke, to another of the Enemies, and to the towne wall: whereof this was the forme; They cut two side ground sils of equall length, and made the space betweene them to containe foure foote; vpon them they erected little columnes of five foote high, and ioyned them together, putting braces of an easie sloping in such distances, as the rafteres were to be placed to beare up the rooffe: and vpon those braces they laid rafteres of two foote square, fastening them both at the ridge, and at the enings, with plates and bolts of iron. They lathed the rooffe with lath of foure fingers broad, and so the building beeing made with a gable ridge hand somly fashioned, the top was laid all ouer with clay, to keepe the Mouse from burning; and then covered with tiles, which were fenced with leather, to the end they might not be vvasht away with pipes or gutters of water, which might bee laid to fall vpon them. And least those hides should be spoiled, either with fire or great stones, they laid Matteresses vpon them.

This worke being whollie finished neere vnto the towre, through the help and meanes of defensive mantelets and gabions; suddenly before the enemy was aware, with a shippe-engine and rollers put vnder it, they brought it so neere a towre of the enemies, that it ioyned to the wall thereof. The townesmen, beeing vpon a suddaine appalled thereat, brought the greatest stones they could get, and with leauers, tumbled them downe from the wall vpon the mouse: but the strength of the worke did not shrinke at the blowes, and whatsoeuer fell vpon it, slid downe the sloping of the rooffe. Which when they perceined, they altered their purpose, and got pots of Rosin and Pitch, and setting them on fire, threw them downe vpon the Mouse; which tumbling downe from the rooffe, were remooued away with long hookes and poles. In the meane time, the souldiers that were within the Mouse, pulled out the lower stones that were in the foundation of the towre. This Mouse or Mantilet, was defended by our men out of the bricke towre, with weapons and engines: and by meanes thereof, the Enemy was put from the wall and the turrets, so that they could not well defend the same. Many of the stones beeing sapped out of the foundation of the towre, part thereof suddenly fell, & the rest leaned, as though it would not stand long after.

ms. upon the second

was dismantled. The top of which towre, they
erected it up with winches or fornes, as
before for defence. And so covered with
bricks, & the sides with bricke; and then a-
bove the place to build the sides higher:
they laid the rafters of the floor in such
order with the wall or faces that were of
brick, & the other, by joining up the top,
they built very safely five stories,
that all could see the windows and loopeholes
in such places as they thought conuenient
they were in hope to defend the works neere a-
bout. And so of five foute in length, & of two
foute from this towre of bricke, to another
all at one of this was the forme. They cut two
foute the space betweene them to containe
little columns of fine foute high, and joy-
nted in such distances, as the rafters
were, and upon those braces they laid rafters
that the ridge, and at the eunings, with
the roofe with lath of foure fingers broad;
and a slender hand sawly fashioned, the top
with Manie from burning; and then covered
the roofe with the end they might not be waisted
by fire, in which might bee laid to fall upon them.
And other with fire or great stones, they laid

the fire into the towre, through the help and
the downe, suddenly before the enemy was a-
ble to get water it, they brought it so neere a
place, with the roofe, the towne men, be-
cause from the best stones they could get,
they cast from the wall upon the mouse; but
the mouse of the blowes, and whatsoeuer fell
from the roofe, which when they perceiued, they
cast downe and pitch, and letting them on fire,
they began to tashling downe from the roofe,
and the holes. In the meane time, the foul-
dredge, which lent the lower floues that were in the
the towre, was defended by our men
with an arrow, and by means thereof, the
mouse was not, so that they could not well de-
stroy being puffed out of the foundation of the
the towre, and as though it would not stand

O B.



OBSERVATIONS.

HOrasmuch as it requireth the labour of an industrious penne to shadow out the effects of Industrie; I will onely produce the euidence of these workes, to shew the power it hath in humane actions, rather then by any maimed or shallow discourse, weaken the force of so great an Engine. VVherein, first it may be noted, how in these and the like attempting indeauours, one thing drawes on another, according as practise maketh ouerture to maisteries: For, our vnderstanding growing by degrees, hath no inuitiue facultie to discerne perfection, but by little and little worketh out exactnes; making every Morrow, yetterdaies scholler, as reason findeth meanes of discourse from causes to effects, or from effects to causes.

Discipulus prioris posterior discipulus Gellius.

And so this Towre, made at first but for a retreat of defence, gaue occasion to let them see the like, or better vse thereof in the offensive part, if it were raised to a height conuenient for the same: vvhich they performed with as much Art as the wit of man could vse in such a worke. For, hauing made the first storie, they then made the rooof, for the shelter and safetie of the souldier: and seruing it vp by little and little, they built the sides, hauing fenced the open space with netting, for auoiding of danger; arming it with bricke and clay against fire, and with Materesses against stones and waights. And then againe they proceeded to the making of that Mantilet or Musculum, which gaue them passage to the wall; building it with strong or rather strange timber, of two foote square, framed so artificially with braces, and ridging rafters, and those so fitted, as neither fire, water, weapon, nor weight, could preuaile against it. And thus they laboured to gaine their owne ends, and bought Fortune with immeasurable indeauour.

CHAP. V.

The Marsellians got a truce of the Romaines,
and brake it deceitfully.



HE Enemy, being then much appalled at the suddaine ruine and fall of the towre, and greatly perplexed at so vnexpected a mischiese; and withall, strooke with a feare of the wrath and indignation of the Gods, and of the sack & spoile of their Cittie, they came all unarmed, thronging out of the gates, wearing holy attire vpon their heads, and stretching out their submissiue hands to the Legates and the Armie. Vpon which neweltie, all hostilitie ceased for the time, & the souldiers with drawing themselves from the assault, were caried with a desire of hearing and vnderstanding what would passe at that time.

Caesar.

Intermet cum insulis.

When

When they came to the Legates & to the Army, they cast themselves all downe at their feete, praying and beseeching that things might be suspended untill Cæsars arrivall. They saw plainly that their towne was already taken, their works were perished, their owne towne demolished; and therefore they desisted from making any further defence: there could be no let to hinder them from present spoile and sacking, if vpon Cæsars arrivall they should refuse to obey his Mandates. They shewed further, that if their towne were absolutely overthrowne, the souldiers could not be kept from entering the towne in hope of pillage, and would thereby bring it to a small destruction.

These, and many the like things, were uttered by them very moovingly (as men learned and eloquent) with great lamentation and much weeping: where-by the Legates (mooued with commiseration) with-drew the souldiers from the fortifications, put off the assault, and left a small guard to keepe the works. A kind of truce beeing through pity and commiseration thus made and concluded, Cæsars coming was expected; no weapon was cast, either from the towne wall, or from our side: in so much, as euery man left off his care and diligence, as though all had been ended. For, Cæsar had by Letters giuen straight charge to Trebonius, not to suffer the towne to be taken by assault, least the souldiers (mooued through their rebellion and contempt, together with the long trauell they had sustained) should put all aboute foueteene yeeres of age to the sword: which they threatened to doe, and were then hardly kept from breaking into the towne, taking the matter very grievously, that Trebonius seemed to hinder them from effecting their purposes. But the enemy, beeing people without faith, did onlie watch for time and opportunity, to put in practice their fraude and deceit.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

*Postitus, ut te-
ret corpus, ita
decegit animi.*

et Aemul.

** The fire and
the ayre.*

IT is a saying of an ancient Writer, that As our attire doth couer the bodie, so it doth vncouer the nakednes of the mind. Wherevpon it is, that men haue found meanes to sute themselves vpon occasion, according to the disposition of their inward affections, as they are either dilated with ioy, or contracted with sorrow, listd vp with weale, or humbled with affliction. And accordingly, these Marcellians, in token of their humilitie & submission, came out, wearing an attire here called *Insula*; which Seruius describeth to be a kind of Coife, made after the forme of a Diademe, with two pendants on each side, called *Pitta*.

Those which the Romans vsed of this kind, were fashioned like a Pyramid: the point whereof, did signifie the * Elements, ascending vpwards in such a pointed fashion; and by the two pendants or bands, were denoted the Water and the Earth; beeing made whollie of wooll, as Festus writeth; *Insula sunt filamenta lanae, quibus Sacerdotes, hostia, et templa velabantur*: to shew humbleness and simplicitie, whereof wooll is a Hieroglyphick. For, no kind of beasts haue more need of ayde and succour then Sheepe: and there-vpon it was, that all Suppliants were attired with tresses of wooll. Or otherwise, as some will haue

haue it, That the habit of the Petitioner, might call to remembrance the flexible disposition, which is well-beseeming those that haue power and meanes to giue helpe and reliefe: According to the vse of Heathen ages; wherein their Images of their Idols, had their feete tied with cordes of wooll: to shew the mildnes and easines which vpon denote supplications was founde in diuine Powers; whereof wooll was a *Symbolum*.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

THE Marcellians, beeing an ancient progeny of the Greekes, notwithstanding the long descent of time, and alteration of aire, did keepe a touch of the naturall of that Nation, as well in such straines of eloquence, as were familiar vnto them aboute other people, as in subtiltie and duplictie of dealing. Which passage of the Marcellians, is obserued by Tully, as a matter enforcing the due praises of Eloquence, and the vse it hath vpon all occasions to draw consent, with the sweetnes of a well tuned tongue, aboute that which may be attained either by Engines or a strong hand. VVherein, if we should goe about to compare the force of Armes, with the power of a graue discourse, & set a souldier Parallell to an Orator, there might hence be taken diuers probable reasons, to second that saying, which hath been thought to fauour more of vaine-glorie, then of true iudgement; *Cedant arma togæ, concedat laurea lingue*: Or at least, to make a resemblance of Plutarchs two Wrattlers, of whom one beeing alwaies cast, did neuertheless perswade the other that he cast him; and so, howsoeuer he became foiled, yet left the place with an opinion of victorie: And is alwaies more easily effected, when it is attended with cunning and deceit, according to that of Valerius Maximus; *Efficacissima vires perfidia, mentiri et fallere*. But, as it is obserued by Philip de Commynes, The example of one sole accident, is sufficient to make manie men wise: so this may serue to teach succeeding times, not to trust to words, whereof there is no hold; but to ratifie such compositions with irreuoicable performances.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

Hirdly, we may note, how farr the anger of a Romaine Armie was extended, vpon such prouocations as are heere mentioned, viz. *Ad interficiendos pueros*, to the slaying of all the males aboute foueteene yeeres of age; for, from that stage of life, they accounted all in the ranke of men: According to the institution of Tarquinius Priscus; who in his triumph of the Sabines, made a speciall Oration in the praise of his owne son, that had assaulted and strooke the Enemy in those warres, beeing then but 14 yeeres of age: and ther-vpon, gaue him libertie to weare mans apparell; which was that *Toga pretexta* (edged or faced with Purple) whereof their histories make so often mention.

But

*Macrobi. lib. 1.
Saturni. ca. 8.*

*Græca fide omnia agere.
Oratio pro Flacco.*

Acqualis est vtrorunque dignitas, iustitiamque necessestas vnius conditionis mobilior efficiat. Tum enim in presens magis exigunt, sicut Valerius: a Plutarchi saterunt L. in ciuitibus 1. C. de offic.

Vicar. Fr. in ciuitibus causis vi cary comitibus militi antequerentur, in militibus negotiis comites vicarys. Enslis casus rarys in solo caplo hanc experientia. Antio. Peres.

*Macrobi. lib. 1.
Saturn. cap. 6.*

But to define precisely heereof, were to mistake the furie of the souldier: for, howsoever the rule is certaine from the law of Nature, that no finite cause can be infinite in effect, or that a mortal hate should haue a boundlesse reuenges yet occasion made it variable, and as irregular as that of Alexander: who sometimes faued all, & at other times (as at the taking of Tyre) faued none at all, but such as had taken the protection of the Temple. The inhumane crueltie of the Turkes, exceedeth all former hostilitie in this kind: for, they neuer saueanie out of commiseration, but for priuate vse: and doe rather chule to destroy mankind, then suffer it to liue for any other purpose then their owne.

CHAP. VI.

The Marfellians, taking aduantage of the Truce,
consumed with fire all the Romaine workes: which
were afterwards reedified.

Cesar.



After a few daies, when our men were growne remiss & carelesse, suddainly about high noone, as some were gone one way some another, and others wearied with continuall labour, had giuen themselves to rest, the weapons beeing cased and laid vp; they rusbed out of their gates, & comming with the wind that then blew hard, they set our workes on fire: which was so caried and dispersed with the wind, that the Mount, the Mantilets, the Testudo, the Towre and the Engines, were all on fire at once, and were burned downe and consumed before it could be knowne how it came.

Our men, astonished at so suddaine and vnthought-of an accident, caught vp such weapons as were next at hand; and others, running speedily fro the Camp, set vpon the Enemy, but were hindered from following them as they fledde, by Engines and Arrows from the towne wall. They, on the other side, beeing retired vnder the protection of the wall, did at their ease burne downe the Mount and the brick towre: and so, many moneths labour, was through the perfidiousnesse of the Enemy, and the force of the tempest, consumed & brought to nothing in a moment of time. The Marfellians attempted the like the next day after, hauing opportunitie of the like tempest; and with greater confidence sallied out, & threw much fire vpon the other mount and the towre. But as our men the day before (expecting nothing lesse then to be surprised in that sort) had neglected more then ordinary their vsall guards, beeing now made wiser by that which had happened, they had made all things ready for defence: by which meanes, hauing slaine a great number, they drane the rest backe into the towne, without effecting any thing.

Trebonius beganne againe to reedifie such workes as were ruinated and consumed with fire, and that with greater alacritie of the souldier then before.

For,

For, when they saw their great labours and indevours sort to no better successe, beeing ruined by the treacherie of the Enemy, it was a great gall vnto them to haue their valour thus derided. And, forasmuch as there was nothing left in all the Countrey for the raising of a Mount: all the trees being already cut downe, and brought farre and neere to make the first Mount, they beganne a Mount of a strange and vheard-of fashion, raised with two side-vualles of bricke, beeing sixe foote thicke apeece, and ioyned together with floores. The vualles were of equall distance, to the latitude of the former Mount, which was all of solide matter: and where the space betweene the walles, or the weakenesse of the work did require it, there were piles driuen betweene, and beames and planks laid athwart for the strengthening thereof. The floores, made betweene those vualles, were laid with Hurdles, and the Hurdles were covered with clay.

The souldiers beeing thus sheltered, on both sides with a wall, and defended in front by Mantilets and Gabions, did safely, without danger, bring what soeuer was necessary for that building; whereby the worke was caried on with great speed: and the losse of their former continuall labour, was in a short time recovered againe, through the admirable dexterity and valour of the souldier. To conclude, they left gates in the vualles, in such places as were fittest for sallies.

When the enemy perceived, that what they hoped could not be repaired againe in a long time, was with a few daies labour, reedified & finished (whereby there was no place left to practise deceit, or to sallie out with aduantage; neither was there any meanes left by which they could preuaile, either by force of Armes, or by fire to consume our workes; and understanding likewise, that by the same manner of fortification, all that part of the towne, which had passage and acceffe from the firme land, might be encompassed with a vvall and with towres; that their souldiers should not be able to stand vpon their workes; and perceiuing withall, that our Army had raised a countermeure, against the wall of their towne; and that vweapons might be cast by hand vnto them; that the use of their Engines (wherein they much trusted) was by the neereness of space quite taken away; and lastlie, that they were not able to confront our men (vpon equall termes) from their vualles, and from their turrets they descended to the same Articles of rendry and submission, as were formerly agreed vpon.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



Ence wee may obserue, that a Generall cannot bee too secure of an Enemy, that standes vpon termes to render vp a place. For, the action beeing but voluntarie by constraint; if happen the constraining force be remoued, then that doth scale which is voluntarie: and so it cometh by consequent to a rectu all. As appeareth by this passage of the Marfellians; who being brought into hard termes, as vvell by their twoouer-throws at Sea (whence they

L.

expected

Est ita natura
operanti, ut ho-
mines malefice,
super quos dicit
positi, frangat,
vident reuere
non respondere.
Paul. in Messu.

expected no further succour) as also by the siege laid so close by land (vvhether they were so violently assaulted, that their towers of defence made passage for the Romaines to enter vpon them) did neuerthelesse (vpon cessation of those inforcements) alter their purpose, and entertained new hopes: which maketh good that saying, *Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes.*

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

*Voluntas ad la-
borem propensa,
in illa vincere
et superare con-
uenit. Polyani.*

lib. 5. Iliad.

*Quis tam ardu-
um, quod animi
fortitudine su-
perari non possit.
Appian. de bello
Hispanico.*

SEcondly, we may obserue, that a will, forward to vndergoe labour, doth neuer stick at any difficultie, nor is at all dismayed with the losse of anie paines: but is rather redoubled in courage and industrie; especially beeing edged on with a desire of reuenge. Which (if Homer may haue credit) doth alwaies adde a third part to a mans strength; as appeared by Diomedes, beeing hurt in the shoulder with one of Pindarus arrowes: for reuenge whereof, hee exceeded himselfe in a *sequitur* proportion of valour, and slew more Troianes by a third part then otherwise he could.

Howsoever, as there is nothing so hard, but is subiect to the endeavour of the minde: so there is nothing so easie, as to dispossesse our selues of that intent care, which is requisite in these employments. For, these Romaines, that through the greatnes of their spirits had made such first and second workes, as the memorie thereof will last with the world, were surprised when they lay in the *Interim*, as it were vnbeent, in as great remissnes and neglect (how-so-euer drawne vnto it by deceit) as if they had beene able to do no such matter as is heere reported. And therefore it behooueth a Commaunder, to keepe his Armie alwaies seasoned with labour; forasmuch as *Exercitus labore proficit, otio consenscit.*

Vegetius.

CHAP. VII.

Varro raiseth great troopes, to maintaine Pompeis partie in Spaine; but, to no purpose.

Caesar.

*Qui fiduciam
operi obtinebat.*



MARCUS Varro, in the further Province of Spaine, hauing from the beginning vnderstood how things had passed in Italie, & distrusting how matters would succeed with Pompey, did oftentimes giue out very friendly speeches of Caesar; that Pompey had by way of preuention gained him to his party; & honoured him with a Lieutenancie, whereby hee was obliged in dutie to him: Howbeit, in his particular disposition, he stood no less affected to Caesar; neither was he ignorant of the duty of a Legat, to whose trust and fidelitie, the gouernement of the Province was left, as in deposit, vpon

vpon condition to be rendred up at all times and seasons, as hee that commaunded in chiefe should require it: He likewise knew very well what his owne forces were, and what was the affection and disposition of all the Countrey towards Caesar.

This was the subiect of all his speeches, without any shew of inclining either to the one or to the other. But afterwards, when he heard that Caesar was engaged at Marselleis, that Petreius forces were ioyned with Afranius Armie, that great aides were come vnto them, that euery man was in great hope and expectation of good successe; and that all the hither Province had agreed together, to vndertake Pompeis cause, as also what had after happened concerning the want of victuals at Ilerda (all which things were writ, with aduantage, vnto him by Afranius) he then vpon that alteration changed his mind according to the times, and leuied souldiers in all parts of the Province: and hauing raised two compleat legions, he added vnto them some thirty cohorts of the Countrey souldiers, to serue for wings to the Army; gathered together great quantity of Corne, as well for the supplie of the Marsellians, as for the prouision of Petreius and Afranius.

Moreover, he commaunded them of Gades to build and provide tenne Gallies; and ordered further, that many other should be made at Hispalis. Hee tooke all the money and the ornaments out of Hercules temple, and brought the same into the towne of Gades, and in lieu thereof sent sixe Cohorts out of the Province to keepe the temple. He made Gaius Gallionius (a Romaine Knight and a familiar friend of Domitius, and sent by him thither to recover some matter of inheritance) Gouvernour of the towne. All the Armes (as well priuate as publique) were brought into Gallions house. He himselfe made many bitter inuectiues against Caesar, affirming, that a great number of the souldiers were revolted fro him, and were come to Afranius: which hee knew to be true, by certaine and approoued Messengers.

The Romaine Cittizens, residing in that Province, being much perplexed & affrighted thereat, were therevpon constrained to promise him 190 thousand Sesterces in ready money, for the service of the Common-weale, besides twentie thousand waight of siluer, together with one hundred and twentie thousand bushels of Wheate. Vpon those Citties and States which fauoured Caesars partie, he laid greater impositions: for, such as had let fallen speeches, or declared themselves against the Common-weale, he confiscated all their goods, and put a Garizon vpon them; giuing iudgement himselfe vpon priuate persons, & constraining all the Province, to sweare allegiance to him and to Pompey.

And beeing in the end aduertised what had happened in the hither Province, he prepared for warre, with a purpose to dispose thereof in this manner: His resolution was to keepe two legions with him at Gades, with all the shipping and the Corne: for, knowing that the whole Province did intirely affect Caesars Cause, he thought it best for him (hauing made good prouision of shipping and Corne) to keepe the island.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Observe first, how dangerous it is, for such as stand newtrall between two parties (bearing no affection but to their owne ends) to declare themselves, vpon such apparances as commonly happen in the flux and reflux of a warre: for, if their iudgement faile as Varro did, they are then forced to redeeme their error, with more offices of partialitie then can afterwards be excused; and so runne into a further degree of enmitie, then the party for whom they suffer. And certainly, whether it bee that newtrallitie refuseth to take part with the right (which in matter of controuersie must needs stand on one side) or whether it sauoureth of an ill nature, to shew no sympathizing affections, with such as otherwise haue correspondence with them; or for what other cause I knowe not: but sure it is, that Newtralls, attending nothing but their owne aduantage, are of no better esteeme, then the bird whereof Leo Africanus writeth; which when the King of Birds demanded tribute, would alwaies ranke himselfe amongst the Fish: and when the King of Fishes required his seruice, would alwaies be with the Birds. Or then the Weather-cock, whereof there is no other vse then *Indicare regnantem*.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

THE Island of Gades, was knowne to the Romaines by the name of Tartessus;



Hic Gadis urbs est dicta Tartessus prius.

The towne of Gades was indowed, as Dion witnesseth, by Iulius Cæsar, with the liberties and priuiledges of Rome. To which effect Plinie writeth; *Oppidum habet Ciuium Romanorum, quod appellatur Augusta urbs Iulia Gaditana*. It was a towne of great fame: as appeareth by that of Iuba, king of Mauritania, who made ambitious sute, to haue the title of *Duumviri*, or Two-men of the towne; as Festus noteth, in his Description of the Sea-coast.

*At via in illis tanta, vel tantum decus
Aetate prisca, sub fide rerum fuit:
Rex ut superbus omniumque præpotens
Quos gens habebat fortis tum Maurus Iulius,
Octauiano principi acceptissimus
Et literarum semper in studio Iuba,
Interfusoque separatus Aequore
Illustriorem semet, urbis istius
Duumviro ratu crederet.*

In

Festus A-
monus.

Lib. xlv

In this Island stood Hercules temple; to which, as well Romaines, as other noble Aduenturers of all Nations, made often repaire, to performe their vowes vpon atchievements of deedes of Armes: which solemnitie was not omitted by Hanniball, before his expedition into Italie.

Amongst other Altars in this Temple, there was one dedicated to Penurie and Art: signifying that Art driueth away Penurie, as Hercules put to flight & subdued Monsters. Those of Asia, and the Mediterrane parts, tooke this Island to be the furthest end of navigation: for, the Atlantick sea admitted no further passage, for want of a load-stone to direct them in that vastness. And therefore Pindarus saith, That it is not lawfull for wise men nor fooles, to know what is beyond the fraight of Gebraltar, the way in the Ocean beeing 100 leagues broad. In this towne of Gades, was borne L. Cornelius Balbus, who at his death gaue a legacie to the Romaine people, 25 pence *per Pole*; together with Iunius Brutus Columella, that writ to excellently *De re Rustica*.

Et mea quam generat Tartessilitoris Gades.

It is now called Cales Males, and was sacked by our English, 1596.

Hispalis, surnamed Romulensis, from the Romaine Colonie that was planted there, is seated vpon the Riuer Beatis, in a very pleasant and fertile Countrey, and especially for oyles. The towne is now the Staple for the West Indies, and a very Nurserie of Marchants. Arias Montanus, that great Theologian, was borne in this Cittie.

Iosephus Aco-
sta hath ob-
serued, that the
sea hath no
part about one
thousand leagues
from the land.

Hispalis.
Senill.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.



Concerning these CXC thousand Sesterces, the learned cannot satisfie themselves with any congruent interpretation thereof. For, if we take them in the Newter, for vij pound x shillings apeece, it amounteth to 1492000 pound, which is thought too much: if in the Masculine, it will rise not to aboue 1400 pound, which is deemed too little. And therefore the Criticks do mend the place, and read *Et S centies nomagies*, which bringeth out 142500 pound: and is thought agreeable to the meaning of the Authour.

CHAP. VIII.

The Prouince and the legions reuolt from Varro.
Cæsar setteth Spaine, and returneth
to Marsellies.



When Cæsar was called backe into Italie for many great and important causes, yet he was resolu'd to leaue no sparke or appearance of warre remaining behind him in Spaine; for that hee knew Pompeis deserts to bee such, as had gained him many followers and dependants in the hither Prouince. And therefore hauing sent two legions into the further Spaine, vnder the

Cæsar.

L. 3.

conduct

conduct of *Q. Cæsius*, Tribune of the people, he himselfe made for ward by great journeyes, with sixe hundred horse; sending an *Edict* before him, to summon the Magistrates, and chiefe men of the Citties and Townes, to appeare before him by a day at Corduba. Vpon publication of which *Edict*, there was no Cittie in all that Province, that sent not some of their Senate by the day appointed, to Corduba: Neither was there any Romaine Cittizen of note, that presented not himselfe there at that time.

The Princes and States beeing assembled, of their owne accord they shut the gates against Varro, set watch and ward vpon the walls and in the towres, and retained with them two cohorts, called by the name of *Colonica* (which came thither by chance) for the safe keeping of the towne. At the selfe same time, the inhabitants of Carmona (which is the strongest towne of all the Province) cast out the Cohorts that were by Varro put into their Citadell, and shut them out of their towne. Whereby, Varro was the rather moued to make haste to Gades with his legions, least hee should bee hindered and cut off, either in the way, or in his passage ouer the Continent: such and so fauourable was the generall affection of the vvhole Province towards Cæsar. And being some-what advanced on his journey, he receiued Letters from Gades, that as soone as it was known there of the *Edict* which Cæsar had published, the chiefe of the Gaditans agreed with the Tribunes of the souldiers which were in Garrison, to expell Gallion out of the towne, and to keepe the Cittie and the Island for Cæsar. Which beeing resolved vpon, they sent him word to leaue the towne of his owne accord, vvhile hee might doe it without danger; and if he refused, they would then take such further order as they should find expedient. Gallionius, moued with feare, dislodged himselfe and went out of Gades.

These things beeing diuulged abroad, one of the two legions, knowne by the name of *Vernacula*, tooke vp their Ensignes, went out of Varros Campe (he himselfe standing by and looking on) and retired themselves to Hispalis; and there sate downe in the Market-place, and in common porches, without hurting any man. Which the Romaine Cittizens, there assembled, did so well like of, that euery man was very desirous to entertaine them in their houses. Whereat Varro, beeing much astonished, altered his journey, towards *Ilipa Italica*, as hee gaue it out; but soone after was aduertised by some of his friends, that the gates were shut against him. Wherevpon, being en cumvented and fore-closed from all other addresses, he sent to Cæsar, to aduertise him that he was ready to deliuer vp the legion, to whomsoever he should please to appoint. To which purpose, he sent him *Sex. Cæsar*, commanding the legion to be deliuered to him.

Varro, hauing giuen vp his charge, came to Cæsar at Corduba, & there gaue him true account of the carriage of his office. The monies remaining in his hands he deliuered vp, and gaue an inventory of the Corne and shipping which were in any place provided. Cæsar, by a publique Oration made at Corduba, gaue thanks generally to all men; as first, to the Romaine Cittizens, for the indeauour they vsed to be Masters of the towne. Secondly, to the Spaniards, for dring out the Garrison; to them of Gades, that they trauesed and prevented the proiects of the aduersaries, & had restored themselves to libertie, to the Tribunes of the souldiers,

Ilipa Italica.

diers, & Centurions, that were come thither to keepe the towne, for that by their valour & magnanimity, the resolution of the townsmen was assured and confirmed. He remitted such leuies of money, as the Romaine Cittizens had promised Varro for the publique seruice. He restored the goods confiscated, of such as had spoken more freely then was pleasing; and gaue diuers rewards, both publique and private: the rest he satisfied with hope of good time for the future. And hauing staid there two daies, he went to Gades: where he gaue order that the monies and monuments, which were transferred from Hercules temple to a private house, should be caried backe againe to the Temple. Hee made *Q. Cæsius* Governour of the Province, & left with him foure legions. He himselfe, in a few daies space, with those ships which *M. Varro*, and those of Gades (by his commaundement) had made, came to Tarraco; for, there the Embassadors of almost all the hither Province, did attend his comming: and hauing receiued them with private and publique honour, in the same fashion as formerly hee had vsed, hee left Tarraco, and came by land to Narbone, and from thence to Marsellies: where he receiued first aduertisement of the law made at Rome, for creating of a Dictator; and that himselfe was named thereunto, by *M. Lepidus*, Prator.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

IT is one of Cæsars peculiars, recorded by Suetonius, that hee neuer left behind him any sparke or suspicion of warre, least it might be said hee did not thoroughly conquer where hee came. For, hee that doth a busines to halle, hath as much more to doe before it bee done: and the remainder in matter of warre, groweth commonly to a greater head then that which first gaue occasion of Armes; like fire, which is smothered for a time, to breake out afterwards with greater furie. And therefore, that he might not be thought to procure an Enemy rather then subdue him, hee neglected all occasions how important soeuer, which might draw him into Italie; to the end he might settle Spaine in a peace, answerable to an absolute victorie: Which he easily effected, hauing ouer-mastered the chiefe of the party, and turned their troopes out of the Countrey, as men altogether mistaken in the matter. The same whereoffo preuailed with the rest, that rather then they would stand out, they forooke their Commanders. And hauing thus remoued all occasions of force, hee then proceeded to take away all doubtfulness, which might accompanie a new reconciliation, by shewing such respects as well becomed ancient desert.

For, first, he made a publique acknowledgement of their generall loue and affection towards him; and then taking notice of particular seruices, ingaged them further, with honours and rewards; righted such as were oppressed by the aduerser partie; remitted all leuies and taxations (to shew the difference betweene his and the Enemies fauour) & filled all men with hope of good times; as knowing that faire words, accompanied with large promises, are powerful instruments to work out whatsoeuer is desired. And so hee tooke a little more time

time to settle those Provinces without further trouble: as belicuing in the pro-
uerbe; that, What is well done, is twice done.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

M Varro heere mentioned, made more profession of knowledge
and Artes, then any other of his Nation, beeing thereupon stiled
by the name of *Doctus*; & yet in the iudgement of learned Phi-
losophers, was fitter to periwade then to teach. Tully, beeing
deprived of publique offices, handled Philosophy a little in his
owne language: Pliny and Seneca, lesse then Varro or Tully. But what are
these to Aristotle or Plato? Or rather, what hath learning to doe with a Ro-
maine Generall? whose knowledge consisted in their Militarie discipline, and
in the powerfull meanes of victorious indeauour. Wherein Varro was as ig-
norant, as was Don Raymundus, the eleuenth King of Arragon, in managing
of Armes; who taking his sword in one hand, and his buckler in the other, held
the horse bridle in his teeth. Howbeit, if *Qui minus facit, minus peccat* were
a good excuse, it were fitting to make him blamelesse, that deserued to well of
learning about all others of that Empire. But forasmuch as his actions ap-
peare so farre inferiour to that which is conceiued of his vnderstanding, let
that be acknowledged which is true, that *Consideratè agere plaris est, quam co-
gitare prudenter*.

This Ilipe Italica, was the chiefe towne of the Turditani in Andolozia; and
is coniectured by the ruines yet remaining, to stand ouer against Seull.

Tarraco is that which is now called Arragon, a Colony of Scipio his plan-
ting, whereof the Province taketh appellation; which is extended (as Plinie
witnesseth) from Catalonia to Nauarre, and Castile, along the Alpes. Blaife
de Vigenere reporteth, that in the yeere 516, there was a Councell held at Tar-
raco, by tenne Bishops; wherein it was decreed, that Sunday should alwaies
beginne presentlie after Euening prayer (or their Vespers) on the Saturday.
From whence it is, that the Spaniards doe not worke at all after that time, and
deceate vpon Saturdaies at supper, the head, the feet and the entralls of such
flesh as is killed in the Shambles (together with other prettie bits which they
call *Morsillas*) without prohibition or scruple of conscience. In this towne of
Tarraco, was borne Paulus Orosius, that noble Orator.

Corduba, otherwise called Colonia Patricia, was held the next of worth &
dignitie to Seull, but for excellent wits, to be preferred about all the townes
of Spaine; for, heere first were borne the two Senecas, the father the Rhetori-
cian, and the sonne the Philosopher: together with their kinsman, Annaeus
Lucanus, the diuine Poet, of whom Martiall writeth;

*Duoque Senecas unicūque Lucanum
Facunda loquitur Corduba.*

Besides, of later times, Auenzoar, Auicenna, and Auerrois, as excellent
a Philosopher, as the other was a Physition: of whose workes

Fama

Lamblic. cap. 4

Cicero. lib. 1.
de officijs.

Ilipe Italica

Tarraco, aliter
Iulia vocatur.
Lib. 4. cap. 20.

Corduba.

Fama loquetur Anus.

And from hence come those Cordouian skinkes, so much in request.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

Oncerning the office of a Dictator, whereunto Cæsar was named
by the Prætor Lepidus, we are to obserue, that the Dictatorshippe
was the greatest place of dignitie in their gouernment, as Polibius
noteth. The Consuls, saith hee, hauing each of them but twelue
Licitors apeece, that caried bundles of Rods before them, as ensignes of Magi-
stracie, the Dictator had alwaies 24; to shew that the soueraine power diuided
betweene the two Consuls, was then reduced to one sole command. The oc-
casions of establishing a Dictator, were diuers; howbeit, it was commonlie
to take order in some great matter of consequence, which fell out to be extra-
ordinary, and required the command of one man. And as it is in the fastes
or records of the Capitoll; either *Repub: regend: causa*, as was this first Dic-
tatorship of Cæsars; or otherwise, *M. Fabius, Ambustus Dict: seditionis sedan-
dæ causa*: And at another time, *Cn: Quintius Varus Dictator, clauis figendi cau-
sa*: which was one of the superstitions they vled in time of pestilence, and so
diuers the like: of all which, there is this forme expressed by Tully; *Si quando
duellū grauius, discordiæ ciuium crescunt vnus ne amplius sex menses, nisi
senatus creuerit, idem iuris quod duo Consules teneto, isque aue sinistra dictus
Magister Populi esset*.

But, forasmuch as *Magister Populi* was a harsh and odious name to the peo-
ple, they called him by a more modest name, Dictator: whereof Varro giueth
this reason; *Dictator quod à Consule dicebatur, cuius dicto audientes omnes es-
sent*. And as none could name a Dictator but the Consull (for Cæsar was na-
med by the Prætor in an extraordinarie time) so none could be named to that
place, but such as were or had been Consulls; *Consulares legere ita lex iube-
bat de Dictatore creando lata*. To which may bee added the circumstance of
time, which was alwaies in the night; *Nocte deinde silentio vt mos est Papyri-
um Dictatorem dixit*. The Dictator had soueraine power, but limited for a
time: which was commonly fixe Moneths; whereby they are specially distin-
guished from Monarkes: and thereupon, Cicero adiudgeth Sillas Dictator-
ship to be a meere tyranny, and so doth Plurarch Cæsars; because both were
prorogued beyond the time prescribed by the law. Cæsar held this Dictators
place but eleuen daies, and then left it off: but afterwards had it for his life, and
so came to be stiled *Dictator perpetuus*.

Lib. 3.

De legibus.

Liuie. lib. 2.

1. Philip.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

The Marfellians giue vp the Towne.

Caesar.

Petere Pa-
nico.

THE Marfellians beeing much oppressed, and almost worne out with all sorts of inconueniences, & brought to an extreme exigent of victuall, defeated and ouerthrowne in two fights at sea, broken & cut in peeces oftentimes in their sallies out, afflicted with a grievous pestilence through Gods appointment, and alteration of diet (for, they lived of nothing but of old Panick and muslie Barly, which was long before laid up in publique for this purpose) their towne beeing ouerthrowne, and a great part of their wall downe; out of hope of any succours frō the Prouinces, or of other Armies, which they knew were come into the hands and power of Caesar, they seriously determined (without fraude) to giue vp the towne. But a few daies before, L. Domitius, vnderstanding their resolution, hauing got three shippes (whereof two hee assigned to his familiar friends, the third he tooke himselfe, and taking the opportunitie of a troublesome storme) put to sea: which beeing perceived by the shippes that by Brutus commandement did continually guard the mouth of the Hauens, they vvaied their Ankers, & made after them. Notwithstanding, that, where in Domitius was, held on her course, and by the helpe of the foule weather got out of sight. The other two, beeing afraid of our shippes, returned back into the Hauens.

The Marfellians, according as was commaunded, brought their Armes and Engines out of the towne, drew forth their shipping, both out of their Hauens and their Arsenalls, and deliuered vp their publique treasure: which things beeing accomplished and performed, Caesar, willing to saue them, rather for the Naue and antiquity of the towne, then for any merit of theirs, left two legions there for a Guarizon, and sent the rest into Italie. He himselfe tooke his way towards Rome.

OBSERVATIONS.

Petere et de-
fessionem Clau-
m, consistit.In maxima
hura, ab obitu
dehinc donec
desertus.

INce wee may obserue, that when men refuse to be led by reason, as the best meanes to guide them to conuenient ends, they are commonly constrained by the commanding warrant of Necessitie, to vnder-goe the same thing vpon harder conditions. As it happened to the Marcellians, who not regarding the Armie then present, and ready to take a strict account of their answers (which with good excuse doth commaund a newtrall State) chose rather to be shut vp with a siege; that of all miseries is accounted the worst: and therein so caried themselves, as they left no stone vnremoued to make good their refusal; but for want of better helps, brought their Fraude to play a part, to their greater disaduan-

disaduantage. And if the Conquerour had not tooke all occasions to shew his clemencie, they might happelie haue paid deare for their contempt. But where either desert or other motiues wanted, there *nomen et vetustas* was sufficient to make Caesar constant to his owne ends: which, as neere as the course wherein he was engaged would afford him, were alwaies leuelled at the generall applause of his actions; taking that to be no little helpe to worke himselfe into the foudraintie of the State: obseruing it the rather in cases of great and happy successe; which are euer more restrained then lesser fortunes. Howsoever, it cannot be denied, but that Clemencie is a propertie of excellent honour: which Caesar shewed in sauing the towne.

In maxima for-
tuna, minima
licentia est.
Salust.Seruare propriam
est excellentis
fortune. Seneca
de clement. lib. 1.

CHAP. X.

Curio transporteth two legions into Affricke.



Caesar.

ABout the same time, C. Curio set saile from Sicilie to passe into Affricke: and making no account at all of Atius Varus forces, he caried with him but two legions of the foure which were deliuered him by Caesar, together with five hundred horse. And after he had bene at Sea two daies and three nights, he arrived at a place called Aquilaria, distant twenty two miles from Clupea; where there is a very commodious Roade for shippes in Sommer, sheltered on each side with two large and eminent Promontories. L. Caesar, the sonne, attended his comming at Clupea, with tenne Gallies; which being taken from the Pirats in the late warres, and laid aground at Vtica, were repaired and new trimmed by Varus: and beeing afraid of the great number of his shippes, forooke the sea, and ranne his Gallie on shore; and leaving her there, fled by land on foote to Adrumetum, a towne kept by Confinius Longus, hauing one legion onely in guarizon.

The rest of Caesars Naue, seeing their Admirall lie away, put into Adrumetum. M. Rufus the Treasurer, pursued him with twelue shippes, which Curio had brought with him out of Sicily, to waist the shippes of burthen; and finding the Gallie left vpon the sand, he towed her off, and returned to Curio with his Naue. Curio sent Marcus before with the shippes, to Vtica: and he himselfe set forward thither by land with the Armie, and in two daies iourney came to the Riuer Bragada; where he left C. Caninius Rebilus, the Legate, with the legions, and went himselfe before with the Cavalry, to view a place called Cornelius Campe: which was held very fit and conuenient to incampe in, beeing a direct ridge of a hill, shooting out into the Sea, sleepe and broken on each side, and yet shewing by a little more gentle descent, on that side which was next Vtica; beeing distant from thence (if the neerest way were taken) a little more then a mile. But in that shortest cut, there rose a Spring, in that part which was furthest off

--- quae
Bragada lentius
agit sicca sulca-
tor arena. Luc.
lib. 4.

off from the sea, and so made a mari(b or bogge: vvhich who(euer would auoid, must fetch a compass of fixe miles to goe to the towne.

A view beeing taken of this place, Curio beheld asfarre off, Varus Campe, ioyning to the towne wall, at the gate called Bellica; maruailously fortified through the strong situation of the place, hauing the towne on the one side, and a Theater vvhich stood before the towne on the other: and by reason of the great circuit of building which it contained, made a narrow and difficult passage to the Campe. Hee obserued, further, great store of carriages, which by reason of this suddaine alarm, were brought out of the Countrey towards the towne: for the intercepting whereof, he sent the Cauldry. And at the same instant, Varus likewise had sent out of the towne, DC Numidian horse, and CCC. foote, which King Iuba (a few daies before) had sent to Vtica, for the strengthening of that partie. This Prince had acquaintance vvvith Pompey, by reason that his father lodged with him, and bare a spleene to Curio, for the law which he preferred when hee was Tribune of the people, for the confiscation of Iuba his kingdome. The Cauldry on either side met together, and the Numidians were not able to abide the charge of our men; but some one hundred and twenty beeing slaine, the rest betooke themselves backe to the Campe at the towne.

In the meane time, vpon the arrivall of our Gallies, Curio commaunded it to be proclaimed, that such Victuallers, and shippes of burthen, as were in the Bay at Vtica (beeing in number about two hundred) and would not presentlie come to the Cornelian Campe, should be held and taken for enemies. At which Proclamation, vpon an instant of time, they all waied anchor, and came to the place vvhere they were commaunded: vvhereby the Army abounded with all necessarie provisions. This beeing done, he returned to the Campe at Bragada; and by the acclamation of the whole Army, was saluted by the name of Imperator.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



His Chapter beginneth with the third part of this booke, containing Curio his passage into Affrick: concerning whom, it is to be obserued, that in the beginning of these broiles, no man was more enemy to Caesar, nor made more bitter inuectiues to the people against him, then he did in his Tribune-ship; but afterwards fell off, & was gained by the voluptuous inticements of M. Anthonie, together with a huge mass of money which Caesar sent him. Whereupon, he plaied the turn-coate, and with might and maine assited that Partie; preuailing much with the Communalitie, by his eloquent and perswasive speeches: the lively force whereof, is able to stirre vp affection in stones. For which cause it is, that Velleius Patercul. noteth, That no man brought a more burning or dangerous fire-brand to the kindling of thole Ciuill warres, then did Curio; beeing a man of an excellent discourse, audacious, prodigall of his owne and of other mens, subtle, ingenious, extreame vicious, and alwaies well spoken, to the ruine of the publique weale. Which sweetnesse of words came vnto him by inheritance,

as

as Plinie witnesseth; *Vna familia Curionum, in qua, tres continua serie oratores extiterunt.* Of whole monstrous prodigality, the same Authour hath made a very large account. And out of these ouer-weening humors it was, that he became so vnwarie as to diuide his Armie; neglecting the Enemy, and the variableness of warre; which altereth as the Moone, & keepeth no constant shape whereby it may be known. Concerning the dismembering of an Armie, lightly, and vpon heedlesse rashness, Cyrus giueth graue aduice, in the beginning of the sixth booke of Xenophon. To which (for the present) I refer the Reader.

Clupea was a towne in Affrick, named by Plinie, *Oppidum liberum*, & sited vpon the Promontorie of Mercury, in the territories of old Carthage: it vvas so called, because it caried the forme of a Target retorted; and for the same cause it was called *Aspis*:

In Clypei speciem curuatis turribus Aspis.

This Promontorie, which Curio chose to incampe in, was famous for three things. First, it was reputed the place where Antaeus the Giant dwelt, vvhich Hercules slew, by strangling him in his Armes; that hee might not touch the Earth, from whom it is said, he receiued fresh strength. Secondly, P. Cornelius Scipio, that subdued Affrick, made that place his chiefe Camp of strength: and so it came to be called Cornelius Campe. And lastly, for this expedition which Curio made, to lose two legions, and himselfe withall; as vvilling to see the morrow, after such a losse: for, *Vita est audis, quisquis non vult, munda se-cum pereunte, mori.*

CHAP. XI.

Curio marcheth to Vtica: his Cauldry put to flight
great troopes comming from king Iuba. His
Armie was strangely possessed with
an idle feare.



HE next day, hee brought his Army to Vtica, and incamped himselfe nere vnto the towne: but before the fortification of his Campe was finished, the horsemen that stood Centinell, gaue notice of great forces of horse and foote, coming towards Vtica, from king Iuba: and at the same time, a great dust was seene rise in the aire, and presently the first troopes began to come in sight. Curio Astonished at the nouelty of the thing, sent his horse before, to sustaine the first shock. and to stay them: he himselfe, calling the legions vvith all speed from their worke, imbattelled his Army. The Cauldry, encountering with the Enemy (before the legions could be well unfolded and put in order) did put to flight all the Kings forces, that came marching vvithout feare or orders; and slew a great number of the foote troopes: but the horse, making haste, got almost

M.

all

Elegantior oratio-
ne, a curiatur
and more com-
te cum oratio-
vel apud non
nec possit Epit-
Curian. lib. 3.
cap. 23.

Lib. 2.

Lib. 7. cap. 41.
Lib. 36. cap. 15
Nimis confidens
incantus est. Io-
seph. lib. 1. cap.
4. de bello Ju-
daico.

Sil. Ital.

Seneca Trag.

Caesar.

all safe into the towne, by the way of the sea-shore. The next night after, two Centurions, of the Nation of the Marji, fledde from Curio, with twenty two of their souldiers, to Atilus Varus.

These Centurions, whether it were to please Varus, or otherwise speaking as they thought (for, what men will, they easily belieue; and what they think, they hope others doe thinke the same) did confidently affirme, that the mindes of the whole Army, were altogether alienated from Curio; and that it was very expedient, that the Armies should come in sight, and find meanes to speake together. Varus, being perswaded to that opinion, the next day, early in the morning, drew his legions out of the Campe: the like did Curio; either of them putting their forces in order, vpon a small Valley which lay betweene both their Armies.

There was in Varus Armie, one Sex. Quintilius Varus, who (as it is formerly declared) was at Corfinium; and being let goe by Caesar, went into Affrick. It fortuned that Curio had caried ouer those legions, which Caesar had formerly taken at Corfinium: so that a few Centurions being slaine, the Companies and Maniples remained the same. This occasion being so fitly offered, Quintilius (going about Curio his Army) began to beseech the souldiers, that they would not forget the first oath they had taken, to Domitian, and to him their Treasurer: nor beare Armes against them, that had runne the same fortune, and endured the same siege; nor fight for those, who (by way of reproche) had called them fugitives. To these hee added some promises, to put them in hope of a good recompence, out of his owne liberality, if they would follow him and Atilus.

Having deliuered this vnto them, Curio his Army stood mute, and declared not themselves by any signe, either one way or other: notwithstanding, Curio his Campe was afterwards possessed with a great feare and suspicion: which was quickly augmented, by diuers reports raised vpon the same. For, euery man forged opinions and conceits; and out of his owne feare, added some thing to that which hee had heard of another. Which when it was spread from one aurbour to many, and one had received it from another, it seemed there were many authors of the same thing. For, Ciuill warre is alwaies compounded of such men, as hold it lawfull to doe and follow what and whom they please.

Those legions, which a little before were in the seruice of the Enemy, did willingly imbrace what was offered them; for, old acquaintance, had made them forget what benefits Caesar had lately bestowed on them: being also of diuers Countries and Nations; and not all of the Marji or Peligni, as those the night before, which were their Cabin-mates and fellow souldiers: where-vpon, they tooke occasion, to publish abroad in worse teaymes, that which others had vaine-ly giuen out; and some things were coined by those, that would seeme most diligent in doing their duty.

THE

Nulla fides in
tuncque vix op-
us fida leguntur
vndeque ma-
nus: defus, ubi
maxima maces,
Lucan.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Obserue first, from the reuolt of these Centurions, that a fellow or two of ranke and fashion, falling from a Partie, doe gaine easie credit to their aduertisements, by averring any thing which the Enemy desireth. Whence it is, that so far much as fugitiues can little otherwise auail (one man being but as no man) they seeke fauour and reputation with the Partie they flie vnto, by their aduile and discouerie; and consequently, the remuneration of espiall, which according to the president made by Fabius to the Spies of Clusine, is worth a mans labour.

And herein, Reuolters (specially those of iudgement) are very dangerous instruments; not onely in weakening or making frustrate such designs as may be contriued against an Adversarie: but also in discouering the secrets of their owne Partie, and disclosing of that which is absolute and well, vntill it be made knowne. For, there is no subsisting thing so perfect, but hath alwaies some part or other open, to giue an easie passage to destruction: according to that of the Poet;

Omnia sunt hominum tenui pendencia filo.

And therefore, it is no small meanes of preserving each thing in being, to make shew of strength, and conceale weaknesse, as the registers of assured ruine: for which cause it is, that fidelitie is commended, as the foundation of humane societie; and perfidious treachery, divulging the secreete imperfections thereof, is the plague and bane of the same.

Liv. lib. 10.

Fides fundamē-
tum societatis
humane: peri-
dia vero cuius-
que Tristitia, s.
de legib.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

As there is nothing more dangerous in an Armie, then feare: so there is nothing sooner bredde to disturbe a multitude, then this palsion; which metamorphoseth a troope of men into a heard of Deere. For, hence it appeareth, that one Therites is able to le- uine a whole Army; & an idle conceit, bred in the weak thoughts of some Trelantas, begetteth oftentimes a maine cause of distrust throughout all the Party: which, as it spreadeth abroad, is so deliuered from one to another, as the Reporter (not believing what he telleth) addeth alwaies some-what to make the hearer belieue, what he could not himselfe. And so weeke mindes doe multiplie the vaine apprehension of idle humours, in such a fashion, as there is more hurt in fearing, then in the thing which is feared.

Epaminondas was more fortunate then all others in this kind: for, while hee ledde the Thebanes as their Commander, they were neuer taken vith any suddaine affrightment, nor posselt with any Panick terror, to bereaue them of their senses, or falsifie the truth of their vnderstanding: being

M 2.

The Spartanes
called all cow-
ards Trelantas
Plutarch.

Thus in metum.
Ilo est mali, quā
in illo ipso quod
timetur. Cic. ad
Torquatum.

Plutarch.

being all (as it seemed) of the same mind with the Generall; who accounted no death so honourable as that which came by warre. Howbeit, such is the frailtie of humane nature, & so strange are the convulsions of the mind, that a Commander must expect to meet with times: wherein, his men will stand in danger of nothing so much as their owne infirmities; being troubled rather with strong apprehensions, then for any danger of the thing feared.

Tachon homi-
nes, non res sed
quas de rebus
habet opinione.
Epict. Enchirid.

CHAP. XII.

Curio disputeth the matter in a Councell
of Warre.

Cæsar.

FOR which causes, a Councell of warre being called, they beganne to deliberate what course was to be taken. There were some opinions which thought, that it was very expedient to assault and take Varus Campe, for that there was nothing more dangerous then idleness, for the breeding and increase of such imaginations as the souldiers had conceived. Others said, it were better to try the fortune of a battell, & to free themselves by valorous indeavour, rather then to be forsaken and abandoned of their owne party, and left to vnder-goe most grievous and extreame torments. There were others which thought it fit, to returne about the third watch of the night to Cornelius Campe; that by interposing some respite of time, the souldiers might be better settled, and confirmed in their opinions: and if any mischance further happened, they might (by reason of their store of shipping) with more ease and safety, returne backe to Sicily.

Curio, misliking both the one and the other, said; That there wanted as much good resolution in the one opinion, as it abounded in the other; for, these entered into a consideration of a dishonourable and vnseeming flight: and those were of an opinion to fight, in an vnequall and disadvantageous place. For, with what hope (saith he) can wee assault a Campe so fortified, both by Nature and Art? Or what haue we gained, if with great losse and damage, wee shall goe away and gine it ouer? As though things well & happily atchieued, did not get to the Commander, great good will from the souldier, & things ill caried, as much hate. Concerning the removing of our Campe, what doth it inferre but a shamefull retreat, a despaire in all men, and an alienation of the Army? For, it is not fit, to gine occasion to the prudent and well-advised, to imagine that they are distressed: nor on the other side, to the ill disposed, that they are redoubted or feared; and the rather, because feare in this kind, will gine them more liberty to do ill, and abate the indeavour of good men in well-deferring. And if (saith he) these things are well knowne unto vs already, that are spoken of the revolt and alienation of the Army (which, for mine owne part, I think either to be altogether false, or at least, lesse then in opinion they are thought to be) is it not better to dissemble and hide them, then that they should be strengthened and confirmed by vs?

Ought

Tachon quon-
iam, inuictus
est & vincens
in uictis re-
bus uincit. De
Hæc. lib. 5.

Ought we not, as we doe hide the wounds of our bodies, to couer the inconueniences of an Armie, least we should minister hope or courage to the Adversarie? But some there are that aduise to set forward at midnight, to the end (as I imagine) that such as are desirous to offend, may performe it with more scope and licentiousnesse. For, such disorders are repressed and reformed, either with shame or feare: to both which the night is an enemy. And therefore, as I am not of that courage, to thinke without hope or meanes, that the Enemies Campe is to be assaulted; so on the other side, I am not so fearefull, as to be wanting in that which is fitting: but am rather of opinion, that we try all things before wee yeeld to that; and doe assure my selfe, that for the most part, wee are all of one mind concerning this point.

OBSERVATIONS.



IN matter of Geometry, Rectum est Index sui, et obliqui; being equall to all the parts of rectitude, and vnequall to obliquity: so is it in reason and discourse. For, a direct and well grounded speech, carrieth such a natie equalitie with all its parts, as it doth not onely approue it selfe to be leueled at that which is most fitting, but sheweth also what is indirect and crooked, concerning the same matter; and is of that consequence in the varietie of projects and opinions, and so hardly hit vpon, in the same discourse of common reason, that Plato thought it a peece of diuine power, to direct a path free from the crookednes of error, which might lead the straight and ready way to happie ends. And the rather, forasmuch as in matter of debate, there are no words so waighy, but do seeme balanced with others of equall consideration: as heere it happened, frō those that pointing at the cause of this distemperature, convicted Idleness for the Author of their variable and vnsted mindes: And, as Zenophon hath obserued, very hard to be indured in one man, much worse in a whole familie, but no way sufferable in an Army; which the Romans called *Exercitus ab exercitio*. For remedy whereof, they propounded labour without hope of gaine, & such seruice as could bring forth nothing but losse. Others, preferring securitie before all other courses (as beleeuing with Liuius, that Captaines should neuer trust Fortune further then necessitie constrained them) perswaded a retreat to a place of safetie, but vpon dishonourable termes. Which vneuenness of opinions, Curio made straight by an excellent Maxime in this kind; thinking it conuenient to hold such a course, as might neither gine honest men cause of distrust, nor wicked men to thinke they were feared. For, so he should be sure (in good termes of honor) neither to discourage the better sort, nor gine occasion to the ill affected to doe worse. And thus winding himselfe out of the labyrinth of words (as knowing that to bee true of Anniius the Prator, that it more importeth occasions to do then to say; being an easie matter to fit words to things vnfolded and resolved vpon) he brake vp the Councell.

Consiliū dare, e-
orum quæ inter
homines diuini-
sum.

Omni orationi
oratio equalis
opponitur. Sext.
Philos.

J. Ariam semper
dant otia mentis.
Luc. lib. 4.
Lib. 1. Cyrope.

Duces nullo loco,
nisi quantū ne-
cessitas cogit, se
committunt. For-
tune debent lib.
22.

Ad summū rectū
pertinet, cogita-
re magis quā a-
loquidū quā quid
loquidū facere
est, explicare
cogitatio acō-
noscere rebus
veritas. 117. 33.

CHAP. XIII.

Curio calleth a generall assembly of the souldiers;
and speaketh vnto them, concerning their
feare, and retraction.

Caſar.



THE Councell beeing riſen, he gaue order for a Conuocation of the Armie, and there called to remembrance what they had done for Caſar, at Corſinium: how by their fauour and furtherance, he had gained the greateſt part of Italie, to bee on his ſide. For, by you (ſaith hee) and by your indeuour, all the reſt of the Municipall townes, were drawne to follow Caſar: and therefore, not without iuſt cauſe did hee at that time reſpoſe great aſſurance in your affections towards him; and the aduerſe partie conceiued as great indignation and ſpight againſt you. For, Pompey was not forced away by any battell: but beeing preiudicially by your act hee quitted Italy. Caſar hath recommended me, whom he held neer vnto himſelfe, together with the Prouinces of Sicily and Affricke (without which he cannot defend the City and Italy) to your truſt and fidelitie. There are ſome which ſolicite and perſwade you to reuolt from my command: for, what can they wiſh or deſire more, then to make it but one worke, to bring vs both to ruine and ouerthrowe, and to ingage you in a moſt deteſtable wickedneſſe? Or what worſe opinion can they conceiue of you, then that you ſhould betray them, that profeſſe themſelues wholly yours? and that you might afterwards come into their power, who take themſelues vndone by your meanes?

Haue you not vnderſtood what Caſar hath done in Spaine? two Armies beaten; two Generalls defeated; two Prouinces taken; and all within forty daies, after he came in view of the Enemy? Thoſe, whoſe forces were not able to make reſiſtance when they were whole & entire, how is it poſſible they ſhould hold out being beaten and diſcomfited? You that followed Caſar when the victory ſtood doubtfull; now Fortune hath adiudged the Cauſe, and determined of the iſſue of the Warre, will you follow the vanquiſhed Partie? They gaue out, that they were forſaken and betrayed by you, and doe remember you of the former oath you tooke: but did you forſake L. Comitiuſ, or did he forſake you? Did not he thruſt you out, and expoſe you to all extremitie of fortune? Did hee not ſecke to ſaue himſelfe by flight, without your knowledge or priuite? Were you not preſerued and kept alive by Caſars clemencie, when you were abandoned & betrayed by him?

How could he tie you with the oath of allegiance, when (hauing caſt away his ſheife of Rods, and laid downe his authority) he himſelfe was made a private perſon, and became captiuated to the command of another mans power? It were a ſtrange and new religion, that you ſhould neglect that oath, wherein you ſtand now ingaged; and reſpect the other, which was taken away by the rendry of

Non is amittit
cauſe par, ſi
quibus non
aliquid exte-
rit. D. moſi.

of your General, and the loſſe of your libertie. But I beleeue you thinke vwell of Caſar, and are offended at mee, that am not to preach of my merits towards you; which as yet conſiſt in my good will, and are unworthy your expectation: & yet ſouldiers haue alwaies vſed to ſeek reward vpon the ſhutting vp of a war, which what euent it will haue, make you no doubt. And why ſhould I omit the diligence which I haue already vſed, and how the buſineſſe hath hitherto proceeded? Doth it offend you, that I tranſported the Armie ouer in ſafetie, without loſſe of any one ſhippe? That at my coming, I beat and diſperſed at the firſt onſet the whole ſtreete of the Aduerſaries? That twice, in two daies, I ouercame them onely with the Cavalrie? That I drew two hundred Ships of burthen out of the Road and Port of the Enemy? and haue brought them to that extremitie, that they can be ſupplied by prouiſion, neither by ſea nor by land? All this good fortune, and theſe Commanders reiected and forſaken? which will rather imbrace the ignominie you receiued at Corſinium, or your flight out of Italy, or the rendering vp of Spaine, or the preiudiciall ſucceſſe of the warre of Affricke. Truly, for mine owne part, I was deſirous and content to be called Caſars ſouldier: but you haue ſiled me with the title of Imperator. Which if it repent you, I doe willingly quit my ſelfe of your grace, and returne it back vnto you: and doe you, in like manner, reſtore mee to my name againe; leaſt you ſhould ſeeme to giue me honour which might turne to my reproche.

* Capitis dimi-
nutione.

Diminutione ca-
pite appellatur,
qui ciuitate mu-
tatuſ eſt, aut ex
familia in aliam
adaptatus: et
qui liber alteri
manipulo datus
eſt: et qui in bo-
ſum poteſtate
venit: et cui a-
liqua iniqua in-
terdictum. Liv.

In ſummo Im-
peratore qua-
tuor ha virtutes
uſſe debent: 2.
Scientia rei mi-
litariſ, virtus,
moderatio, ſci-
ritas. Cicero pro
leg. Manilia.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

IN the handling of this accident, the difference commeth to be ob-
ſerued, betwene a Councell of warre, and a Concio, or conuoca-
tion of the ſouldiers. The firſt was more particular, conſiſting of
ſome choiſe men, and thoſe the moſt eminent in the partie; *Is qui
non vniuerſum populum, ſed partem aliquam adeſſe iubet, non comitia, ſed cō-
cilium edicere debet.* Their conuocation or preaching was more generall,
the whole Armie beeing conuented together, to be fitted by perſwaſion and
diſcourage, to follow the reſolution taken by a Councell; and was properly cal-
led *Adlocutio*, and ſometimes *Conuentus*: Cicero perleſſam Epistolam Caſaris
in conuentu militum recitat. The parties called to a Councell, were according
as the General valued the occaſion: for, ſome-times the Legates and Tribunes
were onely conſulted; and now and then the Centurions of the firſt Orders, to-
gether with the Captaines of horſe, were called to their aſſiſtance: and often-
times, all the Centurions. But howſoeuer, Curio reſolved out of his owne
iudgement, as great Commanders commonly doe; and is ſpecially obſer-
ued by Pierre Matthien, of the French King: who euer ſought to heare the opi-
nion of his Captaines, but alwaies findes his owne the beſt.

Aulus Gell. lib.
15. cap. 27.

Com. 5. l. ll.
Gall.

Tom. 2. lib. 4.

THE

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

AMongst other straines of this discourse, it is acknowledged, that Rome could not stand without Sicilie; and the reason was, for the plentie of Corne which it brought forth: for, Sicily was alwaies reputed as the Granier or Barne of Rome, and accordingly cared by the Senate, as a place without which their Cittie could not continue. The graine of that Iland, is hard, like horne; and cannot well be broken or ground into Meale, vntill it be wet with water, and then dried in the shade, rather then in the sunne: by meanes whereof, it yieldeth so exceedingly, that it is accounted twentie in the hundred, better then any ponent Wheate; especially, for that it will keepe long in their Voutes and Causes vnder the earth, and sildome or neuer take heate, beeing of it selfe so hard and dry.

The gluttonous vse of flesh, hath made men ignorant of the vertue and strength of Corne, which the Romaines better vnderstood; for, their legions neuer fedde on flesh, as long as they could get Corne. *Pecora, quod secundum poterat esse inopia subsidium*, saith Caesar. And in another place; *Pl complures dies milites frumento caruerint, Pecore è longinquioribus vicis adacto extremam famem sustulerant*. And in the same place, *Quo minor erat frumenti copia, Pecus imperabat*. And againe, *Non illis hordeum cum daretur, non legumina recusabant. Pecus vero, cuius rei summa erat in Epiro copia, magno in honore habebant*.

By which places it appeareth, that they neuer fell to flesh, but when they wanted Corne. Which is doubtlesse a firmer nutriment, lesse excrementall, & of better strength, then any other fooode what-so-euer; as containing the prime substance of Meate, and the spirit of Wine: for, *Aqua vite*, is as well made of Wheate, as of the lees of Wine. Flesh is good to make Wraistlers of a grosse and heauie constitution, as Plutarch noteth: but the Romaine souldier stood in need of an effectuall and sinowy vigour, able to vndergoe cariages, fitter for a Mule then a Man; together with such workes, as later ages doe rather heare then believe, and was attained by feeding onely vpon bread.

The Rabbines & Thalmudists doe write, That the Giants of the old world, first fell to the eating of flesh; making no difference between a man & a beast, but grew so execrable, that they made women cast their fruit before their time, to the end they might eate it with more tendernesse and delicacie. Which is also said to be practised by the Caniballs, vpon the first discouerie of the Indies. Viginere reporteth, that he knew some great Men in Fraunce, so friand, that they caused oftentimes Does ready to foane, to be killed, and the young ones tooke out aliue, to be made meate for monstrous appetites. But there is no indifferent Parallel to be drawne, betwene the sobrietie of the aunient Romaine souldier, and the gluttony of these times; farre exceeding that of Agamemnon, which Achilles noted with words of high reproach, calling him Hogs-head of Wine, eyes of a Dogge, and hart of a Deare.

Lib. 1. ciuilib.
Lib. 3.

Mois. Mariani.

S. doctate, quod
fuit abscitae.

Homer. Iliad. 1.

THE

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

Firldy, from this elaboured and well-couched speech, we may note, that Eloquence is a very beautifull ornament to Princes, and great Commanders; besides the vse it hath, to leade a multitude to such ends as is wished: for, smooth words preuaile where force booteth not. According to that of Cicero, *Cum populum persuaderi posse diffidimus, cogi fas esse non arbitremur*.

Eloquentia principibus maxime
ornamento est.
Cic. 4. de finibus

Lib. 1. famul.
Epist.

CHAP. XIII.

Curio bringeth out his troopes, and putteth
Varus Army to flight.



HE souldiers, mooned with this Oration, did oftentimes interrupt him in his speech; signifying with what griefe they did indure the suspicion of infidelitie. And as he departed from the assembly, euery man exhorted him to be of a good courage, and not to doubt of giuing battell, or to make triall of their fidelitie and valour. By which meanes, the mindes and disposition of all men beeing changed, Curio resolved (out of a generall consent) as soone as any occasion was offered, to giue battell.

Caesar.

The next day, hauing brought out his forces, he made a stand, and imbattled them in the same place where he stood in Armes the day before. And Varus likewise drew out his troopes, whether it were to sollicite the souldier, or not to omit the opportunity of fighting, if it might be afforded in an indifferent place. There was a valley (as we haue formerly declared) betwene the two Armies, of no very hard or difficult ascent; and either of them expected who should first come ouer it, to the end they might fight in a place of more aduantage: when vpon a suddaine, all Varus Cavalry that stood in the left Corner of the Armie, together with the light armed souldiers that stood mingled among it them, were scene descending into the Valley. To them Curio sent his Cavalrie, together with two cohorts of the Marrucians. The Enemies horsemen were not able to indure the first encounter of our men; but hauing lost their horses, fledde backe to their party. The light-armed men that came out with them, being left and forsaken, were all slaine by our men in the view and sight of Varus whole Army. Then Rebilus, Caesars Legate (whom Curio for his knowledge and experience in matter of warre, had brought with him out of Sicily) said; Curio, thou seest the Enemy: why makest thou doubt to vse the opportunitie of time? Curio, without making any other answer, then willing the souldiers to remember what they had assured vnto him the day before, commanded them to follow him, & ran formost himselfe. The Valley was so combersome and difficult, that in gaining the

the aſcent of the hill, the formeſt could hardly get vp, unleſſe they were liſted vp by the followers. Howbeit, the Enemy was ſo poſſeſſed with feare, for the ſight & ſlaughter of their fellowes, that they did not ſo much as think of reſiſting; for, they took themſelves all to be already ſurpriſed by the Cavalrie: ſo that before any weapon could be caſt, or that our men could approche neere unto them, all Varus Armie turned their backs, and fled into their Campe.

In this ſight, Fabius Pelignus (a certaine ſouldier of one of the inferior Companies of Curio his Armie) having overtaken the firſt troope of them that fledde, fought for Varus, calling after him with a loude voice; as though hee had been one of his owne ſouldiers, and would either aduiſe him, or ſay ſome-thing elſe to him. And, as he, being often called, looked backe, and ſtood ſtill (inquiring vvhether hee was, & what he would?) he made at Varus (ſhoulder (which was unarmed) with his ſword, and was very neere killing him; howbeit, he auoided the danger, by receiving the blowe vpon his target. Fabius was inſtantly incloſed about, by ſuch ſouldiers as were neere at hand, and ſlaine.

In the meane time, the gates of the Campe were peſtered, and thronged, with multitudes and troopes of ſuch as fledde away; and the paſſage was ſo ſtopped, that more died in that place without blowe or wound, then periſhed either in the battell, or in the ſight. Neither wanted they much of taking the Campe; for, many left not running until they came to the towne. But the nature of the place, and the fortification of the Campe, did hinder their acceſſe: and Curio his men comming out (prepared onely for a battell) wanted ſuch neceſſaries as were of uſe for the taking of the Campe. And therefore Curio caried backe his Army, with the loſſe of no one man but Fabius. Of the Aduerſaries were ſlaine and wounded about ſixe hundred: who vpon Curio his departure, beſides many other that fained themſelves hurt, left the Campe for feare, and went into the towne. Which Varus perceiuing, and knowing alſo the aſtoniſhment of the Armie, leauing a Trumpeter in the Campe, and a fewe Tents for ſhew, about the third watch, he caried his Armie with ſilence out of the Campe into the towne.

OBSERVATIONS.

THIS is a part of wiſdome, and oftentimes a maine helpe to victorie, to attend the aduantage of an Enemies raſhneſſe, and to ſee if his follie will not make way to his ouerthrowe. Whereof Curio made good vſe: for, he kept his Armie in the vpper ground, untill the Cavalrie of the Aduerſarie were looſely fallen into the Valley; and then ſet vpon them, and cut them all in peeces. The ſight whereof, masked the whole Armie, & kept Curio in ſafety, vpon the like diſaduantage, in the comberſome paſſage of the ſame Vale: by means whereof, he put to flight the whole forces of the Enemy, and made a great ſlaughter in the Party. Wherin I may not forget that trick of a Romaine ſpirit, whereby the Authour commeth memorable to poſteritie, in calling after Varus by name, to make him the ſacrifice for both the Hoſtes. Whence we may obſerue, that when a battell is ioyned pell-mell, no man

These two were
the first of the
the first of the

man can be aſſured in his owne valour, nor ſhare out his fortune by the length of his ſword; but is often-times ſubiect to weakneſſes of contempt, and vanquiſhed by ſuch as cannot be compared vnto him but in ſcorn.

I haue heard it reported, that at the battell of Eureux, *Maturine* (that known woman in France) tooke priſoner & diſarmed a Cavalero of Spaine: Who being brought before the King, and by him demanded whoſe priſoner he was, or whether he knew the partie that had forced him: Anſwered, no; but that he knew him to be a gallant man of Armes. Where-at the king ſmiled: and the Gentleman, vnderſtanding what fortune he had run, was as much diſmaied as a man poſſible could be, that conſidered, *Quod ferrum aequat in bello, robuſtioribus imbecilliores.*

Zenoph. lib. 7.
Cyrope.

CHAP. XV.

Curio leaueth Vtica to meete with king Iuba: his Cavalrie ouerthroweth the forces led by Sabura; which led him on to his ouerthrowe.



THE next day, Curio prepared to beſiege Vtica, incloſing it about with a ditch and a rampier. There were in the towne, a multitude of people vnacquainted with warre, through the long peace they had inioyed: and the inhabitants ſtoode very affectionate to Ceſar, for many benefits they had receiued from him. The reſt of the multitude conſiſted of diuers ſorts of men, much terrified and affrighted by the former encounters: vvhether vpon, every man ſpake plainely of giuing vp the towne; and dealt with Pub. Attius, that their fortunes and liues might not come in danger, through his pertinacie and vvilfulneſſe.

While theſe things were adooing, there came meſſengers from King Iuba, ſignifying the King was at hand with great forces, and villed them to keepe and defend the towne: vvhich newes, did much incourage and confirme the vvhauering and affrighted mindes of the Enemy. The ſame was alſo reported to Curio: vvhether vnto for a vvhile he gaue no credit; ſuch was his confidence in the ſucceſſe of things. And now withall, came Letters and Meſſengers into Affrick, of that vvhich Ceſar had ſo fortunately atchieued in Spaine: and being abſolutely aſſured with all theſe things, he was perſwaded the king durſt attempt nothing againſt him. But when he found by aſſured diſcouery, that his forces were within twenty ſue miles of Vtica, leauing his workes already begunne, he vvvith-drew himſelfe into Cornelius Campe; and beganne there to fortiſie his Campe, to get Corne and other prouiſions, and to furniſh it with all neceſſaries materiall for a defence: and ſent preſently a diſpatch into Sicily, that the two legions, and the reſt of the Canatry might be ſent vnto him.

The

The Campe where in belay, was firstly accommodated to hold out the vvarre, as well by reason of the nature of the place, as the artificiall fortifying thereof, the meerenes of the sea, and the plenty of water and salt; whereof there was great quantitie brought thither, from the Salt-pittes neer adioyning. No stiffe could be wanting, through the great store of wood which was about the place, nor yet any Corne, for the plenty that was to be found in the cōfining fieldes: and there-upon, by the aduice and approbation of all men, Curio resolved to attend his other forces, and to draw out the warre in length.

These things beeing thus disposed, by the consent & liking of all men, he heard by some that lately came out of the towne, that Iuba was called back, by occasion of a vvarre happened upon the confines: and that by reason of the controuersies and dissentions of the Leptitani, he was detained at home in his kingdom; but that Sabura his Lieutenant was sent with some competent forces, and was not farre from Africa. To which reports, giuing too light and easie credit, he altered his purpose, and resolved to put the matter to trial of battell: where-vnto his youthfull heare, the greatnes of his courage, the successe of former time, & his confidence in the managing of that vvarre, did violently lead him. Being caried on with these inducements, he sent the first night all the Cavalry to the River Bragada, where the Enemy lay incamped under the command of Sabura: but the king followed after with all his forces, and lay continually within six miles, or thereabouts.

The horsemen sent before, and making their iourney in the night, set upon the Enemy at vnawares: and not thinking of their approche: for, the Numidians lodge, scattered here and there in a barbarous manner, without any government or order. And surprising them thus, oppressed with sleepe, and scattered upon the ground, they slew a great number of them: the rest, in great terror & amasement, escaped by flight. Which seruice, beeing thus executed, the Cavalry returned to Curio, and brought the captiues vnto him. Curio was gone out about the fourth watch of the night with all his forces, hauing left five cohorts for a gararizon to his Campe: and hauing marched six miles, he met with the Canarie, vnder stood what was done, and inquired of the captiues, who was Generall of the Campe at Bragadam? They answered, Sabura. Omitting for haste of his way to informe himselfe of the rest: but turning himselfe to the next Ensignes, said, You see souldiers that the confession of the captiues doe agree, with that which was reported by the fugitiues. For, the king is not come; but hath sent some small forces, which cannot make their partie good with a few horsemen: and therefore, hasten to take the spoile with honour and renouwe; that we may now at length, begin to thinke of rewarding your meritis.

Callieratides in
Lacedaemoniis
Dux fuisse bello
Peloponnesico,
in quoque cre-
ditur caesus, ver-
bit ad extremum
vinctus.
Cicero, de re
pub. cum Epit
monida consi-
gens, Lacedae-
moniorum opes
corruptum.

OBSER-

OBSERVATIONS.

IT is obserued by Marcellinus, that when misfortune commeth vpon a man, his spirit groweth so dull and benumbed, as his senses seeme to be dismissed of their charges. Which appeared heere in Curio: who, hauing taken a prouident and sure course, such as was approued in every mans iudgement, and beleemed well the wiledome of a Commander, did neuertheless, contrarie to all sense and discretion, forgoe the same; and cast himselfe vpon the hazard of that which fugitiues had vainly reported. Concerning which, as it is noted, that Incredulitie is hurtfull onely to the vnbelieuer; so this passage proueth, that for a Commander to bee too light of beliefe, is a danger to the whole Partie, and bringeth many to ruine, that had no part in that Creede. Caesar, in the relation heereof, noteth three speciall things in Curio, that caried him head-long to this disaster, and may serue as markes to auoid the like Syrtes.

The first, was *Iuuenilis ardor*, his youthfull courage and heare: which is alwaies attended with strong affections, suting the qualitie and temperature of the bodie, being then in the prime height of strength, & accordingly ledde on with violent motions; where-as age goeth slowly and coldly forward, and is alwaies surer in vnder taking, then hot-spurre youth. And albeit, no man in cold blood could better aduize then Curio, or fore-see with better prouidence: yet his youthfull boldnesse, ouer-swaied his discourse; and drew all to a mischiefe, in despite of his wiledome.

The second, was *Superioris temporis prouentus*, the happy issue of former proceedings: which of all other conditions, is to be suspected, and needeth Gods assistance more then any other fortune; for that no man sooner erreth, or is more vncauple of order, then such as are in prosperitie. And therefore, Plautus refused to make lawes for them of Syrene; as a matter of great difficulty, to giue ordinances to men that were in happinesse. And doubtles, such is the exorbitance of our nature, that nothing better informeth it then crosses; which are as instructions and warnings, for the preventing of ruining calamities. Wherein, Curio was not beholding to Fortune at all; that dandled him in her lap for a while, to cast him out at length, head-long to his ruine. It had been much better, he had exchanged a frowne with a fauour, rather then to haue giuen him much good together, and referue an irrecoverable disgrace for the vnpurshot.

The third, was *Fiducia rei bene gerendae*: which sauoureth more of follie then any of the former; beeing alwaies an argument of an imprudent man, to assure himselfe of good fortune: for, Presumption, beeing euert accompanied with Negligence, is subiect to as many casualties, as thole that goe vnarmed vpon extremitie of danger. And these were the three things that miscaried Curio. Out of which we may obserue with Xenophon, that *Ingens et arduum opus est recte imperare*.

Vilemus ipse
quodvis, manu
injunctibus sa-
tis, beluatis (un-
sus hominum et
obscuro. Ann.
Marcell.

Soli incredulis
hodie res incre-
dulas. Philo.
de vit. Mosi.

Hobitiores qui
actores re
plurimum melius
tempus, admi-
nistrant. Thuc-
dides.

Rebus secundis
maxime deum
implorandum.
Lib. 1. Cyrap.
Felicis et
moderationis
diuidia conu-
bernium. Sen.

---quem blanda
fatus
Dilectura malis
belli fortuna re-
cepit. Tac. lib. 4.

Imprudens non
fiduciam fortu-
nam sibi fonde-
re. Seneca de be-
neficiis.

Incauta semper
nimia presumptio
et sui negli-
gentia. Ege-
lib. 1. de Insti
Cyri.

CHAP. XVI.

Curio pursueth the Enemy, with more
haste then good successe.

Caesar.



hat vvhich the Causalrie had exploited, was certaineie a matter of great seruice; especially the small number of them, being compared with the great multitude of the Numidians: & yet notwithstanding, they spake of these things, with greater ostentation then the truth would beare; as men are willing to divulge their owne praises. Besides, they shewed much spoile which they had taken: Captiues and horses were brought out, that what soeuer time was omitted, seemed to be a let and hinderance to the victory; by which means, the desires and indeauours of the Souldiers, were no way short of the hope vvhich Curio had conceived. Who, commanding the Causalry to follow him, marched forward with as much haste as he could; to the end he might find the Enemy distracted and astonished, at the sight and ouerthrowe of their fellows: but the horsemen, hauing trauelled all night, could by no means follow after. Whereby it happened, that some slaid in one place, some in another: yet this did not hinder or discourage Curio in his hopes.

Iuba, being aduertised by Sabura of the conflict in the night, sent instantlie two thousand Spanish and French horse, which he kept about him for the safetie of his Person, and such of the foote-troopes as he most trusted to succour and relieue him: hee himselfe, with the rest of the forces, & forty Elephants, followed softly after. Sabura, suspecting by the horsemen comming before, that Curio himselfe was at hand, imbattelled all his forces; commanding them, that vnder a pretence of counterfaint feare, they should retreit by little and little: himselfe, when occasion serued, would giue them the signe of battell; with such other directions as should be expedient.

Curio was strengthened in his former hope, with the opinion of the present occasion. For, supposing the Enemy hid selfe, hee drew his forces from the upper ground into the Plaine; vvherein, after he had marched a good space (the Army hauing trauielled sixteen mile) hee made a stand. Sabura gaue the signe to his men of beginning the battell, leade on his Army, went about his troopes, to exhort and courage his souldiers: Howbeit, he used his foot-men onely for a shew a farre off, and sent the Causalrie to giue the charge. Curio was not wanting to his men; but wished them to set all their confidence in their valour. The souldiers, howsoeuer harried and wearied, and the horsemen (although but a verie few, and those spent with trauell) yet wanted no courage or desire to fight. But these being but two hundred in number (for, the rest slaid by the way) vvhich part of the Army soeuer they charged, they forced the Enemy to giue way: but they could neither follow them farre as they sledd, nor put their horses to anie round or long carriere.

At

At length, the Causalrie of the Enemy, beganne from both the wings to circumuent our Army, and to mall them downe behind: and, as our Cohorts issued out from the battell, towards them, the Numidians (through their nimbleness) did easily auoid the stocke; and againe, as they turned backe to their ranks, inclosed them about, and cut them off from the battell: so that it neither seemed safe to keepe their order and place, or to aduance themselves out, and vnder-goe the hazard of aduenture.

OBSERVATIONS.



HE Principles and Maximes of VVarre, are alwaies to bee held firme, when they are taken with their due circumstances: for, euerie Rule hath a qualified state, and consisteth more in cautions and exceptions, then in authoritie of precept. It is true, that nothing doth more aduantage a victorie, then the counsell of Lamachus, the third Duke of the Athenians; which was, to set vpon an Enemy, when he is affrighted and distracted: for, so there is nothing to be expected (on his behalfe) but despair and confusion. But, either to be mistaken therein, or otherwise to make such haste to obserue this rule of warre (as Curio did) that the best part of the Armie shall lie by the way, and the rest that goe on, shall be so spent with labour, as they are altogether vnfit for seruice, and yet (to make the matter worse) to bring them into a place of disadvantage, to encounter a strong and fresh Enemy, is to make the circumstances ouer-sway the Rule, and by a Maxime of VVarre, to be directed to an ouerthrowe: Neglecting altogether that which is obserued by Sextus Aurelius Victor, *satis celeriter fit, quicquid commode geritur.*

Thucid. lib. 7.

CHAP. XVII.

Curio defeated and slaine; Some few of the Army get passage to Sicily: the rest, yeeld themselves to Varus.



HE Enemy was oftentimes reinforced by succours from the King: our men had spent their strength, and fainte through weariness: such as were wounded, could neither leave the battell, nor be conuained into a place of safetie. The whole Army, being compassed about with the Causalrie of the Enemy (whereby despairing of their safety, as men commonly do, when their life drawes towards an end) they either lamented their owne death, or recommended their friends to good fortune, if it were possible that any might escape out of that danger: all parts were filled with feare and lamentation.

Caesar.

N 2.

Curio,

Curio, when he perceived the souldiers to be so affrighted, that they gaue care neither to his exhortations nor intreaties, he commanded them (as the last hope they had of safety) that they should all flie vnto the next hills, and thither hee commanded the Ensignes to be caried. But the Cavalrie, sent by Sabura, had also preoccupied that place; whereby our men began to fall into utter despaire, and partly were slaine as they fled by the horsemen, or fell downe without wounding. Cn. Domitius, General of the horse, standing with a few horsemen about him, perswaded Curio to saue himselfe by flight, and to get the Campe; promising not to leaue or forsake him: but Curio confidently replied, that hee would neuer come in Caesars sight, hauing lost the Army committed vnto him; and thereupon, fighting valiantly, vvas slaine.

A few horsemen saved themselves from the furie of the battell; but such off the Rereward, as slaid by the way to refresh their horses, perceiuing a farr off, the rout and flight of the whole Army, returned safe into the Campe. The footmen vvere all slaine, to a man. M. Rufus the Treasurer, being left by Curio in the Campe, exhorted his men not to be discouraged. They praised and besought him, they might be transported into Sicily. Hee promised tht they should, and to that end gaue order to the Maisters of shippes, that the next evening they should bring all the Skiffes to the shore. But such was the astonishment and terror of all men, that some gaue out, that Iuba his forces were already come: Others, that Varus was at hand vwith the legions; and that they saw the dust of the Army marching towards them: whereas there was no such matter at all. Others, suspected the Enemies Naue would speedily make to them; insomuch as euery man shifted for himselfe: such as vvere already on ship-board, made haste to be gone. Their departure, gaue occasion to the ships of burthen to follow after.

A few small Barks vvere obedient to the command: but the shore being thronged vwith souldiers, such vvas the contention, which of all that multitude should get aboard, that some of the Barks vvere sunke with preace of people, & the rest, for feare of the like casualtie, durst not come neere them. Whereby it happened, that a few souldiers, and Maisters of families (that through fauour or pitty preuailed, or could swim vnto the shippes) were caried backe, safe, into Sicily. The rest of the forces, sending by night some of the Centurions as Ambassadors to Varus, rendered themselves vnto him.

The next day after, Iuba seeing the Cohorts of these souldiers before the towne, cried out presently, that they were part of his booty: and thereupon gaue order, that a great number of the should be slaine; and, selecting a few out of the rest, sent them into his kingdom: Varus complaining in the meane while, that his faith and promise was violated, and yet durst not resist it. The King rode into the towne, attended with many Senators, amongst who was Ser. Sulpitius, & L. Damasippus: and remaining there a few daies, gaue such order for things, as he thought fit, and then returned to his kingdom, with all his forces.

OBSER-

OBSERVATIONS.



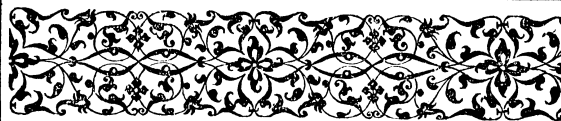
ND this was the period which Diuine power made, to the hopefull beginning of Curio's designe vpon Affrick; & happened so suddenlie, as they were lost ere they were aware: Like a tempest at Sea; that swalloweth vp vessels in the same place, where a little before they swam most proudly, and in the like irrecoverable manner. For, vvarre is not capable of a second error; one fault being enough to ruine an Armie, and to disabill Curio for cuer dooing the like: of whom Lucan hath left this memoriall;

*Haud aliam tantam Cinem tulit indole Roma,
Aut cui plus leges deberent recta sequenti,
Perdita nunc primum nocuerunt secula, postquam
Ambitus, et luxur, et opum metuenda facultas,
Transuerso mentem dubiam torrente tulerunt,
Momentumque fuit mutatus Curio rerum,
Gallorum captus spolijs et Caesaris Auro.*

His bodie lay vnburied, as a witness of Numidian hate (which is alwaies extreme, like the heat of the Countrey) and of Iuba's particular reuenge, for tendering an Edict to the people, to confiscat his kingdom.

To conclude this Commentary; The losse either Partie sustained vnto this stage of the Warre, was in these particulars: Pompey was driven out of Italie, lost Marselleis, and both the Prouinces of Spaine; Caesar receiued this losse in Affrick, besides that in the Adriatick sea, where Antonius miseriead, whereof he maketh no mention in these Commentaires. And as when Iupiter weighed the fortune of the Greekes, and the Troians, in a paire of Ballance, it fell out the Greekes had more ill lucke then the Troians; so the fortune of these Parties being weighed, by the relation made thereof, it falleth plainly out, that Pompey had the worle.

And thus endeth the second Commentarie.



N 3.

THE

Letic hunc munera vobis credenda posuere modum. Lucan. Eodem ubi iusserunt nauigia fortentur. Seneca Epist. 4. Non est in bello bon peccare. Plutarch.

Nullo contentus Curio bullo.

Homer. Iliad. 8.

THE THIRD COMMENTARY of the Ciuill Warres. (...)

THE ARGUMENT.

THE former Bookes, containe the drifts and designs which these famous Cheefes attempted, and prosecuted, while they were asunder. And now commeth their buckling at hand to be related; together with the iudgement which the VVarre gaue of the Cause in question, on Cæsars behalfe.

CHAP. I.

Cæsar giueth order at Rome, for matter of Credit and Usury, and other things.



CÆSAR the Dictator, holding the assembly for election of Magistrates; Julius Cæsar, and Pub. Sernilius were created Consuls: for in that yeere he was capable by law to be chosen there-vnto. These things beeing ended, forasmuch as hee found that credit was very scant throughout all Italy, and that money lent vpon trust, was not paid, he gaue order that Arbitrators should be appointed, to make an estimation of possessions & goods, according as they were valued before the warre: and that the Creditors should take them at that rate for their moneys. For, this course he thought to be fittest, and most expedient; as well for the taking away of any feare of composition, or new assurances, for the quitting and abolishing of all debts (which do commonly fall out vpon warres and ciuill broiles) as also for the keeping and preserving of the Debtors credit.

In like manner, he restored the ancient course of Appaels, made by the Praetors and Tribunes, to the people; as also certaine courses used, in suing for Magistracie (which were taken away, by a law made in Pompeis time, when hee kept the legions about him in the Cittie) and likewise reformed such iudgements in sutes and trials of law, as were giuen in Cases, when the matter in controuersie was heard by one Iudge, and the sentence pronounced the same day by another Iudge. Last of all, where-as diuers stood condemned, for offering their seruice vnto him in the beginning of the Ciuill warre, if he should thinke it fit to accept thereof:

thereof: and holding himselfe as much obliged vnto them, as if he had vsed it: he thought it best expedient for this, to be acquitted by the people, rather then by his commandment & authority: least he should either seeme vngatefull, in not acknowledging their deserts; or arrogant in assuming to himselfe that, which belonged to the people.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Cæsar, as he was Dictator holding the assembly for the choice of Magistrates; himselfe, with P. Seruius Iscauricus, were made Consuls, in the yeere of Rome 705: which was iust tenne yeeres after his first Consulshippe: whereby he became capable thereof, by the law published by Sylla; wherein it was provided, That no man should be chosen to an office, within tenne yeeres after he had supplied the same. In this yeere, happened all these things, which are contained in this third Commentarie: as Patereulus noteth in these words;

C. Cæsar, and P. Seruius beeing Consuls, Pompey was miserably massacred, after three Consulships, and three Triumphs; and was slaine, the day before his birth day, beeing aged 58 yeeres. The Choice day, was regularie the first of Ianuary: and the Assembly was called *Comitum Centuriatum*.

Touching the difference of these Assemblies, the parties present thereat, the manner of the choice, and other circumstances appertaining, the Reader may receiue information at large, by Rolsius. Onely it is to be remembered, that *Comitia Centuriata* were neuer holden without consent of the Senate. And forasmuch as the cheefe part of them were with Pompey, Lucan taketh exception at this Creation.

*—marentia testâ
Cæsar habet, vacuâque domos, legêque silentes:
Clausaque iustitio tristifera. Curia solos
illa videt Patres, plena quos vrbesugant.*

The Persons, that were suters for the Consulshippe, were called *Candidati*; who oftentimes vsed extraordinarie meanes to attaine the same: which moued Pompey to make a law, That no man should sue for publique offices, by bribes, or other corrupt courses, and was called *Lex de Ambitu*; which indeed was but renewed: for, the same was set on foote, *Anno Urb. 395*, by Petilius, Tribune of the people: and renewed againe, by Pub. Cornelius Cethegus, *Anno 572*: and within a while after, made capitall, as farre as banishment concerned the partie. Coponius was so condemned, hauing bought a voice, with an * Amphora of Wine. The law, which Pompey now made, was very strict, as Dio noteth: for, it was ordained, That vpon producing of witnesses, the Process should end in a day, giuing the Accuser two houres, to lay open the matter; and the Defender three, to make answer: and the Iudgement instantlie followed. The rigour of which law, Cæsar here reformed.

THE

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

THE second thing I obserue, is the difficultie of taking vp money vpon credit, in time of trouble or warres: which Cæsar expresth in these tearmes; *Cum fides tota Italia esset angustior*. The word *Fides*, hath euer been taken for a reall performance of any promise or agreement; which Tully calleth the foundation of Iustice, and the very prop of a Common-weale: taking the Etymon to growe, *quia fiat quod dictum*. According to that of Nonius Marcellus; *Fides nomen ipsum videtur habere cum fit, quod dicitur*. And for that Men commonly are couenant keepers, not so much by the perfection of their nature, as out of strictness of law, it falleth out, that where there are no lawes, there is no performance; and consequentlie, little or no credit either giuen or kept in time of Warre, because *Silent leges inter arma*.

Cæsar, to prouide for this inconuenience, appointed Commissioners to rate euery mans lands and possessions, as they were valued before the warres, and to satisfie the Creditors with the same. Which Plutarch explaineth in this manner; That the Creditors should take, yeerely, two parts of the reuenue of their Debtors, vntill such time as they had paid themselves; and that the Debtors should haue the other third, to liue withall. Whereof it seemed he had some light, by a president in the Consulshippe of Valerius Publicola, which is extant in Liuië; *Noni Consules senebrem quoque rem leuare aggressi, solutionem aris alieni, in publicam curam verterant, quinque viris creatis, quos mensarios, ab dispensatione pecunie appellarunt*.

This generall acquittance for debts, the Romaines called *Nonæ Tabulæ*: In this respect, as Celsius Rodiginus hath it, *Quod cum pecunia credit a oberratis condonantur, nonæ mox cooriantur Tabulæ, quibus nomina continentur nonæ*: and is nothing elle, then what is ordinarie amongst our Bankrupts, composing for so much in the pound with their Creditors, vpon new assurance, and other securitie, vvhich they called *Nonæ Tabulæ*; agreeing to that of Tullie; *Tabulæ verò nonæ quid habent argumenti, nisi ut emas mea pecunia fundum, eum tu habebas, ergo non habeam pecuniam*.

Concerning matter of Vsurie, which was the ground of this mischief, Tacitus noteth it, as an old and deadly disease, and the cause of many seditions in that Empire; and is neuer better likened, then to the biting of a Serpent, called an Aspicke; which, vpon the infusion of her venom, putteth the Patient into a heauie slumber; and in a short time, bringeth all a mans substance to death and destruction. And there-vpon, it is called *Fœnus à fatu*, from the fertile and ample increafe of money. For, as Basil noteth, The Labourer loseth the seed, and contenteth himselfe with the fruit or increafe: but the Vsurer, will haue the fruit, and yet not lose the seede. Whereby there must needs growe great increafe. The law of the twelue Tables, was, *Ne quis vnciario fœnore amplius exerceat*.

And is vnderstood for one in the hundred. The highest rate was *Centesima vsura*; when the hundred part of the principall was paid euery month to the Credi-

Lib. 1. offi.
Nec enim illa res vehementius rempub. cõuenit quam fides.
Lib. 2. offi.

In the life of Iulius Cæsar.

Lib. 7.

Lib. 7.

2. Offi.

Vetus vrbi seculare malum, et seditionum discordiarumque creberrima causa. Annal. 6.

Lib. 6. de Co-
mity.

Lib. 5.

Anno Urb. 395

Lib. 7.
Lib. 1. 9.

* Fœnus 6 den
and a half.
Pac. 1. 35. c. 12
Lib. 29.

Creditor, and was twelue *per Cent*. The next was *Vſura duennx*, when the Debtor paid cleuen in the hundred for a yeere. The third *Dextans*, which was *x. per Cent*. *Dodrans ix. Bes viij. Septunx vſura, viij. Semis vi. Quincunx v. Triens iiij. Quadrans iiij. Sextans ij. Vnciaria*, one in the hundred. Howbeit, Ca- to condemned all kind of vſury: for, being demanded, *Quid maxime in re ſa- miliari expedit?* *reſpondit bene paſcere: quid ſecundum?* *ſatis bene paſcere?* *quid tertium?* *bene veſtire: quid quartū?* *arare: et cum ille qui quaſerat di- xiſſet, Quid ſanerari?* *Quid homine inquit occidere?* Allowing (as it ſeemeth) no means of getting mony, but thoſe which Ariſtotle tooke to be moſt agree- ing to Nature: which is from the fruites of the earth, and the increaſe of our cattell; with ſuch other courſes as are anſwerable therevnto.

Tull. 2. offic.

Peccata que- rendi ratio, na- tura conſtitu- it: ſuſceptus eſt animalibus et a- nimalibus, l. 1. cap. 10.

CHAP. II.

A particular view of Pompeis forces.

Caſar.



IN the accompliſhing of theſe things, as alſo celebrating the *Latine Holiadaies*, and holding the *Aſſemblies* of the people, having ſpent cleuen daies, he gaue over his *Dictatorſhip*, left the *Cittie*, and came to *Brundifum*. For, he had command- ed ſeauen legions, and all his *Cauallrie* to repaire thither: howbeit, he found no more ſhipping ready, then would hard- ly transport fiſteene thouſand legiſonary ſouldiers, and ſiue hundred horſe; the want whereof, ſeemed to hinder him from bringing the warre to a ſpeedy end. Moreover, thoſe forces which were ſhipped, were but weak; in regard that ma- ny of them were loſt in the vvarres of *Galia*, and leſſened likewise by their long journey out of *Spaine*: beſides that, the vvorholſome *Autumne* in *Apulia*, and a- bout *Brundifum*, had made the whole *Army* ill diſpoſed; beeing newly come out of the ſweet aire of *Gallia* and *Spaine*.

Pompey, having had a yeeres ſpace to provide himſelfe of men and munition, and neither warre nor enemy to trouble him, had got together a great *Navy* out of *Aſia*, from the *Cyclad Iles*, *Coreyra*, *Athens*, *Pontus*, *Bythinia*, *Syria*, *Cilicia*, *Phoenicia*, and *Egypt*; and had cauſed another as great a fleet to bee built in all places ſit for that purpoſe; had raiſed great ſummes of money out of *Aſia*, and *Syria*, and of all the *Kings*, *Dinaſſes*, *Tetrarches*, and free *States* of *Achaia*; and had likewiſe compelled the *Corporations* of thoſe *Provinces* to contribute the like ſum. He had inrolled nine legions of *Romaine* *Citizens*, ſiue which he had tranſ- ported out of *Italy*, one old legion out of *Sicily* (which beeing compounded and made of two, he called the *Twin*) one out of *Creet* and *Macedonia*, old ſouldiers, who beeing diſcharged by former *Generalls*, had reſided in thoſe *Provinces*; two out of *Aſia*, which *Centulus* the *Conſull* had cauſed to be inrolled: beſides, he had diſtributed amongſt thoſe legions, vnder the name of a ſupply, a great number of *Theſſaly*, *Beotia*, *Achaia*, and *Epyrus*.

Amongſt

Gemella.

Amongſt theſe, he had mingled *Anthones* ſouldiers: and beſides theſe, he ex- pected to be brought by *Scipio*, out of *Syria*, two legions. Of *Archers* out of *Creta*, *Lacedemon*, *Pontus*, and *Syria*, and the reſt of the *Citties*, he had three thou- ſand; ſixe cohorts of *Slingers*; two *Mercenary*; & ſeauen thouſand horſe. Where- of *Deiotarus* had brought ſixe hundred *Galls*; *Ariobarx* ſiue hundred out of *Cappadocia*; *Cotus* out of *Thracia* had ſent the like number, vnder the lea- ding of his ſonne *Safalis*. From *Macedonia* came two hundred, commanded by *Rafipolis*; a *Captaine* of great fame and vertue. From *Alexandria* came ſiue hundred, part *Galls*, & part *Germanes*; which *A. Gabinius* had left there with *King Ptolomy*, to defend the *Towne*. Pompey, the ſonne, had brought with the *Nauie*, eight hundred of his ſhepheards and ſeruaunts. *Tarcondarius*, *Caſtor*, & *Donilaus*, had ſent three hundred out of *Gallogracia*; of whom, one came him- ſelfe, and the other ſent his ſonne. Two hundred were ſent out of *Syria*, by *Co- magenus* of *Antioch*, whom Pompey had preſented with great gifts: moſt of which were *Arbaleſtriers* on horſebacke.

To theſe were added *Dardanes*, beſides partly for pay and entertainment, and partly got by command or fauour; beſides *Macedonians*, *Theſſalians*, & diuers other *Nations* and *Citties*: inſomuch as he filled up the number formerly ſpoken of. He provided great quantity of *Corne* out of *Theſſaly*, *Aſia*, *Creta*, *Cyrenia*, & the reſt of thoſe *Regions*. He determined to winter at *Dyrrachium*, *Apollonia*, & all the maritimate townes, to keepe *Caſar* from paſſing the *Sea*: and to that end, he had laid and diſpoſed his *Nauie* all along the *Sea-coaſt*. Pompey, the ſon, was *Admirall* of the *Egyptian* ſhippes; and *Lelius Triarius*, of thoſe that came out of *Aſia*. *Cafſius* commanded them of *Syria*, and *C. Marcellus*, with *Pomponius*, the ſhippes of *Rhodes*. *Scribonius Libo*, and *M. Octavius*, had charge of the *A- chaian* *Nauie*: Howbeit, *M. Bibulus* commanded in chiefe in all ſea cauſes; and to him was left the ſuperintendencie of the *Admiraltie*.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



Concerning theſe *Latine Ferie*, it is to be noted, that the *Romaines* had two ſorts of *Ferie*, or *Holy-daies*: the one called *Annales*, which came alwaies to be kept on a certaine day: and three vpon were called *Anniuerſarij*. The other, *Conceptiue*; which were ar- bitrarie, and ſolemnized vpon ſuch daies, as the *Magiſtrates* & *Prieſts* thought moſt expedient, whereof theſe *Latine Ferie* were chiefe; and were kept on *Mount Albane*, to *Iupiter Lator*, for the health and preſeruacion of all the *La- tine* people, in league and confederacie with the people of *Rome*, and were ſolemnized in remembrance of the truce betweene thoſe two *Nations*: during which feaſt, the *Romaines* held it vnlawfull to make any warre. The ſacrifice was a white *Bull*, kild and offered by the *Conſulls*, and the fleſh diſtributed to the inhabitants of *Latinum*: according to an ancient *Treatie* of alliance be- tweene them; engrauen for a perpetuall memory, in a *Column* of braſſe. The particulars whereof, are expreſſed at large, by *Dionifiſus Halicarnaeſus*.

Latine Ferie.

Lib. 4. de An- tiquis. Roma.

THE

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



HE second thing comming to be noted, is the view taken of Pompeys forces; which are nine compleat legions, besides the supplies heere particularly mentioned, sent from such as bare affection to that Party: and, by indifferent calculation, might amount in all, neere about three-score thousand men, together with the fauour of the Countrey, where the triall was to be made by the stroke of Warre.

Lib. 4. cap. 2.

In which Muster, were the souldiers of C. Antonius; whose misfortune these Commentaries haue either willingly forgot, or some other chance hath wip't it cleane out. Howbeit, Florus hath it recorded, that Cæsar hauing sent Dolabella and Antonius to seize vpon the Straights, and entrance of the Adriatick-sea, the one tooke hold of the coast of Slaunia, and the other neere vnto Corfew: when vpon a suddaine came Octavius and Libo, Pompeys Lieutenants, and with great forces (they had aboard their shippes) surprized both the one and the other; whereby Antonius was constrained to yeeld vp fiftene Companies, which were these souldiers of Antonius heere mentioned.

Appian. lib. 4.

Raficopolis, or Ralscupolis, was a Thracian of great fame, that followed Pompey; and his brother Ralscus tooke himselfe to Cæsar, vpon an appointment made betwene themselves: for, finding in the Countrey where they dwelt, two great Factions in opposition, & doubting which Partie to take, they diuided themselves; as the best approved part of Neutralitie: And held likewise the same course, in the warre betwene Brutus and Octavius, continuing vnto the battell of Philippi. Vpon the issue whereof, Ralscus demaunded no other reward for his seruice, then the life of his brother: which was easilie graunted.

This Bibulus, Pompeis high Admirall, was fellow Consull with Cæsar, in the yeer of Rome 694: but Cæsar so out-stript him in the managing of things, that he much suspected himselfe, as insufficient for the place: which made him keepe his house all that yeere. Whereupon came this Distich;

*Non Bibulo quicquam nuper, sed Cæsare factum:
Nam Bibulo fieri Consule nil memini.*

CHAP. III.

Cæsar passeth ouer into Greece, returneth his shipping to Brundusium. Octavius besiegeth Salones.

Cæsar.



Cæsar, vpon his arrivall at Brundusium, called the souldiers together, and shewed them, that forasmuch as they were almost come to an end of all their labours and dangers, they would now be content to leave willingly behind them their seruants and carriages in Italy, and goe aboard, cleere of those incumberments; to

the

the end, the greater number of souldiers might be taken in; and that they should expect the supplie of all these things, from victorie, & his liberality. Euery man cried out, That he should command what he would, and they would willingly obey it.

The second of the Nones of January, he waied Anchor, hauing (as is formerly shewed) shipped seauen legions. The next day, he came to land at the Promontorie of Ceraunium, hauing got a quiet roade amongst the Rocks, and places of danger. For, doubting how he might safely venture vpon any of the knowne Ports of that Coast (which he suspected to be kept by the Enemy) he made choice of that place, which is called Phrajalus: and there arrivin in safetie vwith all his ships, he landed his souldiers.

At the same time, Lucrecius Vispillo, and Minutus Rufus (by order from Lælius) were at Orick, with eigheteen shippes of Asia: and M. Bibulus, was likewise at Corfew, with one hundred and tenne shippes. But neither of these two durst come out of the Port, although Cæsar had not in all about twelue shippes of warre, to wast him ouer; amongst which, he himselfe was imbarcked. Neither could Bibulus come soone enough, his shippes being vuready, and his Mariners a-floare; for that Cæsar was desired neere the Continent, before there was any bruite of his comming in all those Regions. The souldiers being landed, hee sent backe the same night the shipping to Brundusium; that the other legions, and the Caudalie, might be brought ouer.

Ensius Calenus, the Legat, had the charge of this seruice, and was to use all celeritie in transporting ouer the legions: but, setting out late, and omitting the opportunity of the night wind, they sailed of their purpose, & so returned back. For, Bibulus beeing certified at Corfew of Cæsars arrivall, and hoping to meete with some of the shippes of burthen, met with the emptie shippes, going backe to Brundusium: and hauing taken thirty of them, he wreaked his anger (conceined through griefe and omission) and set them all on fire, consuming therein, both the Maisters, and the Mariners; hoping by the rigour of that punishment, to terrifie the rest.

This beeing done, hee posselt all the Coast, from Salones to Orick, with shippes and Men of warre; appointing guardes with more ailligence then formerly hath been used. He himselfe, in the depth of Winter, kept watch a ship-board, not refusing any labour or duetie, nor expecting any succour, if he happened to meet with Cæsar. But after the departure of the Liburnian Gallies from Illiricum, M. Octavianus, with such shippes as he had with him, came to Salones; and there hauing incited the Dalmatians, and other barbarous people, drew ysa from Cæsars partie. And finding that he could not moue them of Salones, neither with promise nor threatnings, he resolved to besiege the Towne. The Place was strong by nature, through the aduantage of a Hill; and the Romaine Cittizens (there inhabiting) had made towres of wood to fortifie it within: but finding themselves too weak to make resistance (beeing vwearied out and spent vwith woundes) they fell at length to the last refuge of all: which was, to enfranchize all their bond-slaves, above the age of fourteene yeeres; and cutting their womens haire, made Engines thereof.

O.

Their

Their resolution being knowne, Octavius encompassed the towne about with fine Campes: and at one instant of time, beganne to force them by siege, and by assault. They, being resolved to vnder-goe all extremities, were much pressed through want of Corne; and there-upon, sending Messengers to Caesar, sought helpe of him: other inconueniences, they indured as they might.

And after a long time, when the continuance of the siege, had made the Octavius remisse and negligent (taking the opportunitie of the noone time, when the Enemy was retired aside, and placing their children and women on the wall, that nothing might seeme omitted of that which was usuall) they themselves, together with such as they had lately enfranchized, brake into the next Campe vnto the Towne. Which being taken, with the same violence they set upon another, and then upon the third, and so upon the fourth, and in the end, upon the fift; drining the Enemy out of all the Campes: and, hauing slaine a great number, they forced Octavius, and the rest remaining, to betake them to their ships; and so the siege ended. For, Octavius, despairing to take the Towne, the Winter approaching, and hauing recciued such losses, retired to Pompey at Dyrrachium.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

IT hath bene generally conceiued, that there is little or no vice of women in times of vvarre, but that they are a burthen to such as seek honour by deedes of Armes; and doe better sute the licentiousnesse of peace, then the dangers of warfare. Whereof Andromache is made an instance; from that which Homer reporteth of her teares, sighes, & praiers, to with-draw Hector from those valorous exploits, which hee vnder-tooke for the defence of Troy: and therefore, are by Ouid, wished to handle the distaffe and the spindle; and leaue the warre, as fitter for men, then the weakenesse of their Sex.

Laod. 6.

12. Metamor.

colimique
I cape cum calathis, et flamina pollice torque:
Bella relinque viris.

Neuerthelesse, it cannot be denied, that howsoever the tendernesse of women, doth require a palseue course of life, vnder the shelter of a safe rooffe, rather then in the bleake stormes of actiue indeauour; yet there haue been some Viragos, that haue ouer-topped the pride of men in points of war: amongst whom, Semiramis may leade the rest; together with Tomyris, Cyrus Mistresse by conquest. As also Zenobia, that subdued the Persians; and Helena, Queene of the Russes.

Besides other noble spirits, that could answere such as told them newes of the death of their sonnes in battell; That they had brought them into the world for that onely purpose. Which do proue, as well a reall as a potentiall aptnes of that Sex, to the vice and practice of Armes.

And

Inf. lib. 4.
H. vol. 1. lib. 2.
Troili. Pol. 1.
Seym. Bar. 11.
Macon.

And if any man (as vnwilling to afford them so much worth) will knowe wherein they auail the fortune of a Warre, he may take notice, that euen in expeditions (wherein they are most subiect to exceptions) they alwaies giue acceptable assistances to their Husbands, both in their prouisions, and otherwise; and are such Companions, as can hardly be left at home, without danger of greater hazard.

But in places besieged, women doe not onely afford haire to make ropes, if need require (as it fell out in this siege) but are able to cast peeces of Mill-stones vpon the Enemy, with better fortune some-times then any other man: and haue thereby slaine the Generall, to the raising of the siege, and sauing of the Cittie.

But to take instances of later times: it is not to bee forgotten, that when the Arch-Duke Mathias (after the death of Count Mansfield) commaunded the Christian Armie, at the siege of Strigonium; while the Turkes, within the Castle, were making works for a retreat, the women (in the meane time) made good the breaches; and there bestowed such store of Wild-fire, that the Italian Squadrons (commaunded by Aldobrandine) being ioyned poldron to poldron, to preace into the breach, seemed all of a fire at once, and were forced to fall off with great terrour and confusion.

Quod honestius
quā vxoris le-
uamentum?
Tac. l. 3. Annal.
Vix presentis
cussidie manere
iussa coniugia.
eodem.

Ind. 9.

Anno 1595.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



Towne assaulted by a warlike Enemy, is not kept or freed with Charmes or Spells; or as the Inhabitants of Tomby, in the East Indies, draue away the Portugalls, with Hues of Bees, when they were possessed of the walls: but with such valour as may ouer-maister the Enemy, and extend it selfe to the taking of fine Campes, if need require; which was performed by these Inhabitants of Salones.

CHAP. III.

Caesar sendeth to Pompey, touching a Peace;
taketh in Oricum, Apolonia, and
other places.



It is before declared, that Vibullius Rufus (one of Pompeis Lieutenants) was twice taken by Caesar, and dismissed; once at Corfinium, and a second time in Spaine. Him did Caesar deeme (in regarde of the fauours which he had shewed him) to bee a fite person, to bee sent with a Message to Pompey;

Caesar.

O 2.

Pompey;

Qui sapienter,
sedit absque
virescente pace
vinctum quoniam
vixit duntaxat
vixit. Appian.

Pompey; and the rather, for that hee understood, that hee was in good account and credite with him.

The summe of his Commission was, to tell him, That it becomed them both, to giue an end to their vniuersall, to lay downe their Armes, and not to tempt Fortune any longer; either side had bene sufficiently afflicted with losse and damages: vvhich might serue for instruction and example to auoide other inconveniences. Hee, for his part, was driuen out of Italy, with the losse of Sicily, Sardinia, with the two Prouinces of Spaine, as also of the Cohorts of Italie, together with one hundred & thirty cohorts of Romaine Cittizens in Spaine; himselfe, with the death of Curio, with the losse of the Affricane Armie, and with the rendry of the souldiers at Corfew: and therefore they should haue regard of themselves, and of the Common-wealth.

They had good experience by their owne losses, what Fortune could do in war. This was the onely time to treat of peace, whilst either Party stood confident in his owne strength, and seemed of equall might & power. But, if Fortune should chance to sway to one side, he that thought he had the better end of the staffe, would neuer harken to any conditions of peace, nor content himselfe with a reasonable part, because his hope would giue him all.

Concerning the Articles of Treatie, forasmuch as they could not agree thereof themselves, they ought to seeke them from the Senate and people of Rome. In the meane while, it was fitt that the Common-wealth and themselves should rest satisfied, if (without further delay) both of them aid take an oath in the presence of their Armies, to dismisse their forces within three daies next following: and send away their Auxiliarie troopes, vvherein they so relied; and consequently, to depend vpon the iudgement and decree of the people of Rome. For assurance whercof, on his behalfe, hee would presently discharge as well his forces in the field, as those in guarizon.

V. bullius, hauing receiued these instructions from Caesar (thinking it no lesse requisite to aduertise Pompey of Caesars arrivall, that hee might consult of that, before he deliuered what hee had in charge) passed night and day, taking at euery stage fresh horse; that hee might certifie Pompey, that Caesar was at hand with all his forces.

Pompey was at that time in Caudania, and went out of Macedonia, to Winchester in Apolonia, and at Dyrrachium. But, being troubled at the newes, he made towards Apolonia by great iourneyes, least Caesar should possesse himselfe of the maritime Citties.

Caesar, hauing landed his forces, went the next day to Oricum. Vpon his approach, L. Torquatus, who commanded the towne vnder Pompey, & had there a guarizon of Parthins, shutting the gates, went about to defend the place, commaunded the Grecians to take Armes, and make good the walles. But they, refusing to fight against the power and authoritie of the people of Rome, and the townsmen indeauouring of their owne accord to receiue him in; hee opened the gates, despairing of all other succours, and gaue up both himselfe and the towne to Caesar, and was entertained by him in safetie. Oricum being taken-in by Caesar, without any further delay he went to Apolonia.

His

His coming being heard of, L. Straberius, the Gonerour, began to carie water into the Citadell, to fortifie it, and to require pledges of the inhabitants. They, on the other side, denied to giue any, or to shutte their gates against the Consul, or of themselves to take a resolution, contrary to that which all Italy & the people of Rome had thought conuenient. Their affections being knowne, he secretly conuained himselfe away. The Apolonians sent Commissioners to Caesar, and receiued him into the towne. The Beldinenses followed their example; and the Amatines, together with the rest of the confining Citties. And to conclude, all Epirus sent vnto Caesar, promising to doe what he commaunded. But Pompey, understanding of these things, which were done at Oricum and Apolonia, fearing Dyrrachium, posted thither night and day. Howbeit, vpon the report of Caesars approche, the Armie was so astonished, that for haste on their way, they left their Ensignes in Epirus, and the confining Regions: and many of them (casting away their Armes) seemed rather to flie, then to march as souldiers.

As they came neere to Dyrrachium, Pompey made a stand, and caused the Campe to be intrenched, when-as yet the Army was so affrighted, that Labienus stood out first, and tooke a solemne oath, Neuer to forsake Pompey, but to undergoe what chance soeuer Fortune had allotted him. The same oath tooke the Legates; being likewise seconded by the Tribunes of the souldiers, and Centurions, and by all the Army, that tooke the like oath.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Num est tempus (saith Caesar) de pace agendi, dum uterque sibi confidit, et pares ambo videntur. Which may serue for an excellent Rule, to point out the fittest & seasonablest time, for composition betweene two opposite Parties. For, as in quantities, equality begetteth equalitie, and disparitie, a like vneuenesse of nature; so, in other things: as namely, in Treaties of Agreement, the conditions doe commonly rise to either Partie, according as they stand ballanced in the scale of Equalitie; or otherwise, as the difference of their meanes shall allot the. For, if that be true in the extremitie, which Curtius hath, That Lawes are giuen by Conquerers, and accepted vpon all conditions, by them that are subdued; it doth consequently follow in the Meane, that men find dealing proportionable to their fortune. To which purpose is that of Plato, where he saith, That Peace and Quietness consist in equalitie; as Trouble and Motion are alwaies in inequalitye.

Leges à victoribus dantur: accipiuntur à victis. lib. 4. Quietem, in æqualitate: motum, in inæqualitate, semper constitimus. in 7. libro.

O 3.

THE

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Ex vi qua re
uitur exemplo,
rem intelligere
bond difficile.
Plato 3. de leg.

T appeareth heere, by the fright and astonishment of Pompeis Armie, that the counsell he tooke to abandon Italie, was out of no good aduice or direction. For, where he might with farre more honour, and no lesse hope of successe, haue contested with Cæsar, in the place where the warre brake out, and kept him to a taske which should haue held him from the conquest of Spaine, or such other atchieuements as he easilie wrought in the absence of his Aduersaries: it fell out, that his departure into Greece, sort to no other end, then by time to abate the edge of the forwardest courages, and to suffer a numerous Armie, to be daunted with noise and clamors of continuall victories, gotten vpon a part of themselves; and then to giue occasion to the Conquerour to come in the taile of Fame, and take them disarmed of expectation, to their great amazement.

CHAP. V.

Cæsar tooke vp his lodging for Winter. Bibulus, distressed at Sea for want of provisions, seemed desirous of a Treatie: which, being caried on the other side with good caution, brake off againe.

Cæsar.

Cæsar, vnderstanding that his passage to Dyrrachium was thus intercepted, did forbear his haste, and incamped himselfe vpon the Riuer Apfus, in the confines of the Apoloniens; that by the meanes of his Guards and Forts, such Cities as had well deserved of him, might be in safety: & there determined to winter, in Tents of skinnes, and to attend the coming of his other legions out of Italy. The like did Pompey, pitching his Campe on the other side of the Riuer Apfus; and there assembled all his troopes and forraigne aydes. Calenus, hauing (according to Cæsars directions) imbarked the legions, and Cavalrie at Brundisium, and taken in as many as his shipping would containe, he set saile: but being gone a little out of the Port, hee received Letters of aduice from Cæsar, that all the Hauens and the Sea-coast was kept with the Enemies fleet. Where vpon, hee made againe into the Hauens, and called backe all the shippes: onely one, holding on her course, without regard of the commaund, carrying no souldiers, but belonging to private men, arrived at Oricum, and there was taken by Bibulus; who spared neither bond nor free, of as many as were of age, but put all to the sword. Whereby it happened, that in a moment of time, by great chaunce the whole Army was faued.

Bibulus, as is before declared, lay at Oricum with his Nauie. And as hee kept the

the Sea and the Ports from Cæsar; so was hee kept from landing in any of those Countries: for, all the Sea-coast was kept by Guardes and Watches, set along the shore, that he could neither vwater, get vwood, nor bring his shippes to land vpon any occasion: Inasmuch as hee was brought into great straightnes and exigent, for want of all necessaries; and was constrained (besides all other provisions) to fetch his vwater and vwood from Corfew. And one time amongst the rest, it happened, that the weather being foule, they were forced to relieue themselves, with the dew which in the night time fell vpon the skinnes, that couered the Decks of the shippes. All which extremities they patiently indured; and would by no meanes be brought to leaue the Ports, or abandon the Sea-coast.

But as they were in these difficulties, and that Libo, and Bibulus were come together, they both of them spake from a ship-board, to M. Acilius, and Statius Marco, Legates (of whom one was Gouenour of the Towne, & the other had the charge of such Guardes as were along the shore) signifying, that they would willingly talke with Cæsar, of matters of great consequence, if they might haue leaue. For a better shew and assurance whereof, they intimated some thing concerning a Composition. In the meane time, they earnestly desired there might be a truce: for, the thing they propounded, imported matter of great weight, which they knew Cæsar exceedingly affected; and it was thought that Bibulus was able to worke some-what to that purpose.

Cæsar, at that time, was gone vwith one legion to take in some townes further off, and to set a course for provision of Corne, which was brought sparingly vnto him; and was then at Butrot, opposite to Corfew. Being certified there by Letters from Acilius and Marco, of that which Libo and Bibulus had required, he left the legion, and returned himselfe to Oricum. At his arrivall thither, they were called out to treat. Libo came forth, and excused Bibulus, for that he was exceeding cholericke, and had besides conceived a great anger at Cæsar, about the Aedilitie and Pratorship: and in regard of that, he did shun the Conference, least a matter of that utility and importance, should be disturbed by his intemperate cariage. Pompey is, and was euer desirous, that matters might be accorded, and that Armes might be laid aside; but they, of themselves, could doe nothing therein; forasmuch as by the generall resolution of a Councell, the superintendency of the warre, and the disposition of all things, were referred to Pompey: Howbeit, when they vnderstood what Cæsar required, they would send instantly a dispatch vnto Pompey, and be a meanes that he should accomplish all things with good satisfaction. In the meane time, let there be a truce; and vntill an answer might be returned from him, let neither Partie offend one another. To this he added some-what concerning the Cause in question. To which, Cæsar did not thinke it fit at that time to make any answer: nor doe we thinke there is cause now to make mention thereof.

Cæsar required, that it might bee lawfull for him, to send Embassadors to Pompey vwithout danger; and that they would undertake, that such as he sent, might be well intreated, or take them into their charge, and bring them safely to Pompey. Concerning the Truce, the course of the warre fell out to be so caried, that they, with their Nauie, did keepe his ships and succours from coming vnto him;

him; and he, on the other side, did prohibite them from landing, or taking in fresh water: and if they would haue that granted vnto them, let them cease guarding of the Coast; but if they would continue that, then would he continue the other. Notwithstanding, hee thought the Treatie of accord might goe on, albeit these were not omitted; for, he tooke them to be no impediment therevnto. They would neither receiue Caesars Embassadors, nor undertake for their safetie; but referred the whole matter to Pompey: onely they instanced, and very vehemently urged the Truce. But Caesar, perceiving that all this speech tended onely to avoid the present danger, and to supply themselves of such waies where with they were straightned, and that there was no condition of peace to be expected, he began to thinke of prosecuting the warre.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



IN contracting with a Partie, it is duly to be cared, that War be not shrowded vnder the faire name of Peace; so a Truce demanded by an Enemy, is to be handled sparingly & with suspicion: as a thing neuer commonly required, but when necessity doth moue them therevnto; and not to be granted, but as it may inferre the like aduantage. But to yeeld to a suspension of Armes, aduantageous to an Enemy, & no way gainefull to them that consent vnto it, is neither allowable by reason, nor Caesars example. And if occasion prouet it requisite, it must be but for a little time: for, a Prince armed in the field, that shall enterpaine a Truce for any long season, shall see his Armie consumed both in courage, and in the parts thereof, which will fall afunder of themselves; and was the means by which Lewis, the eleuenth, put by Edward the fourth, king of England, from going on with a warre that might haue giuen him the possession of the Crowne of France. Whence it is, that such as seeke a Peace, desire no more then a cessation of Armes, for some reasonable time, as an introduction, inforcing the same.

Concerning leagues, we are to note that there are found three differences. The first, is a league of Peace: which by the Apostles rule, should extend to all men, *habete pacem cum omnibus*: and by example of holy Patriarches (Isack with Abimelech, Jacob with Laban) may lawfully bee made with Heathen Princes; being as the golden chaine, that tieth all the Nations of the earth in peaceable communie. The second, is a league of Entercourse, or Commerce; which is likewise by the same Patriarch, sending for Corne into Egypt, and Saramons entercourse, with Hiram king of Tyre, together with diuers other examples, allowable with Infidels. For, Nature, being rich in variety of commodities, doth therefore diuide her workes amongst the kingdomes of the earth, that there might be a mutuall entercourse of exchange, betwene the partes of the same. The third, is a league of mutuall Assisstance; such as Iehosphat made with Achab; & is hardly safe with any Prince; but no way allowable with Infidels.

Touching

Touching the Persons to be offered in a Treatie, it is to bee obserued from Bibulus, that no man, whose presence may either giue offence, or whose intemperance may any way interrupt a courte sorting to a happy issue, is fit for any such imployment.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



HERE were, in Rome, certaine Officers called *Aediles*, ab *Aedibus*; as having the care of houses & buildings, both publique and priuate, that they might be built and maintained in such manner as was agreeable to the ordinances of that State, together with other things whereof they had the charge. *Nunc sum designatus Aedilis* (saith Cicero) *habeo rationem quod a populo Romano acceperim, mihi ludos sanctissimos maxima cum cerimonia, Cerei Liberoque faciendos. Mihi Floram Matre populo plebique Romanae, ludorum celebritate placendam: mihi ludos antiquissimos qui primi Romani sunt nominati, maxima cum dignitate ac religione, Ioui, Iunoni, Minervaque esse faciendos. Mihi sacrarum Aedium procuratorem: mihi tota urbem tuendam esse commissam, ob earum rerum laborem et sollicitudinem fructus illos datos, antiquiorem in senatu sententiae dicende locum. Togam praetextam, cellam curulem, ius imaginis, ad memoriam posteritatemque prodendam.* Wherein it is to be noted, that these shewes and Plaies, were alwaies made and set forth at the charge and costs of the Aediles: and thence it was, that the allowing or disallowing of all Play-bookes belonged vnto them. Moreover, they had the charge of all the publique buildings and works of the Citie, together with the prouision of victuall and Corne. And, for the misling of this office, was Bibulus angry with Caesar; and would not be regained vpon anie condition.

In Verrem.

The publication of their secular Plaies, was cried in these words: *Conuenit ad ludos spectandos, quos neque spectant quisquam nec spectaturus est. Suet. in Claudio.* *Quibus amici capere, difficile. Xemp. de salis et di. Socratis.*

CHAP. VI.

Bibulus dieth. Caesar vseth meanes to procure a Treaty of Peace; but prouaileth not.



BIBULUS, being kept from landing many daies together, and fallen into a grievous sicknesse, through cold and extreame labour (and hauing no meanes of help, nor yet willing to forgoe his charge) could no longer withstand the violence of the disease. Hee being dead, there was none appointed to take his charge: but every man commended his owne fleete. The burly burly being quieted, which Caesars Iudaine arrivall had mooued, Bibulus, with the assisstance of Libo, together with L. Lucceius, and Theophanes, to whom

Caesar.

whom Pompey was wont to communicate matters of greatest importance, resolved to deliuer what Caesar had recommended vnto him: & entering into the relation thereof, was interrupted by Pompey, forbidding him to speake any further of that matter. What use or neede haue I (saith he) either of my life, or of the City, when I shall be thought to enioy it by Caesars fauour? neither can the opinion thereof be removed, untill the warre be ended; that of my selfe I returne backe into Italy, from whence I am come.

Caesar vnderstood this, from those that were present when hee spake it: and yet notwithstanding, hee indeanoured by other meanes, to procure a Parlee of peace. For, the two Campes of Pompey and Caesar, were onely separated by the River Apsus, that ranne betwene them; where the souldiers had often Colloquies, & by agreement amongst themselves, threw no vveapon during the time of their treatie. Where-upon, he sent P. Vatinius, a Legat, to the River banke, to utter such things as did chiefly concerne a Peace; and to aske oftentimes with a loud voice, Whether it were not lawfull for Cittizens, to send to Cittizens, touching a treaty of peace? being a thing permitted to the Thieues of the Pyreneian Mountaines: or at least, to moue that Cittizens should not in Armes contend with Cittizens? And hauing spoken much very respectfully, as well concerning his owne well-fare, as the safetie of all the rest, he was heard with silence, by the Souldiers on both sides.

At length, it was answered from the other Party, that A. Varro did offer himselfe for a conference the next day; so that the Commissioners on both sides, might come and goe in safety, and deliuer freely their opinions: for which, a certaine time was then appointed. The next day, great multitudes of either side, presented themselves at the place assigned; and great was the expectation thereof, euery man seeming to incline to peace. Out of which troope stept forth T. Labienus, and spake softly touching the peace: and at last, entered into altercation with Vatinius. In the middle of their speech, were vveapons suddenlie cast from all parts: which hee auoided, being covered and defended with Armes. Notwithstanding, many were wounded; and amongst others, Cornelius Balbus, M. Plotius, L. Tiburtus, Centurions, besides many other souldiers. Then said Labienus, Leane off, therefore, to speake of any composition: for, vnlesse Caesars head be brought, there can be no peace.

OBSERVATIONS.



His small peece of the Storie, containeth diuers notable passages of extremitie, in the cariage of Pompey, and others of his Partizans. As first (to take them as they lie) that of vvilfulnesse in Bibulus: who neither sicknesse, nor despaire of helpe, could moue to intermit the taske he had vnderaken; but chose rather to suffer vnto death, in approving his zeale to the Cause, then to giue himselfe a breathing time for the sauing of his life: and may serue to admonish any other Bibulus, to value his life about that, which a stiffe and wilfull opinion may leade him vnto, beyond the measure of honorable

honourable indeauour, or what else may any way be iustly expected; least in struing to doe much, hee happen to doe nothing: for, that cannot be vnderstood to bee well done in an other mans behalfe, that is not well done in his owne.

The second, is Pompeis resolution; being so extreame, as no composition, or other thing whatsoeuer, could giue him satisfaction, but onely a victorious end of that warre. Our prouerbe saith, Better a leane agreement, then a fat remedie. And the casualties of warre, may moue an experienced Commaunder, to imbrace a safe and quiet peace; as knowing, that he that goeth about to vex another, shall haue his turne of suffering the like misseases: and as warre beginneth, when one partie listeth, to it endeth, when the other side pleaseeth.

—facilis descensus Auerni:
Sed reuocare gradum, superasque evadere ad oras,
Hoc opus, hic labor est.

And therefore, let no Commaunder, how great soeuer, refuse all peace, but that which is bought by extremitie of warre; least the euent (whereof there can be no assurance) fall out as it happened to Pompey: but rather with the use, let him learne the end of Armes: which is, to make straight that which is crooked; and out of discord and dissension, to draw meanes of a happie peace.

To which may be added, that other of Labienus, as farre in extremitie as either of the former; whom nothing would satisfie but Caesars head. It cannot be denied, but that he strooke at the roote; for, his head, was the head of that warre. But to say it, rather then to doe it, was no argument of Labienus worthinesse. For, as Polybius noteth; It is common to most men to magnifie themselves, with words full of wind: yea, and more then that, to follow their designs with impetuous violence. But, to direct their vndertakings to a successfull issue, and to remove by industrie, or prouidence, such hinderances as happen to trauerse their hopes, is granted but to a few; and now denied to Labienus, notwithstanding this Branado. And therefore, let such Commaunders, as are in good opinion and esteeme with their Generall, bee well wary of imbraking their partie in any cause, further then may becom the wisdom and experience of iudicious Leaders; as belieuing in that of Metellus to king Bocchus: *Omne bellum sumi facile, ceterum acerrimi desinere: non in eiusdem potestate initium eius et finem esse: incipere cuius etiam ignauo licere, deponi, cum victores velint.*

*Frustra sapit,
qui sibi non sapit.*

Acad. 6.

Lib. 16.

Successum fortune, experientiam laus sequitur. Varro, ex Gellio.

Salust.

CHAP. VII.

Cælius Rufus, moueth sedition in Italie,
and is slaine.

Cæsar.



*A*t the same time, M. Cælius Rufus, the Prator at Rome, vnder taking the business of debts, in the beginning of his Magistracie, placed his seate by the Chaire of C. Trebonius, Prator of the towne; promising to be asisting to any man, that would appeale vnto him, concerning valuation and payment to be performed by Arbitrators, according as Cæsar had ordained. But it came to passe, as well through the equity and indifference of the Decree, as through the lenitie of Trebonius (who was of opinion, that those times required an easie and milde execution of iustice) that none were found, from whom the beginning of the Appeale might growe, for to pretend pouertie, or to complaine of particular misfortune, and of the calamity of those times; or otherwise, to propound the difficulties of selling their goods by an out-rope, was euery mans practice: but for any man to acknowledge himselfe to bee in debt, and yet to keepe his possessions whole and vntouched, was held a very strange impudence: so that there was no man found that would require it.

Moreover, Cælius caried a very hard hand, to such as should haue received benefite thereby. And hauing made this entrance (to the end he might not seeme to haue vnderooke a shamefull or dishonest cause) he published a law, That there should be no Interest paid, for any Monies let out vpon consideration, for thirtie sixe daies of the time agreed on. But when he perceived, that Seruilius the Consul, and the rest of the Magistrates did oppose themselves against him, therein, and finding it not to sort with his expectation (to the end hee might incite and stirre up the humours and spirits of men) hee abrogated that law, and in steede thereof, made two others. The one, which cutt off the yeerely rents that Tenants were accustomed to pay their Land-lords, for the houses they dwelt in: and the other, Touching new assurances, and the abolishing of old debts. Where-vpon, the multitude ranne violently vpon him, and (hauing hurt diuers that stood about him) pulled him out of his Chaire.

Of these things, Seruilius the Consul made relation to the Senate: who ther-vpon decreed, That Cælius should be removed from his Pratorship. And by meanes of that Arrest, the Consul interdicted him the Senate, and also drew him from the * Speaking Place, as he went about to make a speech to the people. Cælius, moued with shame and despayre, made as though hee would goe to Cæsar; but sent Messengers secretly to Milo, condemned to banishment for killing Clodius. And hauing recalled him into Italy, that by great gifts and reuwards had gained to his party the remainder of the Company of Fencers, hee ioynded himselfe with him: and then sent him before to Thurin, to excite and stirre up the Shepheards to sedition; he himselfe going to Casseline.

At

*A*t the same instant, his Ensignes and Armes being staied at Capua, besides his family suspected at Naples, and their attempt against the towne, perceiued; their other designs being discovered, and their Partizans shut out of Capua; fearing some danger, soasmuch as the inhabitants had tooke Armes, and held him as an Enemy, hee let fall his former determination, and brake off his iourney.

In the meane while, Milo, hauing sent Letters to the Municipall townes, that what he did, was by the authority and commandement of Pompey, according as he received it from Bibulus, he applied himselfe, and solicited such as were in debt: with whom preuailing nothing, hee brake up diuers prisons, and began to assault Cosa in Thurin: & there he was slaine by Q. Pedius the Prator, with a stone which he cast from the vvall.

Cælius, going on (as he gaue out) towards Cæsar, hee came to Tury, where, when he had moued diuers of the Inhabitants, and promised money to the French and Spanisb Cavalrie, which Cæsar had put there for a Gwarizon, he was in the end slaine by them. And so the beginning of great Matters, which put all Italy in feare and trouble, by the indirectt pratiffes of the Magistrates, and the iniquitie of the times, had a speedy and easie end.

OBSERVATIONS.

*I*t is to be noted, for the better vnderstanding these Passages, that of those which were chosen Prators, the two chiefest remained at Rome; the one, to administer iustice to the Citizens, which was called Prator *Præbanus*, who in the absence of the Consul, had the superintendencie of the affaires of the State, assembled the Senate, receiued Packets, made Dispatches, and gaue order in all things: which place was now supplied by Trebonius. The other was called Prator *Peregrinus*: whose office was, to order the causes and sutes of forrainers and strangers; where-vnto Cælius was chosen: and, being of a turbulent and vnquiet spirit, tooke occasion vpon this rent in the State, to raise new garboiles, fit for his owne purposes; as hauing learned, what Aristotle teacheth, That all things which are already stirred, are more easly moued, then other natures, that are yet in quiet. And there-vpon, hauing power by his office, to decide causes of Controuersie, hee removed his Tribunal, and placed it hard-by where Trebonius sat, to the end he might oppose the Decrees he made, for the prising of goods, to satisfie Creditors, and draw the people to appeale vnto him; publishing with-all, certaine dangerous Edicts, on the behalfe of those that were in debt.

This Cælius was Ciceros scholler, for Oratorie; and in the opinion of Quintilian, was thought worthy to haue liued longer, if he had been of a staied and settled cariage; but now must stand for an example of a wilfull Magistrate.

Touching *Rostra*, which I haue translated the Speaking-place, it vvas a part of their Forum, where the Consuls, and other Magistrates, spake vnto the people, wherein was built a Chaire or Pulpit, of the beake-heads of ships, which

*Omnia con-mo-
da facilius quam
quiescentia non
sentiant. De Me-
taphisicis.*

Linie, lib. 8.

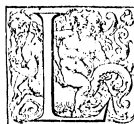
Time. A. B.
P. Marcell.

which the Romaines tooke from the *Antiatij*, and there-vpon tooke the name of *Rosfra*; memorable amongst other things, for that Antonie sette Tullies head betwene his two hands, in the Chaire, where he had often spoken most eloquently, and with as many good words, as were euer found in humane Oratorie.

CHAP. VIII.

Libo taketh an Island right ouer-against the Hauen of *Brundisium*; and is beaten off by a stratagem.

Cæsar.



Libo, departing from *Oricum*, with his flecte of fifty shippes, came to *Brundisium*, and tooke an island, which lieth ouer-against the Hauen, as a place of great importance, by which our Army must necessarily come forth: & shutting in all the Ports, and parts of that shore, as also surprising by his sudden comming, certaine shippes of burthen, hee sette all on fire, sauing one laden with Corne, which hee tooke along with him. Whereby he put our men into a great feare; and landing certaine souldiers and horsemen in the night time, hee dislodged the *Canabrie* that were there in *Guarison*: and so preuailed, through the advantage of the Place, as hee writ to *Pompey*, that he might draw the other shipping on shore, and new trimme them; for, hee would vnder-take, with his flect alone, to hinder those forces from comming to *Cæsar*.

Antonius was then at *Brundisium*: and trusting to the valour of the souldiers, armed out threecore Skiffes, belonging to great Shippes; and fencing them with hurdles and planks, put certaine choice souldiers in them, disposing them in severall places along the shore: and further commaunded two *Triremes* (which hee had caused to be made at *Brundisium*, for the exercise of the souldiers in rowing) to goe out to the mouth of the Hauen.

Libo, perceiving these to come out some-what loosely, and hoping to intercept them, sent out five *Quadriremes* to attack them: which were no sooner come neere vnto our shippes, but the old souldiers that were aboard, fledde backe into the Port.

The Enemy, caried on with a desire of taking them, preaced after somewhat rashly, and vnadvisedly: when at length, vpon a signall given, the Skiffes came suddainely out from all parts, sette vpon them, and at the first shock tooke one of the *Quadriremes*, with all the oare-men and souldiers in her; the rest, they compelled to flie away shamefully. To which losse, this was further added, that they were kept from vnter, by the *Canabrie* which *Antonius* had disposed along the Coast: through necessity whereof (as also by reason of the ignominie received) *Libo* departed from *Brundisium*, and gaue ouer the siege.

Many

Many moneths were now past, and the Winter came hard on, and yet neyther the shipping nor the legions, came from *Brundisium* to *Cæsar*. And some opportunities seemed to be omitted, for that the wind was good oftentimes, which *Cæsar* thought they would haue taken. And the longer they staid there, the straighter was all the Coast guarded and kept, by such as commaunded the flect; beeing now in great hope to hinder their passage. Which they did the rather in-deauour, because they were oftentimes reprauid by Letters from *Pompey*, for that they did not impeach *Cæsars* coming at first: which hee did to make them the more carefull, to hinder those supplies. And, in attending so from day to day an opportunity of passage, it would waxe worse & worse, the winds growing more easie and gentle.

OBSERVATIONS.

BY how much easier it is to keepe the out-let of one Port, then to guard the Coast of a large Country: by so much was *Libo* more likely to preuaile, in seeking to shut vp the Hauen of *Brundisium*, to hinder these supplies from coming vnto *Cæsar* then the other, that went about to guard all the Maritime parts of *Epirus*, to keepe them from landing, after they were at Sea.

But such is the vncertaintie of enterprises of warre, that albeir our course be rightly shapen, yet it doth often faile of leading vs to that which is desired, for, howsoeuer hee was possessed of this Island, that lay thwart the mouth of the Hauen, and had thrust out the guard of horsemen, and so became confident of blocking vp the Port: yet there was means found by the aduersie Partie, to giue him such an affront, as made him quit the place with more dishonour, then could be recompenced by anything he got.

Incerta sunt res
bellica. Thucid.

CHAP. IX.

Cæsars supplies passe ouer into Greece, and take landing.



Cæsar, troubled at these things, writ very sharply to them at *Brundisium*, not to omit the opportunity of the next good wind, but to put to Sea, and to shapen their course to *Oricum*, or to the Coast of *Apollonia*; because there they might runne their ships on ground: & these places were freest from Guardes, by reason they could not vider farre from the Ports.

They, according to their accustomed courage and valour (*Marcus Antonius*, and *Ensius Calenus* directing the businesse, and the Souldiours themselves being forwarde there-vnto, as refusing no danger for *Cæsars* sake) hauing

Cæsar.

got a South wind, waied Anchor, and the next day, passed by Apolonia and Dyrrachium: but being discovered from the Continent, Quintus Coponius, Admirall of the Rhodian Naue, lying at Dyrrachium, brought his shippes out of the Hauens. And as he had almost (vpon a slack wind) ouer-taken our men, the same South wind began at length to blowe stiff, by which meanes they escaped: yet did not be desist from pursuing them; but was in hope, by the labour & industrie of the Mariners, to ouer-way the force of the tempest, and followed them, notwithstanding they were past Dyrrachium, with a large wind. Our men vjing the fauour of Fortune, were neuerthelesse afraid of the Enemies Naue, if the wind should chance to slacke: & hauing got the Port called Nimpheum, three miles beyond Lissus, they put in with their shippes.

This Port lay sheltered from the South-west wind, but was not safe from a South wind: howsoeuer, they accounted an ill roade lesse dangerous then the Enemies fleet: & yet they were no sooner put in, but the wind (which had blown southerly for two daies together) did now most happily come about to the South-west.

And heere a man may see the suddaine alteration of Fortune; for, they which of late stood in feare of a dangerous Roade, were now by that occasion, receined into a safe harbour: and those which threatned danger to them, were forced to bethinke themselves of their owne safetie. So that the time thus changing, saued our Partie, and sunke theirs. In somuch, as sixteene of the Rhodian shippes were all shuken in peeces, and perished with shipwrack; and of the great number of oare-men and souldiers, part were dashed against the Rocks & slaine, and part were taken up by our men: all which, Caesar sent home in safetie. Two of our shippes comming short, and ouer-taken with the night, and not knowing where the rest had taken shore, stood at an Anchor, right ouer against Lissus. Them did Otacilius Crassus, Gouvernour of Lissus, goe about to take with Skiffes, and other little shippes, which he had prepared for that purpose; & withall, treated with them, of yeelding themselves, promising life and safetie, vpon that condition.

One of the shippes carried two hundred and twentie men, of the legion made of young souldiers; in the other, were lesse then two hundred old Souldiers. And heere a man may see, what assurance and safetie consisteth in courage and valour of mind; for, the new made souldiers, terrified with the multitude of shippes that came against them, and spent with Sea-sicknesse, vpon oath made not to receiue any hurt, did yield themselves to Otacilius: who, being brought all vnto him, were contrary to his oath, most cruelly slaine in his sight. But the souldiers of the old Legions (howsoeuer afflicted with the inconuenience of the tempest, and noisomesse of the Pumpe) did not slacke any thing of their ancient valour: for, hauing drauven out the first part of the night in conditions of treatie, as though they meant to yeeld themselves, they compelled the Maister to runne his shippe a-shore: and hauing got a conuenient place, they there spent the rest of the night.

As soone as it was day, Otacilius sent foure hundred horse, which had the guard of that part of the coast, with others of the guarizon, to assault and take them:

them: but they, valiantly defending themselves, slew diuers of them; and so got to our men in safetie. Where-vpon, the Romaine Cittizens, residing in Lissus (vvhich towne, Caesar had formerly giuen them to be kept and guarded) receiued in Antonius, and assisted him with all things needfull. Otacilius, fearing himselfe, fled out of the towne, and came to Pompey.

Antonius sent backe the greatest part of the shippes that had brought ouer his troopes (vvhich were three legions of old souldiers, one of new souldiers, and eight hundred horse) to transport the rest of the souldiers, and horse, that remained at Brundisium: leauing the Pontones, which are a kind of French (shipping, at Lissus; to this end, that if happily Pompey, thinking Italy to be emptye and vnfurnished, should cary ouer his Army thither, Caesar might haue meanes to follow him: and withall, sent Messengers speedily to Caesar, to let him knowe vvhether the Armie was landed, and what men he had brought ouer.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



Dolus an virtus quis in hoste requirat, is not so iustificable by the lawes of true vertue, as that of Achilles; who professed to hate that man more then the gates of hell, that promised one thing, and purposed another. Neither do the Iustices conclude otherwise; hauing, for the more apparence of truth, drawne it to a Question, *An perfidia in perfidum ori, Ius sit?* alleging Labienus practice, against Comius of Arras, together with that which admitteth no Answer, that their example standeth as a president, to deale with them, as they deale with others. But, to falsifie religion, as Otacilius did, and to make an oath the Broker of vnworthy ends, is abhorred by God and Man, and accordingly succedeth.

The most remarkable instance in this kind, is that (which is to be wished were forgotten) of Lewis King of Hungaria: who, hauing concluded the honourablest peace, that euer Christian Prince had before that time made, with any of the Turkish Sultanes, and confirmed the same by an oath, taken vpon the holy Euangelist, did neuerthelesse, at the perswasion of Iulian, a Cardinall (who tooke vpon him, by power from the Pope, to disannull the league, & absolue him from the oath) breake the peace, & gaue battell to Amurath at Varna (where the Infidell tooke occasion impiously to blasphem, in calling for vengeance on such, as in their deedes had denied the God-head of their most sacred and blessed Lord) and was there slaine, to the vtter ruine of his kingdome, and the reproche of Christian Name. Neither did the Cardinall escape the vengeance, which his treacherie had drawne vpon that roiall Armie: but being there wounded vnto death, was found lying in the high way, by Gregorie Sanofe, ready to giue vp the ghost; & seemed but to stay to take with him, the bitter curses of such as passed by, flying from the battell, as the due reward of his perfidious abtollution.

Aenead. 2.
Homer 9. Iliad.

Hirtius lib. 8.
de bello Gallico.

Vladislav.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

IN case of difficultie and hazard (as Cæsar notheth) there is alwaies great helpe in a good courage. For, whether it be, that good hap attendeth a valourous cariage, or that vertue bee able to remove all opposition, or what other cause there is besides; but thus it falleth out, that such as entertaine a noble resolution, are ever safest in extremitie of perill; and in steed of losse, get honour and renowne.

Erasidas found a Mouse amongst dried figs, which bit him so that hee let her goe, and there-vpon said, to those that stood by; That there was nothing so little, that could not saue it selfe, if it had a hart to defend it selfe against such as assaulted it.

And herein we may obserue that to be true, which the Poet hath deliuered; *Seris venit ut sis ab annis*: Time and Practice; doe much auail to perfitt this courage in the mindes of Men of Warre; as knowing afore-hand the weight of such labours, and hauing encountered the like dangers, euen to the redeeming of themselves from the iawes of death. Whence it is, that the Comick faith, No man can possibly come so well furnished to any course of life, but that time and experience doe alwaies teach him what he knew not before: where-as others, that goe rawlie to worke, are so daunted with the vnusuall looks of war, as they (forgetting the profession of Armes) doe run head-long into the danger they seek to auoid; being able to giue no other account of their seruice, but that they marched Many bodies, and but a few Men.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

Blutarch, Valerius Maximus, Appian, Suetonius, and Lucan, doe all write, that Cæſar, impatient of the ſtay of his forces at Brundisium, imbarke'd himſelfe in a ſmall Frigate, of twelve oares, diſguiſed in the habit of a ſlave, and put to ſea to fetch his Legions; notwithstanding, all the Coaſt ſwarmed with the Enemies Shipping: but meeting with a contrary wind, which would not ſuffer him to get out of the River Anius, the Maiſter commaunded the Mariners to caſt about, and get to ſhore. Whereupon, Cæſar diſcouering himſelfe, encouraged him to goe forward, for-that he carried Cæſar and his fortunes.

The Maister, forgetting all danger, made out againe, to get to sea; but was by force of the tempest driuen to returne, to Cæsars great grieffe. And albeithere is no mention made heereof in these Commentaries, yet the authoritie of so many graue Authors, is not to be contemned.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

Cæſar haſteth to meet with Antonius, and
preuenteth Pompey.



Cæsar and Pompey, had both intelligence, almost at one instant of time, of Antonius fleet; for, they saw it passe by Apolonia, and Dyrrachium, and directed their iourneys along the Coast after them: but they vnderstood not for a while where they were landed. Howbeit, hauing notice thereof, either of them tooke a contrarie resolution. For, Cæsar purposed to ioyne with Antonius, as soone as possibly he might: and Pompey resolued to hinder their meeting, and by ambuylments (if he could) to set vpon them at vnawares.

The same day, either of them drew their Armie out of their standing Camps, vpon the River Asfus: Pompey secretly, and by night; Caesar openly, and by day. But Caesar had the greater circuit to fetch, and a longer iourney to goe vnto the River, to find a Foord. Pompey, hauing a ready way, and no River to passe, made towards Antonius by great iournes: and when hee vnderstood that hee came neere vnto him, chose a conuenient place, and there bestowd his forces: keeping euery man vwithin the Campe, and forbidding fires to be made, that his coming might be the more hidden. Whereof Antonius being presently aduertised by the Greekes, he dispatched Messengers to Caesar, and kept himselfe one day vwithin his Campe. The next day, Caesar came vnto him. Vpon notice thereof, Pompey left that place; leaſt he should be intrapped betwene two Armies, and came with all his forces to Asparagus (which appertained to them of Dyrrachium) and there, in a conuenient place, pitched his Campe.

OBSERVATIONS.

Here two Armies are in a Countrey, and one of them hath succours comming to reinforce them, each of those Parties, are by the example of these glorious Commanders (*cateris paribus*) to make towards those succours: the one, to cut them off; and the other, to keepe the standing. And to that end, it turned Pompeis condition to goe secretly; howsoever Cæsar noteth it, as a touch to his valour: so on the other side, it stood not onely well enough with Cæsars Party, to goe openly, but also was an argument of his courage and magnanimity, and might raise him estimation in the opinion of the Greeces. The disadvantage which Pompey could take thereby, was the danger to bee inclosed with Armies: which he, foreseeing, avoided.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

Scipios preparation in Asia, to come into Greece, to assist Pompey.

Cesar,
A full, separating
Syracusan
Cittie.



About this time, Scipio, hauing sustained diuers losses, neere the Mount Amanum, did neuer beleefe call himselfe by the name of Imperator; and, there-upon, commaunded great summes of money to be leuied of the Citties and Potentates of those quarters: taking, frō the generall Receiuers of that Prouince, all the Moneies that were in their hands for two yeeres past, and commaunding them to disburse (by way of loane) the receipt for the yeere to come; and requiring horsemen to be leuied throughout all the Prouince. Hauing gathered these together, hee left the Parthians, being neere Enemies vnto him (who a little before had slaine M. Crassus, the Generall, and besieged M. Bibulus) and drew the legions out of Syria; being sent specially thither to keepe and settle that Prouince, much amized through feare of the Parthian warre.

At his departure, some speeches were giuen-out by the souldiers, that if they were ledde against an Enemy, they would goe; but against a Cittizen and Confull, they would not beare Armes. The Army being brought to Pergamum, and there quarized for that Winter in diuers rich Citties, he distributed great largesse and gifts; and for the better assuring of the souldier vnto him, gaue them certaine Citties to risse.

Columnaria O
Cittie.

In the meane time, he made bitter and heauie exactions of money, throughout all the Prouince: for, he put a tribute vpon slaues and free-men by pole, set impositions vpon the pillars and doores of houses, as also vpon graine, oare-men, armes, ingines, and carriages; and what soeuer had a name, was thought fitte to yeeld money, by way of imposition: and that not onely in Citties and Townes, but almost in euery Village and Castele: wherein, he that caried himselfe most cruelly, was held both the worst and best Cittizen.

The Prouince was at that time full of Officers and Commaundements, pestered with Ouer-seers and Exactors: who, besides the money leuied by publike authoritie, made their particular profit by the like exactions. For, they gaue-out, they were thrust out of their houses, and their Countrey, and in want of all necessities; to the end they might with such pretences, couer their wicked & hateful courses. To this was added, the hard and heauie vsury, which oftentimes doth accompany warre, when all monies are drawn and exacted to the publike: wherein the forbearance of a day, was accounted a discharge for the whole. Whereby it happened, that in those two yeeres, the whole Prouince was ouer-grown with debts: and yet, for all that, they stuck not to leuie round sums of money, not onely from the Cittizens of Rome, inhabiting in that Prouince; but also, vpon euery Corporation, and particular Cittie: which they gaue out, was

by

by way of loane, according to a Decree of Senate, commaunding the Receiuers to aduance the like summe by way of loane, for the yeere to come.

Moreover, Scipio gaue order, that the Moneies which of old time had beene treasured-up in the Temple of Diana at Ephesus, should be taken out, with other Images of that Goddesse: but as hee came into the Temple (hauing called vnto him many of the Senators that were there present) hee received a Dispatch from Pompey, That Caesar had passed the Sea with his legions; and that, setting all things apart, hee should hasten to him with his Armie. These Letters being receiued, he dismissed such as he had called vnto him, and beganne to dispose of his journey into Macedonia, setting forward within a few daies after: by which accident, the Treasure at Ephesus was saued.

OBSERVATIONS.



It is Seneca his conceit, that Iron, being of that excellent vse in things pertaining to Mans life, and yet so much vnder-valued to Gold and Silver, will admit of no peace, as often as there is question of Money; but raiseth continuall garboiles & extremities, as a reuenge that the World doth misvalue it: and fell out as true in those better Ages, as it dooth in these daies, that are of baser Metall. For, what greater violences in the State of Rome, then those concerning Tributes and Impositions? A particular whereof, may be made out of this Chapter. For, first, wee find a Tribute by pole, without respect of state or condition; which they called *Capitatio*. And then a second, as grieuous as that, being a taxe laid vpon euery dore in a house, which they called *Ostiaria*: whereof Tully maketh mention, in the eighth Epistle of his third Booke. And lastly, an other vpon euery pillar in a mans house, which they called *Columnaria*: mentioned likewise by Cicero, *Columnarium vide vt nullum debeamus*. Howbeit, Alciatus vnderstandeth this, to be that we read in Dionysius Halicarnassus, That when Treasure failed at the siege of Modena, they laid an Imposition vpon euery tile that was found on the Senators houses in Rome: which gaue the *Trium-virat* occasion, to make the tiles as heauie to the rest of the Romaine Cittizens; and this, saith he, was called *Columnaria*.

Some Popes, out of their occasions, haue gone farre in this kind, & found means to lay Impositions vpon all things pertaining to the vse of man. In so much as Pasquill begged leave to dry his shirt in the Sunne, before there were an Imposition laid vpon the Light. The rule is diuersly giuen in this behalfe, That the Fiske doe not swell about his proportion. Alexander is commended for making his Subiects the keepers of his Treasure. And Claudianus, giueth Honorius this Elogium;

Nec tua priuatis crescent eraria damnis.

Basilius aduiseeth, that money thus raised, be not at any time dipped, either in the teares or in the blood of the people. But Tully draweth it to a more certaintie, by making Necessitie the square of such commaunds. *Da operam* (saith he)

Propter Auum
et Argentum
munus pacem
fecit ferunt. li.
14. Epist. 93.
Ferrum vniuersi
artis instrumentum.
Auum et
argentum morti
Mancipia. E-
pistenus.
Capitatio.

Ostiaria.

Columnaria.
12 ad Atticum.
Epist. 1.

In the Papacie
of Sixt. Quintus.
Episcopus publicus
quod coactum
cento, ante re-
liqua tabulant.
Sist. Aurelius
et color.
In Parant.

De offi.

*Plut. arch.
Bell. iustorian-
tur pecuniarum
abundantia.
Dion. Halicarn.
lib. 6.*

Annot. 13.

hee) ut omnes intelligent, si salui esse velint, necessitati esse parendum. And io the opening of priuate mens purses, is but to keepe them shut and safe, from such Enemies as would consume all; according as Scipio once answered, when the Romaines blamed him, for spending their Treasure: Howsoever, Scipio knew well what he did, in getting into his hand such store of Treasure; for, Warre cannot any way be maintained, but with plenty of Money: neither can any State continue, if the renew which supporteth the Common-weale, bee abated; as Tacitus hath well observed, *Dissoluitur imperium, si fructus quibus respub. sustinetur diminuantur.*

CHAP. XII.

Cæsar sendeth forces into Theffalia, Aetolia and Macedonia; Scipio commeth into Greece.

Cæsar.



Cæsar, being ioyned with Antonius, drew that legion out of Oricum, which hee had formerly lodged there, to keepe the Sea-coast; and thought it expedient to make triall of the Prouinces, and to aduance further into the Countrey. And, vvhether-as Embassadors came vnto him out of Theffalia & Aetolia, assuring, that if hee would send forces to protectt them, the Citties of those Prouinces would readily obey what hee commaunded: Hee sent L. Calsius Longinus, with the legion of young souldiers, called the sea-uen and twentieth, and two hundred horse, into Theffalia: and C. Caluitius Sabinus, with sine cohorts, and a few horse, into Aetolia; exhorting them specially, to take a course for provision of Corne in those two Prouinces, which lay neere at hand.

*Quæst. lib. 4. ap-
pud Ponticum.*

** In partibus.*

*He sent likewise Cn. Domitius Caluinus, with two legions, the eleuenth and the twelfth, and sine hundred horse into Macedonia: of which Prouince (for that part thereof, which is called Franke or Free) Menedemus, a principall man of that Countrey, being sent as an Embassador, had professed exceeding great forwardnesse on their behalfe. Of these, Caluitius, vpon his coming, was entertained with great affection of the Aetolians: and, hauing cast the Garrison of the Enemy out of Caledone and * Naupaetum, became Maister of all Aetolia. Calsius arriued with the legion in Theffalia; and finding there two Factions, was accordingly receiued, with contrary affections.*

Egesæctus, a man of ancient power and authoritie, fauoured Pompeis partie: and Petreius, a man of a most noble house, endeauoured by all meanes, to deserue vvell of Cæsar. At the same time also, came Domitius into Macedonia: and as Embassadors began to come thicke vnto him, from diuers States of that Prouince, it was told him, that Scipio was at hand with the legions, and came with

great

great fame and opinion of all men: vvhich is oftentimes a fore-runner of nouelties. He, making no stay in any part of Macedonia, marched directly with great furie towards Domitius; and when he came vvitin twenty miles of him, turned his course suddainly, to Calsius Longinus, in Theffalia: vvhich he did [so] speedilie, that newes came together of his coming, and of his arriuall. For, to the end hee might march with greater expedition, he left M. Fauonius at the River Haliacmon (vvhich diuideth Macedonia from Theffalia) vvhich he left with eight cohorts, to keepe the cariages of the legions: vvhether hee commaunded them to build a Fort.

At the same time, the Canallrie of King Cottus, which was wont to keepe in the Confines of Theffalia, came flying suddainly to Calsius Campe: vvhether, hee being astonished (vnderstanding of Scipios coming, and seeing the horsemen, whom he thought to be his) made towards the hills which inclose Theffalia, and from thence marched towards Ambracia. And, as Scipio made haste to follow after, Letters ouer-tooke him, sent from Fauonius, that Domitius was at hand with the legions, and that he could not hold the place wherein hee was left, without Scipios helpe.

Vpon the receipt of vvhich Letters, Scipio altered both his purpose and his journey; & leauing Calsius, made haste to help Fauonius: so that continuing his journey night and day, he came vnto him in very good time. For, as the dust of Domitius Armie, approaching, was seene to rise, the fore-runners of Scipio his Armie was likewise discovered. Whereby it happened, that as Domitius industry did helpe Calsius, so did Scipio his speede saue Fauonius.

OBSERVATIONS.



Cæsar, being now ready with his forces to proceed against Pompey; the first thing hee did, was to make triall of the Prouinces of Greece, and to get their fauour and assistance, for his better furtherance in contesting his Adversarie. For, as an Armie standeth firme by two speciall meanes, first, in themselves, as they are able to resist any opposing force; and secondly, through the fauour of the Countrey, wherein they are engaged: so, on the other side, their ouerthrow either proceedeth fro their owne weakenesse; or otherwise, when the Prouinces adioyning, refuse such mutuall respects, as may relieue the wants of a consuming multitude. And therefore, hauing got all the forces together which he looked for, or could any way expect, hee sent out to try the affection of the Countrey, and to alter that in a moment, which Pompey had bene settling for a yeere together, and then resolu'd to attack him neerer.

And doubtlesse, if Scipio had not by chaunce interrupted their course, vpon his coming out of Asia, to aide Pompey, they had easily got all Theffalia and Macedonia, as they did Aetolia: and were neuertheless so ordered & disposed, as they got more honour of Scipio, then he could win of them.

CHAP.

*In Macedonia,
que voluit fili
candida na i,
ad Haliacmon
ducere, que ni-
gra et fusca ad
Asium.*

CHAP. XIII.

The Passages betweene Domitius
and Scipio.

Caesar.



Scipio abode two daies in his standing Campe, vpon the Riuer Haliacmon, which ranne betweene him and Domitius Campe. The third day, as soone as it began to be light, he passed his Armie ouer the Riuer by a Foord, and incamped himselfe. The next day in the morning, he imbattled his forces before the front of his Campe. Domitius, in like manner, made no difficultie of bringing out his legions, resolving to fight. And whereas there lay a field of sixe miles, betweene both the Campes, he led his troopes imbattelled vnder Scipios Campe; who neuertheless refused to moue any iote from his standing: yet for all that, Domitius souldiers were hardly kept from giuing battell: but specially a Riuer, lying vnder Scipios Campe, with broken and vneasey bankes, did hinder them at that time.

Scipio, vnderstanding of their alacrity, and desire to fight, suspecting it might happen, that the next day he should be forced to fight against his will, or with great dishonour keepe himselfe within his Campe, hauing with great expectation in the beginning, gone on rashly, and vnadvisedly, was now dishonoured with a reprochfull end. For, in the night time he rose, without any noise or warning for the trusing vp of the baggage; and passing the Riuer, returned the same way he came: and in an eminent place, nere vnto the Riuer, he pitched his Campe.

A few daies after, he laid an ambushment of horsemen in a place, where our men had formerly accustomed to forrage. And, as Q. Varus, Generall of the horse in Domitius Army, came out according to his ordinary use, they set vpon him at a suddaine: but our men did valiantly sustaine the on-set; and euery man betaking himselfe speedily to his ranke, they altogether of their owne accord, charged the Enemy: and hauing slaine foure-score, they put the rest to flight, with the losse onely of two of their men.

OBSERVATIONS.

It appeareth here, that to shew a readines and resolution to fight, vpon such grounds as are iustificable by the rules of Warre, is no small aduantage to the prosperous carriage of the same. For, albeit Scipio was great in his owne strength, and as great in the opinion and expectation of men: yet when he found such an alacrity in the Enemy, to giue and take blowes, and a desire to entertaine seriously all occasions of giuing battell; he was so farre from prosecuting what he had pretended, as hee rather

rather chose the fortune of a safe retreat, and consequentlie, to turne the aduantage which the world in opinion had giuen to his Armie, to his owne reproach, and disaduantage: where-as on the other side, to be found for the most part vnwilling to hazard the triall of a Field, or indisposed to fight vpon any occasion, doth inuite an Enemy to attempt that, which otherwise hee would not; and giueth them courage to beate him from all his purposes, as knowing the resolution of their Aduersarie, and the meanes they haue, either to take or leaue at their pleasure.

CHAP. XIII.

Domitius draweth Scipio to a losse, by an Ambushment. Young Pompeis attempt
vpon Oricum.

After these things, Domitius hoping that Scipio might be drawne to fight, hee made as though hee were in great want and scarcitie of Corne: and there-vpon, rising from the place where in hee was incamped, with the usualery of remoouing, according to the custome of Warre, and hauing marched three miles, hee lodged all his Armie, with the Cauterie, in a conuenient and secret place.

Scipio, beeing readie to follow after, sent his horsemen, and a great part of his light-armed souldiers, to discouer what way Domitius tooke: who, marching forward, as the first troopes came within the Ambushment (suspecting some-what by the neighing of the horses) fell backe againe. Those that followed after, seeing the former troopes so suddainly to retire, stood still.

Our men, finding themselves discovered, & thinking it in vaine to attend the rest, hauing got two troopes of horse within their reach, they contented themselves with them: amongst whom, was M. Opimius, the Generall of the horse. The rest of those two troopes, they either put to the sword, or tooke alive, and brought them to Domitius.

Caesar, as is before shewed, hauing withdrawne the Guarizons from along all the Sea-coast, left onely three Cohorts at Oricum, for the defence of the Towne: and to them, he committed the custodie and safe keeping of the Gallies, which he had brought out of Italy; whereof Asilius the Legate had the charge, being left Gouvernour of the towne. Hee, for the better securitie of the shipping, had drawn all the fleet into a back angle, behind the towne, and there fastened them to the flore: and in the mouth of the Hauen, had sunke a great ship, and set another by her, vpon which he built a towre, to keepe the entrance of the Port; & filled the same with souldiers, to defend the Hauen from any suddaine attempt.

Q

Vpon

Caesar.

Vpon notice vwhereof, Pompeis sonne, being Admirall of the Egyptian fleetes, came to Oricum, and with many haulfers and bookes, waied up the sunk shippes, and assaulted the other shippe, set by Scilius for the defence of the Hawen, with shippes vwherein hee had made towres, which stood by counterpoize, that hee might fight vwith aduantage of height, supplying continually fresh men: and attempting also, as well from the Land side, to take the towne by scaling Ladders, as by Sea vwith his Nauie; to the end he might distract and dismember the forces vwithin.

In the end, with extream labour, and multitude of vveapons, hee overcame our Partie, and tooke the shippe, hauing cast out such as had the guard: who fled all away vwith skiffes and Boates. At the same time, being likewise seized of a small height, on the other side of the towne, in the nature of a Pene-insule, hee conuained ouer foure small Gallies, with Rollers and Leuers, into the inner part of the Harbor, lying behind the towne; inasmuch, as setting on each side vpon the Gallies tied vnto the shore, emptie & vn furnisbed, hee caried foure of them away, and burned the rest.

This being done, he left D. Lalius, whom hee had taken from the Egyptian fleetes, to keepe the passage, that no victualls, or other prouisions, might be brought into the towne, either from Helide or Amantia: and hee himselfe, going to Lissus, found thirty shippes of burthen, which Antonius had left vwithin that Hawen, and set them all on fire. And as hee went about to take Lissus, the souldiers which Cæsar had put there for a guarizon to the Towne, together with the Romaine Cittizens, & the townsmen thereof, did so well defend the same, that after he had continued there three daies, and lost a few men in the siege, he left the place, without effecting any thing.

OBSERVATIONS.



AN Ambushment is easily at all times laid: but to do it so that it may not be suspected, and in such manner, that the Enemy may fall into the danger thereof, is that which is to be ayimed at therein. And therefore, to giue the better colour to such designs, the tricke hath bene to pretend feare (and so flight) or want of Corne, or some-what else, to draw the Enemy to follow after, with more boldnesse and resolution. And so to haue it wel done, there must be two deccits to assit each other; as in this of Domitius, to make shew of remouing, through scarcitie and want: and then to lie in waite for an aduantage: According to that of the Spaniard, *Aun Traydor, dos Aleuofos*. For, the preuention of such inares of deccit, the rule is generally giuen by Onofander, That the departure or falling away of an Enemy, is alwaies to bee suspected.

And for the more securitie therein, experienced Commaunders haue been carefull before they stirred their Armie, to make exact discouerie, euen to the place

Oportet hostium
discuffiones sem-
per suscepienda
esse.
Cap. 5.

place where they intended to lodge. For, as in Phyllicke, it is the greatest part of the cure, to know the disease: so in matter of war, the danger is almost ouer, when it is perceiued whence it may growe.

The manner obserued in discoueries, hath usually been to send the Parties out in three Companies or troopes; The first, consisting of a small number, to beat the way at ease, and to range about from place to place, as shall be found conuenient: the second Companie, being some-what stronger, to second and relieue the first, if there be occasion: and the third, able to ingage a good number of the Enemy.

And after this manner, Cyrus disposed of his fore-runners: as appeareth in Xenophon. But this, being subiect to the consideration of time and place, and other circumstances, may varie, as shall seeme expedient to the wisdom of the General.

Cyrus.

CHAP. XV.

Cæsar marcheth towards Pompey; offereth him
battaile; cutteth him off from
Dyrrachium.



AFTER Cæsar vnderstood that Pompey was at Asparagus, he marched thitherward with his Armie: and taking by the way the towne of the Parthians, wherein Pompey had put a Guarizon, the third day he came to Pompey in Macedonia, and lodged himselfe fast by him. The next day hee drew out his forces; and putting them in order, presented him battaile. But when he found that he would not accept thereof, hee drew backe his army into the Campe, and bethought himselfe of some other course. For, the next day, taking a difficult and narrow way, hee set forward with all his forces towards Dyrrachium: hoping either to draw Pompey to fight, or to force the towne, or at least to cut him off, from all Conuoiies and Ammunition, which was there stored up for the vvhole prouision of the vvarre; as afterwards it came to passe. For, Pompey being ignorant at first of his purpose, inasmuch as he tooke a contrarie way, thought he had been driuen thence, through scarcitie and want of Corne. But, being afterwards aduertised by the discoverers vwhat course hee tooke, he rose the next day, in hope to meet him a neerer way. Which Cæsar suspecting, exhorted the souldiers to indure a little labour with patience. And resting a small part of the night, in the morning he came before Dyrrachium, euen as the first troope of Pompeis Armie was discovered afar off: and there incamped himselfe.

Pompey, being cut off from Dyrrachium, when hee could not accomplish his purposes, fell to a second resolution, and fortified his Camp in an eminent place, called Petra: from whence there was an indifferent passage to the shippes, and

Cæsar.

Quisq[ue] vocat
collem Thaulan-
tius incola Pe-
tram. Lucan.

belstered likewise the Hauens from certaine winds. Thither he commanded part of the shippes to be brought, together with Corne, & prouision of victuall, from Asia, and such other Countries as were in his obedience.

Cæsar, doubting that the warre would proue long and tedious, and despairing of any succour of victualls from the Coast of Italie, for that all the shore was (with great diligence) kept by Pompeis partie: And that the shipping which in Winter hee had made in Sicilia, Gallia, and Italia, were staied and came not to him, hee dispatched L. Canuleius, a Legate into Epirus, to make prouision of Corne.

And forasmuch as those Regions were farre off, hee appointed store-houses and Magasins in certaine places, & imposed cariage of Corne vpon the Countrey bordering about them. In like manner, hee commaunded, what graine soeuer should be found at Lissus, Parthinis, or any other place, to be brought vnto him: which was very little, forasmuch as the Countrey thereabout, was rough and Mountainous, and afforded no Corne, but that which was brought in from other places; as also, that Pompey had taken order in that behalfe, and a little before, had rancked the Parthinians, & caused his horsemen to carie away all the Graine, which was found amongst them.

OBSERVATIONS.

*Albus actiuorū
in patientis fuit
dispositio. A
ristot. Meteor.*

THE first thing that Cæsar did, after their approach neere one vnto another, was to offer battaile; as the best Arbitrator of the Cause in question, and most fitting the vsance of the auncient Romaines. But, forasmuch as the indeuours of such as are in action, are alwaies ordered by him that is the Sufferer: and that Pompey refused to accept thereof, knowing himselfe to be much stronger in forces, better accommodated, having a farre greater partie in the Countrey, and the Sea whollie at his command (which advantages, were like to end the business, without hazard of a battaile) Cæsar bethought himselfe of some other project, which might take away the (corne of that refusal, by vndertaking such things, as much imported the state of his Aduersarie. For, in such cases, when an Enemy will not fight, some-what must be done, to cast dishonour, or greater inconueniences, vpon him; or at least, to make ouertures of new opportunities. And therefore, hee tooke a course, either to draw Pompey to fight, or to force the Towne, wherein all his prouisions of warre were stored vp; or other-wise, to cut him off from the same. The least of which, was a sufficient acquittance of any disgrace, which the neglect of this offer might seeme to inferre; Having thereby occasion to vse that of the Poet, *Iam sumus ergo pares.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

Cæsar goeth about to besiege Pompey.



Cæsar, being informed of these things, entered into a deliberation, which he first tooke from the very nature of the place wherein they were; for, where-as Pompeis Campe was inclosed about with many high and steepe Hilles, hee first tooke those Hills, and built Forts vpon them: and then, as the condition of each place would beare, hee made works of fortification, from one Fort to another, and determined to inclose Pompey about with a Ditch and a Rampier. And especially, vpon these considerations; for that hee was greatly straightened through want of Corne, and that Pompey being strong in horse, hee might without lesse danger, supply his Army from all parts with prouision: as also to the end hee might keepe Pompey from forraging, and so make his Cavalry vnerserviceable in that kinde. And further, that hee might abate and weaken the exceeding great reputation, which Pompey had attained vnto amongst forraine Nations, when it should be noised throughout the world, that hee was besieged by Cæsar, and durst not fight.

Pompey would by no meanes bee drawne to leaue the commoditie of the Sea, and the towne of Dyrrachium, having there laid up all his prouision of warre, Armes, weapens, Engines, of what sort soeuer; besides Corne, which was brought from thence to his Armie by shipping. Neither could hee hinder Cæsars fortifications, vnlesse hee would accept of battaile, which for that time hee was resolved not to doe; onely it remained, as the last thing hee could thinke of, to possess himselfe of as many hills as he might, and to keepe as much of the Countrey as hee could, with good and strong guard: and by that meanes, to distract, as much as possible hee might, Cæsars forces, as accordingly it fell out. For, having made twentie foure Castles and Forts, hee tooke in twentie five miles of the Countrey in circuit, and did forrage within that space, and there caused many things to be sowed and planted by hand, which in the Interim, serued as foode for horses.

And, as our men perceiued their fortifications to be caried, and continued, from one Castle to another, without intermission; they beganne to feare, lest they had left some places to sallie out, and so would come vpon them behind, before they were aware.

And the reason they made their workes thus perfect, throughout the whole inward circuit, was, that our men might not enter in vpon them, nor circumuent them behind. But they (abounding in number of Men) exceeded in their workes, having also on the inside a lesse compasse to fortifie.

Cæsar.

Ex subiectis et
centurionum.

And as Caesar went about to take any place, albeit Pompey was resolved not to fight, or interrupt him with all his forces: neuertheless, hee sent out his Archers and Slingers, of which he had great numbers; by whom many of our men were wounded, and stood in great feare of the arrowes: and almost all the souldiers, made them coates, either of quilt or stiffening, or of leather, to keep them from danger.

To conclude, either Party used all force and meanes to take places, and make fortifications; Caesar, to shut up and straighten Pompey what he could: & Pompey, to enlarge himselfe, and possesse as many hills as conveniently hee might; which gaue occasion of many skirmishes and encounters.

OBSERVATIONS.

Contemptus
est homo, nisi
per humana se
erexit.

Cum ratione in
fame.

WE may heere take notice, of the strangest enterprize, that euer vvas vndertakē by a iudicious souldier. For, where else may it be read or vnderstood, that a weaker Partie, went about to besiege a strong aduersarie, and to inclose a whole Country by Castles and Towres, and perpetuall fortifications from hill to hill; to the end he might shut him vp, as he lay incamped in the field? But herein appeare the infinite and restless indications of a Romaine spirit, and the workes they wrought to atchieue their owne ends: and yet not besides the limits of reason. For, if that of Seneca haue any assinitie with truth, That a man is but a common, or rather contemptible thing, vnlesse he raise himselfe aboue ordinary courses; it is more specially verified in a Souldier: whose honour, depending vpon the superlatiue degree, must seeke out projects beyond all equalitie: and the rather, vpon such inducements, as are heere alleadged; which shew good reason he had to be so madde.

CHAP. XVII.

A Passage that happened betweene both Parties,
about the taking of a Place.

Caesar.



Amongst these fights and incounters, it happened, as Caesars ninth Legion had taken a certaine Place, and there began to fortifie, Pompey had possesed himselfe of the Hill next adioyning there-vnto, and beganne to hinder our men from their worke. And hauing from one side an easie acceffe vnto it; first with Archers and Slingers, and afterwards with great troopes of light-armed men, and engines of Battery, hee beganne to disturbe them in their busines. Neither were our men able, at one and the same time, to defend themselves, and goe on with their fortifications.

Caesar,



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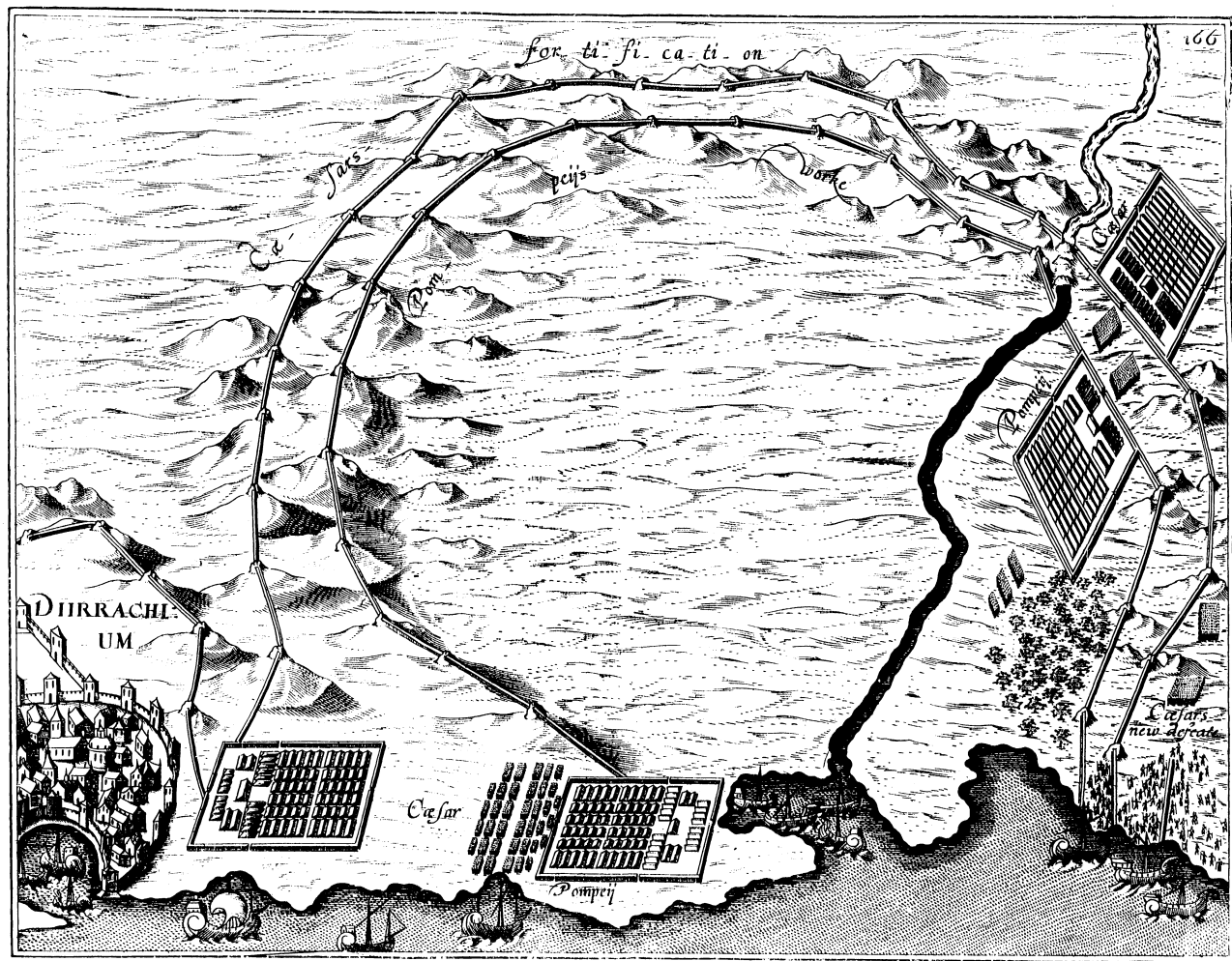
FIGURES.

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XVII.
 betweene both Parties,
 of a Place.

in encounters, it happened, as Caesars
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 and sencers, and afterwards with great
 of Battery, hee beganne to disturbe
 our men able, at one and the same time,
 their fortifications.

Caesar,



Cæsar, seeing his souldiers wounded, and hurt from all parts, commaunded them to fall off, and leaue the Place. But, forasmuch as they were to make their retreat downe the Hill, they did the more urge and preace upon them; & would not suffer them to fall backe, for that they seemed to forsake the Place for feare. It is reported, that Pompey should then, in a vaine-glory, say to those that were about him, That he would be content to be taken for a Generall of no worth, if Cæsar's men could make any retreat from thence (where they were so rashly ingaged) without great losse.

Cæsar, fearing the retreat of his souldiers, caused Hurdles to be brought, and sette against the Enemy, in the brimme of the Hill; and behind them, iunke a trench of an indifferant latitude, and incomed the place as much as possibly hee could. Hee lodged also Slingers in conuenient places, to defend his men in their retreat.

These things beeing perfited, hee caused the legions to be drawne backe. But Pompey's partie, beganne with greater boldnes and insolencie, to presse our people: and putting by the Hurdles, which were set there as a Baricado, they passed ouer the ditch. Which when Cæsar perceined, fearing, least they should rather seeme to be beaten off, then be brought backe, whereby a greater scandale might consequently ensue, hauing almost from the mid-way encouraged his men, by Antonius, who commaunded that legion, hee willed that the signe of charging the Enemy should be given by a Trumpet, and gaue order to assault them.

The souldiers of the ninth legion, putting themselves suddainly into order, threw their Piles: and running furiously from the lower ground, vp the steepe of the Hill, draue the Enemy head-long from them; who found the Hurdles, the long poles, and the ditches, to be a great hinderance vnto them in their retreat. It contented our men to leaue the place without losse: so that hauing slaine many of them, they came away very quietly, with the losse of few of their fellowes. And hauing staid about that place awhile, they tooke other hills, & perfited the fortifications vpon them.

OBSERVATIONS.



His Chapter sheweth, that aduantage of place, and some such industrious courtes, as may be fitted to the occasion, are of great consequence in extremities of warre: but, aboue all, there is nothing more auailable to cleere a danger, then valour. Valour is the Hercules that ouer-commeth so many Monsters: and verifieth that saying, which cannot be too often repeated; *Virtute faciendum est, quicquid in rebus bellicis est gerendum.* But of this, I haue already treated.

CHAP. XVIII.

The scarcitie which either Partie endured
in this siegē.

Cæsar.



THE Carriage of that warre was in a strange & vnusual manner, as well in respect of the great number of Forts and Castles, containing such a circuit of ground within one continued fortification, as also in regard of the whole siegē, and of other consequents depending there-vpon. For, whoeuer goeth about to besiege another, doth either take occasion from the weaknes of the Enemy, daunted, or stricken with feare, or ouercome in battaile, or otherwise being moued there-vnto by some iniurie offered; Whereas now it happened, that they were farre the stronger, both in horse and foote: and generally, the cause of almost all sieges, is to keepe an enemy from prouision of Corne. But Cæsar, being then farre inferiour in number of souldiers, did neuer thelesse besiege an Armie of intire and vntouched forces, especially at a time when they abounded with all necessary prouisions: for, euery day came great store of shipping from all parts, bringing plenty of all things needfull: neither could there any wind blowe, which was not good, from some part or other.

On the other side, Cæsar, hauing spent all the Corne he could get, far or neere, was in great want & scarcitie: and yet notwithstanding, the souldiers did beare it with singular patience; for, they remembred how they had suffered the like the yeere before in Spaine, and yet with patience and labour, had ended a great and dangerous warre. They remembred, likewise, the exceeding great want they endured at Aleſia, and much greater at Auaricum. And yet, for all that, they went away Conquerors of many great Nations. They refused neither Barlie nor Pease, when it was giuen them in stead of Wheate. And of Cattell (whereof they were furnished with great store out of Epirus) they made great account.

There is also a kind of roote, found out by them that were with Valerius, called Chara, which eaten with Milke did much relieue their want; & made with all, a kind of bread, whereof they had plenty. And when Pompeis Party happened in their Colloquies, to cast in their teeth their scarcitie and misery, they would cōmonly throwe this kind of bread at them, and scatter it in diuers places, to discourage them in their hopes. And now Corne beganne to be ripe, and hope it selfe did relieue their want, for that they trusted to haue plenty within a short time. And oftentimes the souldiers, in their watches and conferences, were heard to let fall speeches, that they would rather eate the barke of trees, then suffer Pompey to escape out of their hands.

Besides, they vnderstood, by such as ranne away from the Enemy, that their horse of service could scarce be kept aliue; and that the rest of their Cattell were all dead: and that the souldiers themselves, were in no good health, through the narrowness of the place wherein they were pent: as also by meanes of the ill sauer and

and multitude of dead bodies, together with continuall labour, being vnaccustomed to tranquill and paines; but especially through the extreame want of water: For, all the Riuers and Brookes of that quarter, Cæsar had either turned another way, or dammed up with great works. And, as the places were mountainous, with some intermission, and distinction of vallies, in the forme and fashion of a Gane or Denne: so hee stopped the same with great piles beaten into the ground, and interlaced with fagots and burdles, and then strengthened with earth, to keepe backe the water; Inasmuch, as they were constrained to seeke lowe grounds, and Marshy places, and there to sinke Welles. Which labour, they were gladd to vnder-take besides their daily works, albeit these Welles stood farre distant from their Guarizons, and were quickly dried up with heat.

But Cæsars Armie was in exceeding good health, and had plenty of water, together with all kind of prouisions, excepting Wheate; which the season of the yeere daily brought on, and gaue them hope of store, Haruest being so neere at hand.

In this new course of warre, new policies and deuices of warfare were invented, and put in practice by either Partie. They, perceiuing by the fires, that our Cohorts in the night time kept watch at the works, came stealing out, and discharged all their Arrows vpon them, and then presently retreated. Where-with, our men being warned, found out this remedy; that they made their fires in one place, and kept their watch in another.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



INASMUCH as all matter of attempt, doth much import the fortune of a warre, wee may not omit to take notice of the reasons here expressed by Cæsar, which are the true motiues of vnder-taking a siegē. The first is drawn, either from the weaknes of an Enemy, or as hee is daunted with feare, or ouercome in battaile. For, hauing there-vpon no confidence in his owne power, doth rest himselfe in the strength of the Place, which he holdeth and possesseth: which giueth their aduersaries occasion, to lay siegē vnto their Hold; and either to force them, or shut them vpon like women.

The second is, when one State hath offered iniurie to another (which alwaies importeth losse) beyond that which stood with the course of respect formerly held betwene them. For reuenge whereof, the other side laith siegē to some of their Townes, to repaire themselves by taking in the same.

And thirdly, the finall cause of all sieges, is to keepe an Enemy from victuall, and other manner of prouisions; and so to take them by the belly, when they cannot take them by the eares. Which is a part so violent, in requiring that which is due to Nature, as it hath made the Father and the Sonne fall out for a Mōuse: as it hapned at Athens, besieged by Demetrius.

Plurarch.

THE

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



HE second thing worthy our consideration, is the patience and deportment of Cæsar's souldiers, in their so great wants and necessities; as first, in helping themselves, with this roote called Chara, described by Dioscorides, to be a little seed, tasting some what like Anis-seede, good to help digestion, and having such a root as a Carot, which beeing boiled, is very good meat; and is the same which our Physicians call Caraway-seed: where-with they served their turne with such contentment, as they seemed to haue been trained vp in the Schoole of Frugalitie; a vertue worthy of all regard, and the onely meanes to make easie the difficulties of warre; beeing as necessary for a souldier, as the vse of Armes: and is that which was aimed at in the aunswere of Cyrus, to shew the seruices in a souldiers diet. For, beeing demaunded, what he would haue made ready for supper? Bread; saith he; for, we will suppe at the Fountaine.

Neither hath it been thought fit, to giue way to the naturall looseness of the stomacks appetite, vpon any occasion: but, to vse the like moderation in the time of plentie. For, Zeno tooke the aunswere of them, that would excuse their liberall expences, by their abilitie of meanes, for no better payment, then they themselves would haue taken the excuse of their Cookes, for putting too much salt on their meat, because they had salt enough.

Cæsar punished his Baker, for giuing him better bread then his souldiers had. And Scipio cashiered a cupple of Romaines at the siege of Carthage, for feasting a friend in their Tent, during an assault. VVhich austeritie of life, raised the Romaines to that height of honour, and made them Maisters of the world, from the East to the Westerne Ocean.

Secondly, as a consequent of this contentment, we may note their resolution to hold on their course of siege, purposing rather to eate the bark of trees, then to suffer Pompey to escape their hands. It is an excellent point in a Generall, to keepe himselfe from irresolution; beeing a weakeness of ill consequence, and not vnlike the disease of the Staggers, variable, vncertaine, and without bottom or bound: where-as constancie to purposes, produceth noble and worthy ends.

An instance whereof, is Fabius Maximus, who notwithstanding the reproach and scandall cast vpon him, continued firme in his determination, to the sauing of his Country. And if it bee so well beeseeming a Leader, it is of much more regard in the souldier: especially considering that of Xenophon; *Non facile in officio potest miles contineri ab eo qui necessaria non subministrat.* For, as the same Author obserueth in another place, *Nullus est adeo fortis aut validus, qui possit aduersus famem aut frigus pugnando militare.*

THE

Lib. 3. cap. 59.

Lab. y militie
officia frugalitatis
conducunt
ne facilius
lustin.Cyrus contentus
with bread
and water.
Xenophon.Aequalis oportet
semper esse im-
peratoris animi:
mutari enim po-
terunt varietati-
bus, mutari in-
stabilis argumē-
tum efficitur. A.
Gygius.Fors hunc nobis
cunctis ad resis-
tunt Rem. Enn.

Li. 6. de Cyrope

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.



Mongst all the parts of the Romaine discipline, their Watch deserueth a particular description; supplying in the Armie, the office of the naturall eye in the bodie: which is, to giue notice of any approaching danger, for the preuenting of the same. Polybius hath left it to posteritie in this manner; Of each sort of the Legionarie foote, as namely, the *Hastati*, *Principes*, and *Triarii*, and likewise of the horse, there was chosen one, out of the tenth and last Maniple, that was made free from watch and ward. This partie, as the Sunne began to decline, came daillie to the Tent of the Tribune. & there had giuen him a little Tabler, wherein the watch-word was writ; which Tabler, they called *Tesseræ*: and then returning to his Companie, deliuered it to the Centurion of the next Maniple, and that Centurion to the next; and so in order, vntill it came to the first and chiefeft Companie, which was lodged next vnto the Tribunes: and by the Centurion thereof, was returned to the Tribune before Sunne setting.

And if all the Tablets were brought-in, then did the Tribune knowe, the word was giuen to all. If any wanted, they made inquire, and by the notes of inscription, finding which was misfing, they punished the default as they saw cause. And this was their watch-word, by which their Party was distinguished from an Enemie; and in likelihood (for, Polybius doth not affirme so much) was by the Centurion giuen, to such of his Maniple as were to watch that night.

Their night watches were thus ordered; A Maniple, or Companie, was alwaies appointed to watch at the Generalls Pavilion. The Treasurer had three watches, and euery Legat, two; A watch consisting of foure men, according to the generall diuision of their night into foure parts: each of those foure hauing his turne appointed him by lotte, for the first, second, third, or fourth watch, and the rest sitting by. The *Polites* kept watch without the Camp, and the *Decuries* of horse at the gates: besides, euery Maniple had a priuate watch within it it selfe.

Of those that were appointed to watch, a Lieutenant of each Maniple, did bring to the Tribune in the euening, such as were to keepe the first watch of the night: and to them were deliuered lesser Tabletts, then were giuen out at first, called *Tesserule*, appropriated to euery particular watch; one for himselfe, and three other for his fellowes.

The trust of going the Round, was committed to the horsemen: for, it belonged to the first Commander of horse, in each legion, to giue order to his Lieutenant, to appoint before dinner, foure young men of his troope, to goe the Round the next night; and in the euening, to acquaint the next Commander to appoint Rounders for the night following. These horsemen, being thus appointed, did cast lots for the first, second, third, and fourth watch; and then repaired to the Tribune: of whom they had order what, and how many watches

ches to visit, hauing received the watch-word before, from their Commaunder: and then all foure went to attend at the Tent of the *Primipile*, or chiefest Centurion of a Legion; who had the charge of distinguishing the foure watches of the night by a Trumpet.

When time serued, for him that was to goe the Round the first watch, hee went out accompanied with some of his friends, and visited those watches which were assigned vnto him. And if he found the watch-man waking, and in good order, he then tooke that Tablet from him which hee had receiued of the Tribune, and departed. But, if he found him sleeping, or out of his place, he tooke witnesse thereof, and departed. The same did the rest of the Rounders, as their watches fell out in course. And as the day beganne to breake, all the Rounders brought in the Tablets to the Tribunes. And if all were brought in, there was no more to doe: but if any wanted, it was found out by the Character, what watch had failed; which being knowne, the Centurion was called, and commaunded to bring those that were faultie. If the offence were in the watch-man, the Rounder was to proue it by witnesses: if not, it fell vpon himselfe; and a Councell of warre being presently called, the Tribune gaue iudgement to kill him with a club. And in this manner did the Romaines keep watch in the Campe.

CHAP. XIX.

A relation of diuers incounters, that happened betweene both Parties.

There is a great part of the historie in this place omitted.

Cesar.



N the meane time, Pub. Sylla, whom Caesar (at his departure from the Campe) had left to commaund the Armie, being certified thereof, came with two legions to succour the Cohort: at whose approach, Pompeys partie was easily beaten off, being neither able to indure the shooke, nor sight of our men. For, the first being put off, the rest gaue backe, and left the place: but as our men pursued them, Sylla called them backe, & would not suffer them to follow farre after. Howbeit, many men thinke, that if hee would haue pressed hard vpon them, the warre had ended that day. But in my opinion, he is not to be blamed; for, there is one charge and power peculiar to a Lieutenant, and another to him that commaundeth in Chiefe: the one, dooing nothing but by order and prescription; and the other, disposing euery thing as hee shall thinke fit.

Altogether I leave the reader to the Imperator.

Sylla (in Caesars absence) hauing freed his men, was content therewith, & would no further ingage them in fight (which might happily proue subiect to ill fortune) least he should seeme to assume vnto himselfe, the place and authoritie of a Generall. There were certaine things that made the retreat of Pompeis men very difficult and hazardous. For, hauing ascended from a bosome to a Hill,

Hill, they now found themselves vpon the top thereof. And as they were to make their retreat downe againe, they stood in feare of our men, preacing on the from the higher ground, neither was it farre from sunne-setting; for, hoping to end it speedily, they drew out the busines vntill it was almost night: whereby, Pompey was forced to take a resolution from the time, and to possesse himselfe of a Mount, no further from the Fort then out of shot. There hee made a stand, fortified the place, and kept his forces.

At the same time, they fought in two other places: for, Pompey, to separate and distract our troopes, assaulted diuers forts together, to the end they might not be succoured from the next Guarizons. In one place, Volcatius Tullus, with three Cohorts, sustained the assault of a Legion, & made them forsake the place. In another part, the Germanes falling out of our works, slew many of the Enemy, & returned back to their fellowes in safetie. So that in one day, there were sixe severall fights; three at Dyrrachium, and three at the fortifications: of all which an account being taken, there were found slaine of Pompeys Partie, to the number of two thousand; with many Centurions, and other speciall men, called out to that warre. Amongst whom, was Valerius Flaccus, the sonne of L. who, being Prator, had obtained the Province of Asia: besides, there were sixe Ensignes taken. Our Partie, lost not aboue twentie men in all those fights; howbeit, in the fort, there was not one man but was hurt.

Enocati.

Foure Centurions of one Cohort lost their eyes; and, for argument of their indeauour, and great danger, they made report to Caesar, of thirtie thousand arrows shot into the fort, together with a Target of one Scaua, a Centurion, which was shewed vnto him, being pearced through in two hundred and thirty places, whom Caesar (as hauing well deserued of him, and the Common-wealth) rewarded with sixe hundred pound sterling; and aduanced him from the Companies of the eight ranke, to be the chiefest Centurion, or *Primipile* of the Legion: for, it appeared, that by his meanes specially, the fort was saved. For, the Cohort, hee doubled their pay, as well in Money, as in Corne and Apparell: and rewarded them nobly, with ornaments of Militarie honour.

Milibus ducentis aris.

Primipilus.

Pompey, hauing wrought all that night, to fortifie his Trenches, the daies following, he built towres xxv. foote high; which being finished, he added mantlets to that part of the Campe. And after five daies, hauing gotte a darke night (shutting all the Ports of his Campe, and ramming them up) in the beginning of the third watch, hee drew out his Armie in silence, and besooke himselfe to his old fortifications.

OBSERVATIONS.



*H*ee breach of the Historie in this place, is like a blotte in a faire Table, or as a gappe in a daunce of Nymphes, and dooth much blemish the beautie of this Discourse: But, for as-much as it is a losse which cannot bee repaired, wee must rest contented with the vfe of that which remaineth.

R.

Out

Valon. Plato 5
de leg.
L. vii. lib. 4.
Lib. 6.

In v. i. Caesaris.

In repub. multa
praestit. beneh
quam maleh
omnino effe
bonas sequi fit
vbi negligas
cautus improbi
or. Salla. Inqur.

Out of which, we may obserue the notice they tooke of well deserving: according to the institution of their discipline, supported specially by *Premium* and *Pena*. The recognition whereof (according to the iudgement of the grauest Law-giuers) is the meanes to raise a State to the height of perfection. *Eo enim impendi laborem et periculum, unde emolumentū et honos speratur*. The Romaines, saith Polybius, crowned the valour of their fouldiers with eternal honours. Neither did any thing so much excite them to the atchieuement of noble Acts, as their Triumphs, Garlands, and other Ensignes of publike renowne: which Caesar specially obserued about the rest. For, besides this which he did to Caisius Sæua (recorded by all the Writers of these warres) Plutarch relateth, that at his being in Britaine, he could not containe from imbracing a fouldier, that caried himselfe valiantly in defence of diuers Centurions. And where-as the poore man, falling downe at his feete, asked nothing but pardon for leauing his Target behind him; he rewarded him with great gifts, & much honour. Howbeit, the difference which Salust hath made in this kind, is too generally obserued, that It more importeth a Common-weale to punish an ill member, then to reward a good act: for, a vertuous desire, is by neglect a little abated; but an ill man becomes insufferable. And thence it is, that merit is neuer valued but vpon necessity. It is fit, that hee that will haue the honour of wearing a Lions skin, should first kill the beast, as Hercules did: but, to kill a Lion, and not to haue the skin, is not so auailable as a meaner occupation. Anthony Gueuara giueth another rule, obserued in that gouernement, which is the true Idea of Perfection: *En la casa de Dios jamas fue, ni es, ni sera, merito sin premio, ni colpa sin pena*.

CHAP. XX.

Cæsar moueth Scipio to mediate a Peace.



Cæsar.

Aetolia, Acarnania, & Amphileclis, being taken by Caisius Longinus, and Calpurnius Sabinus, as is before declared, Cæsar thought it expedient to attempt and try Achaia, and to proceed further in that course: whereupon he sent thither L. Calenus, and Q. Sabinus, and to them he added Caisius, with his Cohorts. Their coming being bruited abroad, Rutilius Lupus, to whom Pompey had left the charge of Achaia, determined to fortifie the Isthmus, to keepe out Fufius. Calenus in the meane time, with the fauour and assent of the States, tooke in Delphos, Thebes, & Orleomenum, besides some other places, which he tooke by force. The rest of the Citties, he laboured to draw to Cæsars party, by Embassages sent about vnto them: & therein was Fufius occupied for the present. Caesar, every day following, brought out his Army into an equal & indifferent place, to see if Pompey would accept of battel; in so much as he led them vnder Pompeis Camp, the vaward being within shot of the Rampier. Pompey, to hold the same & opinion he had attained, drew out his forces, & so imbatallted them before his Camp, that their reere-ward did touch the Rampier;

Rampier; and the whole Armie was so disposed, that every man was vnder the protection of such weapons as might be shot from thence.

While these things were dooing at Achaia, and at Dyrrachium, it was certainly knowne, that Scipio was come into Macedonia. Caesar, not omitting his former purpose, sent Clodius vnto him; a familiar friend to both of them, and one whom Scipio had formerly so commended to Caesar, that hee had taken him in the number of his neereft fauourites. To him he gaue Letters and Messages, to be deliuered to Scipio: whereof this was the effect; that he had vsed all meanes for peace, and yet had prenailed nothing at all: which he tooke to be the fault of such as had the charge of the busines, being fearefull to treat with Pompey thereof in an vnseasonable time. But Scipio had that credit & respect, that he might not onely deliuer freely what he thought fitting, but might also (in some sort) restrain him, and reforme his error. For, being Commander in chiefe, ouer an Armie, besides his credit, he had strength to compell him. Which, if he did, euery man would attribute the quiet of Italie, the peace of the Provinces, and the safetie & preservation of the Empire, to him onely. All these things did Clodius make knowne to Scipio: and for the first daies, was well heard: but after words, could not be admitted to speech; Faubius, reprehending Scipio, for going so far with him, as afterwards we vnderstood vpon the ending of the war: whereby he was forced to returne to Caesar, without effecting any thing.

Caesar, that he might with greater facilitie keepe in Pompeis Cauallrie at Dyrrachium, and hinder them from forrage, fortified and shutte vp two passages (which, as we haue before declared, were very narrow) with great works, and there built Castles. Pompey, vnderstanding that his horse did no good abroad, within a few daies, consuied them within his fortification by shipping. Howbeit, they were in extreme necessity, and want of forrage: in so much, as hauing beaten off all the leaues of the trees, they fed their horses with young Reedes, brused, and beaten in peeces. For, they had spent the Corne which was sowed within the works, & were forced to bring food for their Cattel, from Corcyra and Acarnania, by long & tedious navigation; and where it fell short, they made it vp with Barly, and so kept life in their horses: but afterwards, when-as not onely their Barly, and other food was spent in all places, & the grasse & hearbs dried vp, but the fruit also wasted, and consumed off the trees, their horses being so leane, as they were not able to stand on their legges, Pompey thought it expedient, to thinke of some course of breaking out.

Et morsu spoli-
ere nemus; le-
thumque minan-
tes, videri ab ig-
notis dubias ra-
dicibus herbat.

OBSERVATIONS.

IT may seem a cunning trick of Caesar, & perhaps it was his end, to indeavour with faire pretences, to ingage Scipio so far in contriuing a Peace, as being General of an Armie, he might assume vnto himselfe a commanding authority; and there-vpon, bred such a iea-
lousie, as would keepe Pompey and him asunder.

Neuerthelesse, it is euery way worth a mans labour, to make ouertures of peace howeouer: especially considering, how it changeth the relatiue in the

R 2.

con-

Si locum dele-
rit, fidem
perpetuam: si
autem, hanc
distantiam. Liv.
lib. 8.
Nihil est quod
non expugnet
peritiam opera,
et intentia et di-
ligens cura. Se-
necca, lib. 6. Epist.

condition of men, which in warre, is *Homo homini Lupus*, and in peace, *Homo homini Deus*. And, proving good, will doubtlesse continue, if inconuenient, the sooner broken; and so the case is but the same it was before.

Secondly, we may note, that there is nothing so difficult, but pertinacie and restlesse labor, directed with diligent & intent care, wil in the end ouercome it: For, Cæsar, that at the first seemed to vndertake impossibilities, going about to besiege a great part of a Country, & to shutt vp a huge Armie in an open place, did neuerthelessse (by indeauour) bring the to such extremitie of want, that if, as Democritus said, the Bodie should haue put the mind in sure, for reparation of losse, which her ambition and wilfull obstinacie had drawne vpon it, shee would neuer be able to pay damages.

Touching the *Isthmus*, which Rutilius Rufus went about to fortifie, it is a necke of earth, ioyning an Island vnto the Continent. For, as the Inlet of the Sea, betweene two Lands, is called *Porthmus* (wher-vpon the towne of Porthmouth in Hampshire hath that appellation, as fired vpon the like Inlet) to any final lenger, or neck of earth, lying between two Seas, is called *Isthmus*. Wherof, this of Achaia is of speciall note in Greece; beeing the same that ioynd Peloponnesus to the Continent, & was of speciall fame for the site of Corinth.

These necks of earth, called *Isthmus*, are of the nature of those things, as haue been often threatned, and yet continue the same. For, albeit the ambition of great Princes haue sought to alter the fashion of the earth in that behalfe, yet I know not how their desires haue sortd to no end. *Perfodere nauigabili Alueo has angustias tentauere* Demetrius Rex, Dictator Cæsar, Caius Princeps, at Domitius Nero, *in sausto ut omnium patuit exitu incepto*. In the time of King Sesostris, and since, in the Empire of the Othomans, they went about to bring the Red-sea into Nile; but fearing it would be a meanes to drowne the Land, one Sea beeing lower then another, they gaue ouer the enterprise. And it may be vpon like consideration, or otherwise, fearing to correct the workes of Nature, they forbore to make a passage betweene *Nombre de Dios*, and *Panama*: and so to ioyne one sea to the other, as was said to be intended.

Plin. lib. 4. c. 34.

CHAP. XXI.

An Accident which fell out by two Bretheren of Sauoy, in Cæsars Armie.

Cæsar.



Here were in Cæsars Campe, two bretheren of Sauoy, *Roscellus* and *Aegus*, the sonnes of *Abucillus*, who for many yeeres together, was accounted the principall and chiefe man of that State: these were men of singular worth, and had done Cæsar verie great seruice in all the vvarres of Gallia; and in that respect, Cæsar had aduanced them to great & honorable Charges in their Countrey, and caused them

them (extraordinarily) to be taken in the number of the Senators, and bestowed much of the Enemies lands vpon them, besides great summes of ready money, & of poore had made them rich.

These men were not onely well respected by Cæsar, but were in good account throughout all the Armie. Howbeit, relying too much on Cæsars fauour, and puffed vp with foolish & barbarous arrogancies, they disdaind their owne men, deceiuing the horsemen of their pay, and auerting all pillage from publicke distribution, to their owne particular. The horsemen, prouoked with these iniuries, came all to Cæsar, and complained openly thereof: adding further, that their troopes were not full, nor answerable to the List or Muster-rolle, by which they required paiement.

Cæsar, thinking it no fit time of punishment, and withall attributing much to the worth of the men, put off the whole matter, and chid them priuately, for making a gaine of their troopes of horse; willing the Cavalrie to expect a supply of all their wants frō his fauour, according as their seruice had well deserued. Neuerthelessse, the matter brought them into great scandall and contempt with all men: Which they plainly perceiued, both by the speeches of other men, as also by that they might indge themselves, their owne consciences accusing them. With which reproach, and shame, they were so moued (& thinking peradventure that they were not quit thereof, but deserued nothing so other time) that they resolved to leaue the Armie, to seek new fortunes, and make prooffe of other acquaintances. And, hauing imparted the matter to a few of their followers, to whom they durst communicate so great a disloyaltie, first they went about to kill *C. Volusenus*, Generall of the horse (as after the warre was ended was discovered) that they might come to Pompey, vpon some deserued seruice: but after they found it hard to accomplish, they tooke vp as much money as they could borrow, as though they meant to haue paid their troopes, what they formerly had defrauded them of; and hauing bought many horses, they went to Pompey, together with such as were acquainted with their purposes.

Pompey, finding them Gentlemen of sort, liberally brought vp, attended with a great retinew, and many horses, and both of them very valiant, & in good account with Cæsar and withall, for that it was an vnusuall and strange accident, he ledde them about the works, and shewed them all the fortifications: for, before that time, no man, either souldier, or horseman, had fledde from Cæsar to Pompey; where-as daily they came frō Pompey to Cæsar: especially, such as were inrolled in Epirus and Aetolia, which were at Cæsars deuotion.

These two Bretheren, exactly vnderstanding all things in Cæsars Campe (as well concerning such works as were perfect, as such others wherein men skilfull in warre might find defect; together with the opportunitie of time, & distances of places: as also the diligence of the Guardes, with the nature and indeauour of euery man that had a charge) related all particularly to Pompey.

Præsumptus
ante oculos ver-
sari putant qui
peraccerunt.
Cæsar in orati. pro
Milon.

OBSERVATIONS.

WE may heere obserue the sinceritie, & direct cariage of inferior Commanders in the Romaine Armie, by the scandall these two Sauoians ranne into, for making false Multers, and defrauding the souldiers of their due: A matter so ordinarie in these our times, as custome seemeth to iustifie the Abuse. For, what more common in the course of our moderne warres, then to make gaine of Companies by mustering more then they haue in pay? & by turning that which is due to the souldier to their own benefit: The first wherof, if it be duellie weighed, is an offence of a high nature against the State; and the second, such an iniurie to the souldier, as can hardly be answered.

It is merilic (as I take it) said by Collumella, That, in *suo concessam latrocinium*. But, for those to whom is committed the safetie of a kingdom, to betray the trust reposed in them, by raising their meanes with dead payes, & consequently, steading the Cause with dead seruice; as also, by disabling their Companions & fellow-souldiers, from doing those duties which are requisite, for want of due entertainment, is a thing deseruing a heauie censure, & will doubtlesse fall our vnto them, as it did to these two Bretheren. The sequell wherof, will appeare by the storie, and confirme that of Xenophon; *Dij haud impunita relinquit impia et nefaria hominum facta*.

Lib. 5. Cyrop.

CHAP. XXII.

Pompey, attempting to breake out, put Cæsars
Partie to great losse.

Cæsar.

Pompey, being informed of these things, and hauing formerly refused to breake out, as is already declared, gaue order to the souldiers, to make them coverings for their Morions, of Officers, and to get some store of Bauins and Fagots: which being prepared, hee shipped a great number of the light-armed souldiers, and Archers, together with those fagots, in Skiffes and Gallies. And about mid-night, drew three score Cohorts out of the greater Campe, and the places of Guarizon, and sent them to that part of the fortification which was next vnto the Sea, and furthest off from Cæsars greatest Campe. Thither also he sent the shippes before mentioned, filled with light-armed men and fagots; together with as many other Gallies as were at Dyrrachium: and gaue directions how euery man should imploy himselfe.

Cæsar had left Lentulus Marcellinus the Treasurer, with the Legion newly enrolled, to keepe that fortification; who, for that he was sickly, and of an ill disposition of body, had substituted Fuluius Posthumus as his coadiutor.

There

There was in that place, a Trench of fiftene foote deepe, and a Rampier against the Enemy, of tenne foote in altitude, and as much in breadth. And about sixe hundred foote from that place, was raised another Rampier, with the front the contrary way, but some-what lower then the former. For, some few daies before, Cæsar (fearing that place, lest our men should bee circumvented with their shippes) had caused double fortifications to be made in that place; that if (peraduenture) they should bee put to their hists, they might neuertheless make good resistance. But the greatnes of the works, and the continuall labour they daily indured, the fortifications being caried eightene miles in circuit, would not suffer them to finish it. Whereby it happened, that hee had not, as yet, made a Rampier along the Sea-shore, to ioyne these two fortifications together, for the defence thereof: which was informed Pompey, by these two Sauoians, & brought great damage and losse to our people. For, as the Cohorts of the ninth Legion kept watch and guard vpon the Sea; suddenly, by the breake of day, came Pompeis Armie; which seemed very strange vnto our men: and instantly there-vpon, the souldiers from a-shipboard, assaulted with their weapons, the inner Rampier; and the rest began to fill up the Trench.

The legionary souldiers, appointed to keepe the inner fortifications, hauing planted a great number of Ladders to the Rampier, did amuse the Enemy with weapons, and Engines of all sorts; and a great number of Archers were thronged together on each side. But, the coverings of Officers which they wore on their head-pecces, did greatly defend them from the blowes of stones, which was the onely weapon our men had for that purpose. And as our men were ouer-laid with all these things, and did hardly make resistance, they found-out the defect of the fortification, formerly mentioned: and landing their men betweene the two Rampiers, they charged our people in the reare, and so driving them from both the fortifications, made them turne their backs.

This Alarm being heard, Marcellinus sent certaine Cohorts to succour our men: who seeing them sicke, could neither reasssure them by their coming, nor withstand the furie of the Enemy themselves: in so much, as what reliefe so-euer was sent, was disracted by the feare and astonishment of them that fled away. Whereby, the terrour and the danger was made much the greater, and their retreat was hindered, through the multitude of people.

In that fight, the Eagle-bearer being grievously wounded, and fainting for want of strength, looking towards the horsemen; This haue I, said he in my life time, carefully and diligently defended for many yeeres together; and now, dying, with the same fidelitie doe restore it vnto Cæsar: I suffer not (I pray you) such a dishonour, the like wherof, neuer happened in Cæsars Armie, but returne it vnto him in safetie: by which accident, the Eagle was saued; all the Centurions of the first Cohort being slaine, but the first of the Maniple of the Principes: and now the Enemy, with great slaughter of our men, approached neere Marcellinus Campe.

The rest of the Cohorts being greatly astonished, M. Antonius holding the next Guarizon to that place, vpon notice thereof, was seene to come downe from the upper ground, with twelue Cohorts. Vpon whose coming, Pompeis Partie

was

was repressed and staied, and our men some-what reassured, giuing them time to come againe to themselves, out of that astonishment. And not long after, Caesar hauing knowledge thereof by smok made out of the Forts, according to the vse of former time, came thither also, bringing with him certaine Cohorts out of the Guarixens.

OBSERVATIONS.

IT is an old saying, that Thieues handsell is alwaies naught. But, Traytors handsell is much worse: as appeareth by the falling away of these two Sauoions; who were the first that left Caesar in this war, and the first that brought Pompey good fortune: themselves standing culpable of as great an offence, as if they had alienated the whole Army. In the course whereof, we may see plainly that which I haue formerly noted; that it is an excellent thing to be still attempting vpon an Enemy, so it be done vpon good grounds and cautions: for, while Pompey stood vpon the defensue ward, the honour of the contention fell continually vpon Caesar. And doubtlesse, he that obserueth Caesars proceedings in the carriage of all his wars, shall find his fortune to haue specially growne, from his actiue and attempting spirit.

In this Eagle-bearer, we may see verified, that which Paterculus affirmeth of Mithridates, That a valiant spirit is sometimes great by the fauour of Fortune; but alwaies great in a good courage.

For these titles of degrees, as *Princeps prior*, and the rest here mentioned, hauing formerly discoursed at large of the parts of a legion, & the Hierarchie of their discipline, I will rather referre the Reader there-vnto, then bumbast out a volume with distastefull repetitions.

CHAP. XXIII.

Caesar purposeth to alter the course of Warre;
attempteth to cut off one of Pom-
peys Legions.

Caesar.



Caesar, vnderstanding of the losse, and perceiuing that Pompey was got out of the fortifications, and was incamped vpon the Sea, in such sort as he might freely goe out to forrage, & haue no lesse access with shipping then formerly hee had; changing his course of warre, which had not succeeded to his expectation, he incamped himselfe fast by Pompey. The works being perfected, it was obserued by Caesars Discouersers, that certaine Cohorts, to the number of a Legion, were brought behind a wood into the old Campe.

tema. dionoff.
vau. crum. off.
tra. enad. r.
ou. exequat.
vape. ff. tota.
vauant. 11. 14.
S. de v. militat.

For vntate. ex-
mus. alq. and.
fortum. p. p. p.
auum. max. mus.

Campe. The site of the Campe was after this manner: The daies before, Caesars ninth Legion, opposing themselves against Pompeys forces, and working vpon the fortifications (as is before declared) had their Campe in that place, adioyning vnto a wood, and not distant from the sea about foure hundred pases. Afterwards, Caesar, changing his mind for some certaine causes, transferred his lodging some-what further off from that place. A few daies after the same Camp was possessed by Pompey. And forasmuch as hee was to lodge more legions in that place, leauing the inner Rampier standing, hee enlarged the fortification, so that the lesser Campe beeing included in the greater, serued as a Castle or Citadell to the same. Besides also, hee drew a fortification from the right angle of the Campe, foure hundred pases out-right, to a Riuer, to the end the souldiers might vwater freely, without danger. And he also changing his mind, for some causes not requisite to be mentioned, left the place too: so that the Camp stood empty for many daies together; and all the fortifications were as perfit as at the first.

The Discouersers brought newes to Caesar, that they had scene an Ensigne of a Legion caried thither. The same was likewise confirmed, from certaine Forts which stood vpon the higher grounds. The place was distant from Pompeis Camp, about D. pases. Caesar, hoping to cut off this legion, and desirous to repaire that daies losse, left two Cohorts at worke, to make a shew of fortifying, and he himselfe (by a contrarie way, in as couert a manner as he could) ledde the rest of the Cohorts, in number thirtie-three (amongst whom was the ninth legion, that had lost many Centurions, and was very weake in souldiers) towards Pompeys Legion, and the lesser Campe, in a double battaile. Neither did his opinion deceiue him: for, he came thither before Pompey could perceiue it.

And albeit the fortifications of the Campe were great, yet assaulting it speedily with the left Cornet, wherein he himselfe was, hee draue Pompeys souldiers from the Rampier. There stood a * Turne-pick in the Gate, which gaue occasion of resistance for a while: and as our men would haue entered, they valiantlie defended the Campe; T. Pulcio, by whose meanes C. Antonius Armie was betrayed, as we haue formerly declared, fighting there most valiantly: yet neuertheless, our men ouercame them by valour; and cutting up the Turne-pick, entered first into the greater Campe, and afterwards into the Castle, and slew manie that resisted, of the legion that was forced thither.

But Fortune, that can doe much in all things, and specially in warre, doth in a small moment of time, bring great alterations; as it then happened: for, the Cohorts of Caesars right Cornet, ignorant of the place, followed the Rampier which went along from the Campe to the Riuer, seeking after the Gate, and taking it to be the Rampier of the Campe: but when they perceiued, that it ioyned to the Riuer, they presently got ouer it, no man resisting them; and all the Casualtie followed after those Cohorts.

* Eritius.

OBSER.

OBSERVATIONS.



Pompey, hauing cleered his Armie of that siege, it booted not Cæsar to prosecute his purpose any longer: for, when the end is misfed, for which any course is vnderaken, it were folly to seeke it by that means. We must rather chule new waies, that may lead vs to the end of our hopes, then follow the old track, which led to no effect. And yet neuerthelesse, the sufficiencye of the Generall, is no way disabled: for, Albeit a wife man doth not alwaies keep one pale, yet shul he holdeth one and the same way.

Secondly, that of Xerxes appeareth to be true, that Great attempts are alwaies made with great difficultie and danger. Wherein, the wisdom of the heathen world ascribed all to Fortune, as the sole cause of all Markable euent; and that which filled vp both the pages of all the Bookes, wherein men noted the course of things: *Clades in bello acceptæ, non semper ignauia, sed aliquando Fortune temeritatis sunt imputandæ*, saith Archidamus; and is that which is ayuned by Cæsar.

CHAP. XXIII.

The fight continueth, and Cæsar loseth.

Cæsar.



In the meane while, Pompey, after so long a respite of time, hauing notice therof, tooke the first Legion from their works, and brought them to succour their fellowes: and at the same time, his Cavalry did approach neere our horsemen; and our men that possessed the Campe, did discover an Army imbatelled comming against them: and all things were suddainly changed. For, Pompeys legion, assured with a speedy hope of succour, began to make resistance at the Decumane gate, and voluntarily charged our men.

Cæsars Cavalrie, being got ouer the Rampier, into a narrow passage, fearing how they might retreat in (as yet) beganne to flie away. The right Cornet, secluded, and cut-off from the left, perceiuing the terrour of the horsemen (least they might be endangered within the fortifications) betooke themselves to the other side, from whence they came: and most of them (least they should be surprised in the straites) cast themselves ouer workes of ten foote high, into the ditches: and such as first got ouer, being troden vnder-foote, by such as followed after; the rest, sawed themselves, in passing ouer their bodies.

The souldiers of the left Cornet, perceiuing from the Rampier, that Pompey was at hand, and that their owne side fledde away, fearing least they should bee shut up in those straights, hauing the Enemy both without and within them, thought

thought it their best course to returne backe the same way they came. Whereby there happened nothing but tumult, feare, and flight: inasmuch, as when Cæsar caught hold with his hand, of the Ensignes of them that fledde, and commanded them to stand; some for feare left their Ensignes behind them, others, forsaking their horses, kept on their course: neither was there any one of them that would stand. Notwithstanding in this so great calamity and misshap, these helps fell out to relieue vs; that Pompey fearing some treachery (for that, as I think, it happened beyond his expectation, who a little before saw his men flie out of his Camp) durst not for a good while approach neere the fortifications: and our men, possessing the narrow passages and the Ports, did hinder the horsemen from following after. And so, a small matter fell out to be of great moment, in the carriage of that accident, on either side. For, the Rampier, which was caried from the Campe to the Riuer (Pompeys Campe being already taken) was the onely hindrance of Cæsars expedite and easie victory: and the same thing, hindering the speedy following of their horsemen, was the onely safetie and help of our men.

In those two fights, there were wanting of Cæsars men, nine hundred and threescore; and horsemen of note, R. Felginas, Titianus Gallus, a Senators son, C. Felginas, of Placentia, Agranius, of Puteolis, Sacrativirius, of Capua, five Tribunes of the souldiers, and thirtie Centurions. But the greatest part of these perished in the Trenches, in the fortifications, and on the Riuer banks, prest to death with the feare and flight of their fellowes, without any blowe or wound given them. There were lost at that time, thirtie two militarie Ensignes.

Pompey, vpon that fight, was saluted by the name of Imperator; which title he then obtained, and so suffered himselfe to be stiled: howbeit, he used it not in any of his Misiues, nor yet wore any Laurell in the bundle of Roddes caried before him.

Labienus, hauing begged all the Captiues, caused them (for greater ostentation) to bee brought out in publique; and to giue the more assurance to such as were fledde there, from Cæsars partie; calling them by the name of fellow souldiers, in great derision asked them whether old souldiers were wont to flie? and so caused them all to be slaine.

Pompeys partie tooke such an assurance and spirit vpon these things, that they thought no further of the course of war, but carried themselves as though they were already Victors: not respecting (as the cause of all this) the paucitie of our men, nor the disadvantage of the place, and the straightnesse thereof, the Campe being possessed, and the doubtfull terror both within, and without the works: not yet the Armie diuided into two parts, in such sort, as neither of them were able to help or succour the other. Neither yet did they adde to this, that the fight was not made by any valiant Incounter, or in forme of battell, but that they received more hurt from the narrownesse of the place, and from their owne disorder, then from the Enemy.

And to conclude, they did not remember the common chances, and casualties of warre: wherein oftentimes, very small causes, either of false suspicion, or of suddaine feare, or out of scruple of Religion, doe inferre great and heauie losses; as often as either by the negligence of the Generall, or the fault of a Tribune,

bune, the Armie is misordered: but as though they had overcome by true force of their prowesse, & that no alteration of things could after happen; they magnified that daies victorie, by Letters and report throughout the whole world.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



Humanarii rerū
circulus est, quæ
estatus semper,
eodem fortunatos
eire non finit.
Herodot. lib. 2.

Habet has vices
conditio morta-
lium, ut aduersa
ex secundis, se-
cunda ex aduer-
sis nascantur.
P'm. in Panieg.


Sometimes we may thinke to repaire a losse, and thereby hazard a greater misfortune. For, albeit the saying be common, that A man must seek his coate where he lost it, as Dicars do; yet there is alwaies more certaintie in seeking, then in finding: For, the circle of humane affaires, being caried round in a course, doth not suffer happinesse to continue with one Partie. And there-vpon it was, that Pittacus dedicated a Ladder to the Temple of Mitylene, to put men in mind of their condition: which is nothing else but going vp and downe. The life of a souldier is a meere Hermaphrodite, and taken part of either sexe of Fortune; and is made by Nature, to beget Happines of Aduersitie, and Milchances of Good-happe; as if the Cause of all causes, by intermixing sweet with sower, would lead vs to his Providence, and consequently to himselfe, the first Moouer of all Motions.

The diuersitie of these euent is so in chained together, as one seemeth to haue relation to the other : for, this taske admitted not of *Veni, vidi, vici*; nor went on with Alexander, marching ouer the Plaines of Asia, without rub or counterbuffe. But the busines was disposed, here to receive a blowe, & there to gaine a victory : And so, this losse at Dyrachium, made the battell at Pharsalia the more glorious ; and beautified the course of this vvarre, with variety of chances. The best vs of these Disasters, is that which Cressius made of his crosse fortunes, *Mei casus, etsi ingrati, mihi tamen extitere disciplinæ.*

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



L'euento è speso
indice non
imperito delle
cose. Cuius. li. 5.

 S the Mathematicks, by reason of their certaintie, doe admitte demonstration, as well from the conclusion to the principles, as from the principles to the conclusion: so, in the actions of mans life, it is not hard to asigne the precedent causes, by the sequell; the event, being oftentimes an vnderstanding Iudge of things that are past. And although it doe no where appeare, what was the cause of Labienus leaving Caesar, yet his insolent cariage towards these Captiues, may make at least a probable coniecture, that his reuolt proceeded from his owne disposition, rather then from any cause on Caesars be-halfe. For, where a man hath once done an iniurie, he wil neuer cease heaping one wrong after another, and all to iustifie his first errour: Where-as on the other side, a noble spirit, free from ill desert, will demean himselfe, answerable to his first innocence.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXV.

Cæsar speaketh to the Souldiers concerning this mishap; and forsaketh the Place.



Cæsar, being driuen from his former purposes, resolved to change the whole course of the warre, so that at one & the same time omitting the siege, and withdrawing the Guarri-sons, hee brought all the Armie into one place, and there spake vnto the souldiers: exhorting them not to thinke much at those things that had happened, nor to be amnrged there-with; but to counterpoise this losse (which was in a mediocritie) with manie happie and fortunate battailes they had gained.

Let them thank Fortune, that they had taken Italy without blowe or wound; that they had quieted and put in peace, both the Provinces of Spaine, full of warlike men, and directed by skillfull and pacified Commanders; that they also had subawed the fertile bordering Provinces: and likewise, that they should remember, with what facilitie they were all transported in safetie through the midst of the Enemies fleets; not onely the Hauens and Ports, but all the coast being full of shipping.

If all things fell not out prosperously, Fortune was to bee helped by their industrie. The losse which was receiued, might bee attributed to any man rather then vnto him: for, he had giuen them a secure place to fight in; had posseſſe himselfe of the Enemies Campe; driuen them out, and overcome them in fight. But whether it were their feare, or any other error, or Fortune her selfe, that would interrupt a victorie alreadie gained, every man was now to labour to re-
 pair the damage they had sustained, with their valour: vvhich if they did in-
 deaour, hee would turne their losse into aduantage, as it formerly fell out at
 Gergonia; that such as before were affraid to fight, did of their owne accord, of-
 fer themselves to battell.

Having ended his speech, hee displaced some Ensigne-bearers. The Armie, there-upon, conceived such a griefe of the blow that was giuen them, and such a desire they had to repair their dishonour, that no man needed the command either of a Tribune, or Centurion; and were withall, inflamed with an earnest desire of fighting: in so much, as many of the higher Orders, thought it requisite to continue in the place, and referre the cause to a battell. But contrariwise, Caesar was not assured of the terrified souldiers, and thought it expedient besides, to interpose some time for the settling of their minds; fearing likewise, lest he should be strighted through scarcity of Corne, upon the leaving of his fortifications. And therefore, without any further delay, giving order for such as were

S.

wounded

Cæsar.

The Philoso-
pher Crator,
was wont to
say, that To be
no occasion of
an ill hap, is a
great comfort
in any manner
of aduersity.
Plut. in conso.
Apo.

*Ignominia no-
tavit.*

v wounded and ſicke; as ſoone as it was night, hee conuailed all the cariages ſecretly out of the Campe, and ſent them before, towards Apollonia, forbidding them to reſt untill they came to their lodging; & ſent one legion withall to conuoy them.

That beeing done, he retained two Legions within the Campe: and the reſt, beeing ledde out at diuers Ports, about the fourth watch of the night, hee ſent them the ſame way. And after a little pauſe (for the obſeruing of ſilitary order, and to the end his ſpeedy departure might not be diſcouered) he commaunded them to take up the cry of truſſing up their baggage; and preſently ſetting forward, ouertooke the former troope, and ſo went ſpeedily out of the ſight of the Campe.

Pompey, hauing notice of his purpoſe, made no delay to follow after: but aiming at the ſame things, either to take them incombered in their march, or aſſiſſed with feare, brought forth his Armie, and ſent his horſemen before, to ſlay the Reareward. But Ceſar went with ſo ſpeedy a march, that he could not overtake them, untill hee came to the Riuier Genuſus; where, by reaſon of the high and vncleafe banks, the Canallie ouertooke the taile of the Armie, and engaged them in fight. Amongſt whom, Ceſar oppoſed his horſemen, and intermingled with them foure hundred expedite ſouldiers, of them that had place before the Enſignes: who ſo much preuailed in the encounter, that they draue them all away before them, ſlew many of them, and returned themſelues in ſafety to their troopes.

Ceſar, hauing made a iuſt daies march; according to his firſt determination, and brought his Armie ouer the Riuier Genuſus, he lodged in his old Camp ouer againſt Aſparagus, and kept all the ſouldiers within the Rampier, commaunding the horſe that went out to forrage, to be preſently taken in, by the Decumane Port.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



*Preliorum de-
ſilla emendatio-
nem non accipi-
unt. P. G. lib.
1. cap. 14.*

Albeit that of Cato be true, that an Error in fight is not capable of amendement: yet out of that which happeneth amiſſe, may alwaies be ſome-what gathered, to repaire the diſadvantage, and to diſpoſe a Partie to better cariage for the future. Accordingly we may note Ceſars notable temper and demeanour, after ſo great a loſſe; recalling the courage of his ſouldiers, & ſetting their minds in a courſe of good reſolution, with as many valuable reaſons as humane wiſdom was able to afford him: without which, all their other advantages, either of valor or experience & vie of Armes, or their aſſurednels after ſo many victories, or what other thing ſoeuer, that made the excell all other Armies, had beene vtterlie buried in this ouerthrow. For his better ſurtherance wherein, he thought it fit to vie the help of time, before he brought them to the like trial. For, that which is ſaid of griefe, If reaſon wil not giue an

end

end vnto it, time will; is to be vnderſtood of any other paſſion of the mind: which cannot poſſible be ſo great, but time will conſume it.

*Finem dolendi,
qui conſilio non
fecerit, tempore
inuenit. Senec.
Ep. 64.*

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



The ſecond thing which commeth to bee handled, is the manner of Ceſars retreat; beeing as exquisite a patterne in this kind, as is extant in any ſtorie: and is rather to be conſidered, forasmuch as it is one of the principall points of Militarie Art, and worthieſt the knowledge of a Generall, To be able, vpon all occaſions, to make a ſaile and ſure retreat. For, thoſe that can doe nothing elſe, can eaſily put themſelues into a vvarre: but, to returne them home againe in ſafety, is that which concerneth the honour of a Leader.

Many are the cauſes, that may moue a Commander to diſlodge himſelfe, and to leaue his Aduerſarie for a time: but, the meanes to doe it ſafely depend ſpecially vpon theſe two points; The one is, to aduance himſelfe onward at firſt, as farre as poſſibly he can, to the end he may get the ſtart, before the enemy be ready to follow him: and is taught by Xenophon; who, after the death of Cyrus, in the battell againſt King Artaxerxes, brought backe a thouſand men into Greece, from an Armie of two hundred thouſand horſe, that preaced hard vpon them, for five hundred leagues together. Which retreat is exactlie ſtoried by the ſaid Author, in ſeauen bookes containing all the difficulties concerning this point: amongſt which, we find this paſſage.

It much imported vs, ſaith hee, to goe as farre at firſt as poſſible we could; to the end wee might haue ſome aduantage of ſpace before the Enemy, that preaced ſo neere behind: for, if we once got before, and could out-ſtrip them for a daies journey or two, it was not poſſible for them to ouertake vs; forasmuch as they durſt not follow vs with a ſmall troope, & with great forces they could neuer reach vs: beſides the ſcarcitic and want of victual they fell into, by following vs, that conſumed all before them.

Thus farre goeth Xenophon. And according to this rule, Ceſar ordered his retreat: for, he got the ſtart of Pompey to farre the firſt day, by that eight mile hee gained in the after-noon, as it followeth in the next Chapter, that he was neuer able to ouer-take him.

The ſecond thing for the aſſuring of a retreat is, So to provide againſt the incomberances of an Enemy, that hee may not find it eaſie to attack him that would be gone. Of all retreats which may any way be taken from example of Beaſts, that of the Wolfe is moſt commended: who neuer flies, but with his head turned back vpon his aduerſaries; and ſhewes ſuch teeth, as are not to be truſted.

After the Wolfes manner marched Ceſar: for, howſoeuer the body of his Armie retreated one way, yet they turned ſo terrible a countenance towards the Enemy, as was not to be indured. And vpon theſe two hinges, is turned the carriage of a ſkilfull retreat.

S 2.

Howhe-

Lib. 2.

Howbeit, for the better furtherance heereof, it fhall not bee impertinent to adde heere-vnto fome inuentions, prafticed by great Commanders, which may ferue to amufe an Enemy, vvhile a Generall doth prepare himfelfe to obferue the former points.

Luit. 31.

King Philip of Macedon, defirous to leaue the Romaine Armie, fent a Herald to the Confull, to demand a ceffation of Armes, while hee buried his dead: which hee purpofed to performe the next day, with fome care and folemnitie. Vvhich beeing obtained, hee diflodged himfelfe fecretlie thar night, and was got farre on his way before the Romaines perceiued it.

Luit. 27

Hanniball, to cleere his Armie from that of the Romaines, which was commaunded by the Confull Nero, about midnight made manie fires, in that part which ftood next the Romaine Campe: and leauing certaine Pauillions and Lodgings, with fome few Numidians, to fhew themfelues vpon the Rampier, hee departed fecretlie towards Puteolis. As foone as it was day, the Romaines (according to their cuftome) approaching the Counterfcarpe, the Numidians fhewed themfelues; and then fuddainly made after their fellows, as faft as their horfes could carry them. The Confull, finding a great filence in the Campe, fent two Light-horfmen to difcouer the matter: who returning, told him of the Enemies departure.

Lib. 2. de bello
Ciuili

In like manner, Varus (as is formerlie related) left a Trumpeter in the Campe, neere Vtica, with certaine Tents; and about midnight, caried his Armie fecretly into the Towne.

Front. lib. 1.
cap. 1.

Mithridates, willing to leaue Pompey, that cut him off fhort; the better to couer his departure, made fhew of making greater prouifion of forrage then hee was accuftomed: appointed conferences the next day: made great ftore of fires in his Campe; and then in the night efcaped away.

The Perfians, in the voiage which Solyman the Turke made againft them, in the yeere one thoufand five hundred fiftie foure, beeing driuen to a Place where the Ottomans thought to haue had a hand vpon them, gathered euerie man a fagot; and making a great heape thereof, fet them all on fire, in the paffage of the Turkes Armie: which burned fo furiously, as the Perfian efcaped before the Enemy could paffe by the fire.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVI.

Cæfar goeth-on in his retreat: Pompey
ceafeth to follow him.

(···)



In like manner, Pompey hauing that day marched a full iourney, betooke himfelfe to his former lodging at Asparagus. And, for that the fouldiers were not troubled with fortifying their Campe, by reafon all the vvorkes were vvhole and intire, many of them went out farre off to get vvood, and to feeke forrage. Others, rifing haftily, had left a great part of their luggage behind them; and induced by the neceffity of the laft nights lodging, left their Armes, and vvont backe to fetch thofe things that were behind. Infmuch, as Cæfar, feeing them thus fcattered (as before hee had conceiued how it vvould fall out) about high noone gaue vvarning to depart, and fo ledde out his Armie; and doubling that daies iourney, hee vvont from that place about eight mile: Which Pompey could not doe, by reafon of the abfence of his fouldiers.

Cæfar.

The next day, Cæfar, hauing in like manner fent his carriages before, in the beginning of the night, fet forward himfelfe, about the fourth watch; that if there were any fuddaine neceffity of fighting, he might (at all occafions) be readie with the whole Armie. The like hee did the daies following: by which it happened, that in his paffage ouer great Riuers, and by difficult and cumbersome waies, hee receiued no detriment or loffe at all. For, Pompey being ftayed the firft day, and afterwards ftirring in vaine, making great iourneys, and yet not overtaking vs, the fourth day gaue ouer following, and betooke himfelfe to another refolution.

Cæfar, as well for the accommodating of his vvounded men, as alfo for paying the Armie, reafuring his Allies and Confederates, & leauing Guarizons in the townes, was neceffarily to goe to Apolonia: but hee gaue no longer time for the difpatch of thefe things, then could be fpared by him that made hafte. For, fearing leaft Domitius fhould beeing aged by Pompeys arriual, hee defired to make towards him vvith all poffible celeritie: his vvhole purpofe and refolution, infifting vpon thefe reafons; That if Pompey did follow after him, hee fhould by that meanes draw him from the Sea-fide, and from fuch prouifions of vvuarre as hee had ftored up at Dyrrachium: and fo fhould compell him to vnder-take the vvuarre, vpon equall conditions. If hee vvont ouer into Italie, hauing ioynd his Armie vvith Domitius, hee vvould goe to fuccour Italie by the way of Illyricum. But, if hee fhould goe about to befiege Apolonia, or Oricum, and fo exclude him from all the Sea-coaft, hee vvould then befiege Scipio, and force Pompey to relieue him.

S 2.

And

And therefore, hauing writ and sent to Cn. Domitius, what he would haue done (leaving foure Cohorts to keepe Apolonia; one at Lissus, and three at Oricum, and disposing such as were weake through their wounds, in Epirus and A-carnania) he set forward.

O B S E R V A T I O N S.

Lib. 5. de Mil.
Re. cap. 14.

Lib. 1. cap. 1.



Onsetto iusto itinere eius diei, saith the storie. Which giueth oc-casion to inquire, how far this iust daies journey extended. Lip-sius saith, it was twentie-foure miles, alleaging that of Vegetius; *Militari gradu* (saith he) *viginti millia passuum horis quinq;* dun-taxat assuis consicienda: pleno autem gradu qui citatior est, totidem horis viginti quatuor; vnderstanding *iustum iter*, to bee so much as was measured *militari gradu*. But he that knowes the marching of an Armie, shall easilie perceiue the impossibilitie of marching ordinarilie twentie-foure miles a day. Besides, this place doth plainly confute it; for, first, hee saith that hee made a iust daies iourney: and then againe, rising about noone, doubled that daies iourney, and went eight miles. Which shewes, that their *iustum iter* was about eight mile: and so sureth the slowe conuicance of an Armie, with more probabilitie then that of Lipsius.

CHAP. XXVII.

Pompey hasteth to Scipio. Domitius heareth
of the ouerthrowe.

Cæsar.



Pompey also, coniecturing at Cæsars purpose, thought it requi-site for him to hasten to Scipio, that he might succour him if Cæsar should chauce to intend that way: but if it so fell out that he would not depart from the Sea-shore, and Coreyra, as expecting the legions and Cavalrie to come out of Italie, he would then attack Domitius. For these causes, both of them made haste, as well to asiste their Parties, as to surprize their enemies, if occasion were offered: but Cæsar had turned out of the way, to goe to Apolonia; where-as Pompey had a ready way into Macedonia by Caudania. To which there hap-pened an other inconuenience: that Domitius, who for many daies together had lod-ged hard-by Scipios Campe, was now departed from thence, to make prouision of Corne, vnto Heraclea Sentica, which is subiect to Caudania; as though For-tune would haue thrust him vpon Pompey. Moreover, Pompey had writ to all the States and Prouinces, of the ouerthrowe at Dyrrachium, in farre greater tearmes then the thing it selfe was: and had noised it abroad, that Cæsar was beaten, had lost all his forces, and fled away.

Which

Which reports, made the waies very hard and dangerous to our men, & drew many States from Cæsars partie: whereby it happened, that many Messengers beeing sent, both from Cæsar to Domitius, and from Domitius to Cæsar, were forced to turne back againe, and could not passe. Howbeit, some of the followers of Roscillus and Aegus (who as is before shewed, had fled vnto Pompey) meeting on the way with Domitius Discoverers (whether it were out of their old ac-quaintance, hauing liued together in the warres of Gallia; or otherwise, out of vaine-glorie) related all what had happened; not omitting Cæsars departure, or Pompeis comming. Whereof Domitius being informed, and beeing but scarce foure houres before him, did (by the helpe of the enemy) auoide a most eminent danger, and met with Cæsar at Eginum: which is a towne situate vpon the fron-tiers of Thessalia.

O B S E R V A T I O N S.

Boy is an opening and dilating motions; and oftentimes openeth the bodie so wide, as it letteth out the foule: which returneth not again. And in like manner, the causes of all such exultations, doe for the most part, spread themselves further then is requisite.

Pompey, hauing victorie in hope, rather then in hand, boasted as though all were his: Not considering, that the happinesse or disaster of humane ac-tions, doth not depend vpon the particulars, rising in the course thereof, which are variable and diuers; but according as the euent shall censure it. Where-vpon, the Russes haue a saying in such cases, that Hee, that laughs afterward, laughs too: as Cæsar did.

Humanarū ac-tionum felicitas non ē singulari-bus rebus parti-culis que multe sunt et varie sed ex euentu indi-catur. Dionys. Hal. lib. 9.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Cæsar sacketh Gomphos, in Thessalia.



Cæsar, hauing ioyned both Armies together, came to Gom-phos, which is the first towne of Thessalia by the way lea-ding out of Epirus. These people, a few daies before, had of their owne accord, sent Embassadors to Cæsar, offering all their meanes and abilities to be disposed at his pleasure; re-quiring also a Guarixion of souldiers from him. But now they had heard of the ouerthrowe at Dyrrachium: which was made so great, and so preuailed with them, that Androstenes, Prator of Thessalia (chusing rather to be a partaker of Pompeis victorie, then a companion with Cæsar in aduersitie) had drawne all the multitude of seruants and children out of the Country, into the towne; and shutting vp the Gates, dispatched Messengers to Scipio & Pom-pey, for succour to be sent vnto him, in that hee was not able to hold out a long siege. Scipio, vnderstanding of the departure of the Armies from Dyrrachium,

had

had brought the legions to Lariffa: and Pompey did not as yet approach neere vnto Theſſalia.

Caſar, hauing fortified his Campe, commanded Mantlets, Ladders, and Hurdles to be made ready for a ſurprize: which beeing fitted and prepared, hee exhorted the ſouldiers, and ſhewed them what need there was (for the relieuing of their wants, and ſupplying of all neceſſaries) to poſſeſſe theſe places, of an opulent and full towne; as alſo by their example, to terrifie the other Cities: and what they did, to doe ſpeedily, before it could be ſuccoured. Where-vpon, by the ſingular induſtrie of the ſouldiers, the ſame day he came thither, giuing the aſſault after the ninth houre (notwithſtanding the exceeding height of the walls) hee tooke the Towne before ſunne-ſetting, and gaue it to the ſouldiers to bee riſſed: And preſently remoouing from thence, came to Metropolis, in ſuch ſort, as he out-went as well Meſſengers, as newes of taking the Towne.

The Metropolitans, induced with the ſame reſpects, at firſt ſhutte up their gates, and filled their walls with Armed men: but afterwards, underſtanding by the Captiues (whom Caſar cauſed to be brought forth) what had happened to them of Gomphos, they preſently opened their gates; and by that meanes ouer all preſerued in ſafety. Which happineſſe of theirs, beeing compared with the deſolation of Gomphos, there was no one State of all Theſſalia (excepting them of Lariffa, which were kept in with great forces by Scipio) but yielded obedience to Caſar, and did what hee commanded. And, hauing gotte a place plentiful of Corne, which was now almoſt ripe, he reſolved to attend Pompeis comming; and there to proſecute the reſidue of that warre.

OBSERVATIONS.



Luic ſaith, that the ſiege of that Place which we would quicklie take, muſt be proſecuted & vrged hard. Which rule, Caſar obſerued: for, he followed it ſo hard, that he tooke the Towne fortified with exceeding high walls, in foure houres ſpace, or thereabouts, after hee beganne to aſſault it. Which, Plutarch ſaith, was ſo plentifully ſtored of all neceſſarie prouiſion, that the ſouldiers found there a reſection of all the miſeries and wants they ſuffered at Dyrrachium: inſomuch as they ſeemed to be new made, both in bodie and courage; by reaſon of the wine, victuals & riches of that place: which were all giuen vnto them, according to that of Xenophon; *Lex inter omnes homines perpetua eſt, quando belligerantium urbs capta fuerit, cuncta eorum eſſe qui eam ceperint, et corpora eorum qui in vrbe ſunt et bona.*

Appian ſaith, the Germanes were ſo drunke, that they made all men laugh at them: and, that if Pompey had ſurpriſed the in theſe diſorders, they might haue paid deare for their entertainment. Hee addeh moreover (to ſhew the ſtiffeneſſe of the inhabitants againſt Caſar) that there were found, in a Surgeons Hall, twentie-two principal Perſonages, liſſe-dead vpon the ground, without appearance of any wound, hauing their goblets by them: and hee that

gauc

gaue the poiſon, ſitting vpright in a Chaire, as dead as the reſt. And as Philippi, hauing taken Acroliſſe, in the Country of the Iſtians, drew all the reſt to his obedience, through the feare they conceived of their vſage: ſo the conſideration of the calamitie which beſell Gomphos, and the good intreatie which the Metropolitans found, by yielding vnto Caſar, brought all the other Cities, vnder his command.

Polyb. lib. 8.

CHAP. XXIX.

Pompey commeth into Theſſalia: his Armie conceived aſſured hope of victorie.



Pompey, a few daies after, came into Theſſalia; & there, calling all the Armie together, firſt gaue great thanks to his owne men, and then exhorted Scipios ſouldiers, that the victorie beeing already obtained, they would be partakers of the bootie, and of the rewards: and taking all the legions into one Campe, he made Scipio partaker both of his honour and authoritie, commanding the Trumpets to attend his pleaſure, for matter of direction, and that he ſhould uſe a Pratoriall Paullion.

Pompey, hauing ſtrengthened himſelfe, with an addition of another great Armie, euery man was confirmed in his former opinion; and their hope of victorie was increaſed: ſo that the longer they delayed the matter, the more they ſeemed to prolong their returne into Italie. And albeit Pompey proceeded ſlowlie and deliberately in the buſineſſe, yet it was but a daies worke, howſoeuer hee might be well pleaſed with authoritie and command; and to uſe men both of Conſular dignitie, and of the Pratorian order, as his vaſſalls and ſeruaunts.

And now they began to diſpute openly, concerning rewards, and dignities of Prelacie: and quoted out thoſe, which from yeere to yeere were to be choſen Conſuls. Others begged the houſes and goods of ſuch as were with Caſar. Beſides, a great controuerſie that further grew betwene them in open counsell, whether L. Martius were not to be regarded at the next election of Prators, beeing abſent, and imploied by Pompey againſt the Parthians. And, as his friends vrged Pompey with his promiſe giuen at his departure, requiring hee might not now be deceiued through his greatneſſe & authoritie; the reſt, running a courſe of as great danger and labour, ſaw no reaſon (by way of contradiction) why one man ſhould bee reſpected before all others. And now Domitius, Scipio, and Spintner Lentulus, began to grow to high words in their daily meetings, concerning Caſars Prieſthood: Lentulus alleadging, by way of oſtentation, the honour that was due to his age and authoritie; Domitius vaunting of the credit and fauour he had at Rome: and Scipio, truſting to Pompeis alliance. Moreover, Attius Rufus accuſed L. Afranius to Pompey, for betraying the Armie in Spaine. L. Domitius

Caſar.

After three of the clocke in the afternoon

Lib. 5. Obſidio eius vrbis quam cito capere velis, et vrgenda et prompta.

Lib. 6. de Inſtit. Cyn.

Bello lex acquiritur inſtituta. Diony. Halicar. in expoſ. legat.

Domitius came out in counsell, That all such as were of the rank of Senators, should be inquired vpon by a triple Commission: and that those which were personally in the warre, should be of the Commission to iudge the rest; as well such as were at Rome, as those that did no seruice in this warre. The first Commission, should be to cleare such as had well deserved, from all danger. The second, Penall: and the third, Capitall. And to conclude, euery man laboured, either to haue a reward, or to bee auenged of his Enemy. Neither did they thinke so much of the meanes how to ouercome, as how to vse the victorie.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Cominius.

THe Tale which the Emperour Frederick related to the Commissioners of Lewis the eleuenth, King of Fraunce (concerning the parting betweene them of the Territories of Charles, Duke of Burgundie) Not to sell the skin before they had killed the Beare; might well haue fitted these of Pompeis Partie, that contended for offices before they fell, and disposed of the skinnes ere they had tooke the Beares: Nor sparing out of their impatiencie to tax Pompey of spinning out the warre, for the sweetnesse he found in authoritie & command; as Agamemnon did at Troy. Infomuch, as Plutarch reporteth, That one Fauonius, imitating Catos fecerity & freenes of speech, went about throughout all the Campe, demanding, Whether it were not great pittie, that the ambitious humour of one man, should keepe them that yeere, from eating the figs and delicate fruite of Thulcullum? And all men, generally, stood so affected, as Pompey could not withstand their inforcements. For, as Florus saith; *Milites otium, socij morā, principis ambitum Ducis increpabant*. Onely Cato thought it not fitte, to hazard themselues vpon a desperate man, that had neither hope or help, but in Fortune. But, as in most things besides, so in this he stood alone, and could not preuaile against a multitude.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

P*lacere sibi ternas tabellas dari, ad indicandum ijs, qui erant ordinis Senatorij*, saith the storie; which *Tabellas*, I haue translated Commissions, as best fitting our English phrase: but the meaning was as followeth.

It appeareth by historie, that the Romaine people, as well in election of Magistrates, as in causes criminall, did giue their voices openly & aloud, for sixe hundred yeeres together; vntill one Gabinus, a Tribune of the people, perceiving that the Commons, for feare of the great Ones, durst not dispose of their voices freely, and as they would, published an Edict, that The people should giue their voices by Balating. Which law, Tully commendeth; *Grata est tabella qua frontes operit, hominum mentes tegit, datque eam libertatem quod velint faciant*. And in another place, hee calleth it *injustissima*

In orat. pro Plancio.

injustissima libertatis. Vpon an election of Magistrates, the balls were giuen according to the number of the Competitors; that euery man might chuse as he pleased.

In criminall Causes, euery man had three: one marked with A. signifying Absolution, and another with C. for Condemnation, and another with N. L. for *Non liquet*, which they called *Ampliatio*, desirous to be further informed; which our Grand Iuries doe expresse by an *Ignoramus*. And in this manner, would Domitius haue had his fellow Senators either quitted or condemned. The balls which were giuen vpon the making of a law, were two: one marked with V. R. which signified *Vtr rogas*, that it might goe on: and the other with A. signifying *Antiquo*; reiecting it. For, as Festus noteth, *Antiquare est in modum pristinum reducere*.

And in this manner they would haue proceeded against Cæsars Partizans, beeing altogether mistaken, in the assurance of their happinss: the continuance whereof, depended vpon Vertue, and not vpon Fortune.

Vtriusque felicitatis mensura: non fortuna. Dio. Halicarn. lib. 2.

CHAP. XXX.

Cæsar, finding the Enemy to offer battell in an indifferent Place, prepareth to vndertake him.



Prouision of Corne beeing made, and the souldiers well resolved (to which end he had interposed a sufficient space of time, after the battell at Dyrrachium) Cæsar thought it time now to try what purpose or will Pompey had to fight. And therefore, drawing the Armie out of the Campe, hee imbattelled his troopes, first, vpon the place, and some what remoued from Pompeis Campe: but euery day following, he went further off his own trenches, and brought his Armie vnder the hills whereon the Enemy lay incamped: vvhich made his Armie daily the more bold and assured, keeping continually his former course with his horsemen; who because they were lesse in number by manie degrees then those of Pompeis partie, hee commaunded certaine lusty young men, chosen out of them that stood before the Ensignes for their nimble & swift running, to fight amongst the horsemen: and by reason of their daily practise, had learned the vse of that kind of fight. So that one thousand of our Cavalrie, in open and Champaine places, would when need were, vndergoe the charge of seauen thousand of theirs, and were not much terrified with the multitude of them. For, in that time they made a fortunate encounter, and slew one of the two Sauoians, that had formerly fled to Pompey, with diuers others.

Pompey, huiing his Campe vpon a hill, imbattelled his Armie at the lower foote thereof, to see if he could get Cæsar to thrust himselfe into an vnequall and disaduantageous place. Cæsar, thinking that Pompey would by no meanes bee drawne

Cæsar.

drawne to battell, thought it the fittest course for him to shift his Campe, and to be alwaies in moouing: hoping by often remooues from place to place, he should be better accommodated for prouision of Corne; and withall, might vpon a march, find some occasion to fight. Besides, hee should wearie Pompeis Armie, not accustomed to trauell, with daily and continuall iourneys: and there-vpon, he gaue the signe of dislodging.

But, as the Tents were taken downe, it was a little before obserued, that Pompeis Armie was aduanced somewhat further from their Trenches, then ordinarily they were accustomed; so that it seemed they might fight in an equall and indifferent place. Wherevpon, Caesar, when his troopes were already in the gates setting out, it behoueth vs, saith he, to put off our remouing for the present, and bethinke our selues of fighting, as we haue alwaies desired; for, we shall not easily hereafter find the like occasion: and presently drew out his forces. Pompey also, as it was afterwards knowne, was resolved (at the instance of all that were about him) to giue battell; for, hee had giuen out in counsell some few daies before, that he would ouertrowe Caesars Armie, before the troopes came to ioyne the battell.

Prima egerio-
rum diuum la-
penta uolunt
sine periculo
non are. Polyd.
1. stratage.

And, as many that stood by wondered at it, I know, saith he, that I promise almost an incredible matter: but take the ground wherevpon I speake it, that you may vndergoe the business with more assurance. I haue perswaded the Cauterie, and they haue promised to accomplish it, that whe they come neere to ioyne, they shall attack Caesars right Cornet on the open side, and so the Army being circumvented behind, shall be amused and routed, before our men can cast a vweapon at them. Whereby, we shall end the warre without danger of the Legions, or almost without any wound receiued: which is not difficult or hard to doe, for vs that are so strong in horse; and withall, gaue order that they should be ready against the next day, forasmuch as the occasion was offered (according as they had often intended) not to deccieue the opinion which other men had of their prowesse and valour.

Labienus, seconding this speech, as contemning Caesars forces, extolled Pompeis resolution to the skies. Doe not thinke, Pompey, saith he, that this is the Armie wherewith he conquered Gallia, or Germania; I was present my selfe at all those battells, and doe not speake rashly what I am ignorant off. There is a very small peece of that Army remaining: a great part of them are dead, as cannot otherwise be chosen, in so many battells. The Pestilence (the last Autumne) in Italy consumed many of them; many are gone home, and many are left in the Continent. Haue ye not heard, that the Cohorts which are now at Brundisium, are made and raised of such as remained behind there to recouer their healthes? These forces that ye see, were the last yeere gathered, of the Mustlers made in the hither Gallia; and most of them, of the Colonies beyond the Po: and yet all the flower and strength of them, was taken away in the last two ouerthrowes at Dyrrachium.

When he had spoken these things, he tooke a solemne oath, not to returne into the Campe but with victorie, exhorting the rest to doe the like. Pompey, commending him, tooke the same oath: neither was there any man that refused it.

Thefe

These things beeing thus caried in the counsell, they rose vp, and departed, with great hope and ioy of all men; as hauing already conceiued victory in their minds: and the rather, because they thought that nothing could be spoken vainlie, by so skilfull a Commander, in so weightie and important a Cause.

OBSERVATIONS.



Concerning the fashion of the Cauterie, in which either Partie reposed so much confidence, wee are to note, that the Romaines had two sorts of horsemen; the one compleatlie armed (according to their manner) and incorporated in the bodie of their Legions, whose entertainment, was thrice as much as the foote-men. *Aequi impotens polulatum fuit* (saith Liuius) *ut de stipendio equitum merebant autem triplex ea tempestate ara demerentur.* And the other, were as light-horsemen, which they called *Alarj*.

Lib. 7.

The first sort were thus armed, as Iosephus witnesseth; They wore a sword on their right side, somewhat longer then that of the footmen, & caried a long staffe or speare in their hand, a Target at their horse side, and three or more Darts in a quiver, with broad heads, and not much lesse then their stauies; hauing such head-peecees and corselets as the foote-men had.

Lib. 3. Euid.

The light-armed men, had either light Darts, or Boawe and Arrowes. And doubtlesse, their chiefeest seruice was with their casting weapons. And accordingly, Tully putteth his sonne in mind, of the praise hee had got in Pompeis Armie (where he commanded a wing of horse); *Equitandō, iaculando, omni militari labore tolerando.*

2. Offi.

And, as their seruice consisted in breaking their stauies vpon an Enemy, & in casting their Darts; so wee exercise the practice of the former, in our triumphs at Tilt; and the Spaniards the later, in their *loco di cane*.

Our moderne horsemen, are either Launciers, Petronelliers, or Pistoliers. The Petronelliers do discharge at a distance; making their left hand that holds the bridle, their rest: which is vncertaine, and to no great effect.

The Pistoliers, that will doe some-what to purpose, doe come vp close one to another, and discharge his Pistoll in his enemies necke, or vnder the corselet, about the flanke or seate of a man; and commonly misleth not.

I haue seene a deuice to vse a Musket on horse-backe, which if it prouoe as seruiceable as is by some conceiued, will be of great aduantage.

T.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXI.

The manner of imbattelling their Armies.

Caſar.



As Caſar approached neere vnto Pompeis Campe, hee obſerued his Armie to be imbattelled in this manner; There were in the left Cornet two legions, which in the beginning of theſe broiles, were by order and decree of Senate, taken from Caſar; whereof one was called the firſt, & the other the third: and with them ſtood Pompey. Scipio had the middle Squadron, with the legions he brought out of Syria.

The Legion of Cilicia, ioyned with the Spaniſh Cohorts, which Afranius brought with him, made the right Cornet. Theſe Pompey held to be very ſtrong. The reſt of the troopes were interlaced, betweene the middle Squadron and the Cornets, and made in all one hundred and tenne Cohorts, which amounted to fifty-five thouſand men: beſides two thouſand old ſouldiers, and men of note, whom he had called out to that warre, and diſperſed them ouer all the Armie. The reſt of the cohorts, which were ſeauen, he had left in the Campe, or diſpoſed about the ſorts neere adioyning. The right Cornet was flanked with a River, that had high & cumbersome banks: and therevpon he put all his Cauallrie, together with the Archers and Slingers in the left Cornet.

Caſar, obſeruing his former cuſtome, placed the tenth legion in the right Cornet, and the ninth in the left; albeit they were very much weakened in the fights at Dyrrachium: but to this he ſo ioyned the eight, that he ſeemed almoſt to make one of two, and commaunded them to ſuccour each other. Hee had in all about eighty cohorts, which made twenty-two M. men. He left two cohorts to keepe the Campe, and gaue the left Cornet to Antonius: the right to Pub. Sylla, and the middle Squadron to Cn. Domitius, and put himſelfe oppoſite to Pompey. And withall, having well obſerued theſe things (according as I haue formerly declared) fearing leaſt the right Cornet ſhould be incloſed about with the multitude of the Cauallrie, he ſpeedily drew fixe cohorts out of the third battell, & of them he made a fourth, to encounter the horſemen: and ſhewed them what hee would haue done; admoniſhing withall, that the victorie of that day conſiſted in the valour of thoſe cohorts, commaunding the third battell; and likewiſe the whole Armie not to ioyn battell without order from him: which when he thought fit, he would giue them notice thereof by an Enſigne.

And going about to incourage them to fight, according to the uſe of warre, he put them in mind of his fauours, and his carriage towards them from time to time; and ſpecially, that they themſelues were witneſſes, with what labour and meanes he had ſought for peace, as well by treaty with Vatinius, as alſo by employing Claudius to Scipio: and likewiſe how he had indeauoured at Oricum with Libo, that Embaſſadors might be ſent to treat of theſe things. Neither was he willing at any time to miſſpend the ſouldiers blood, or to deprive the Common-wealth of either of thoſe Armies.

This

In manibus
ſunt quatuor ſit
Caſar habet.
Lucan. lib. 7.

upon the third

XXXI.

satellling their Armies.

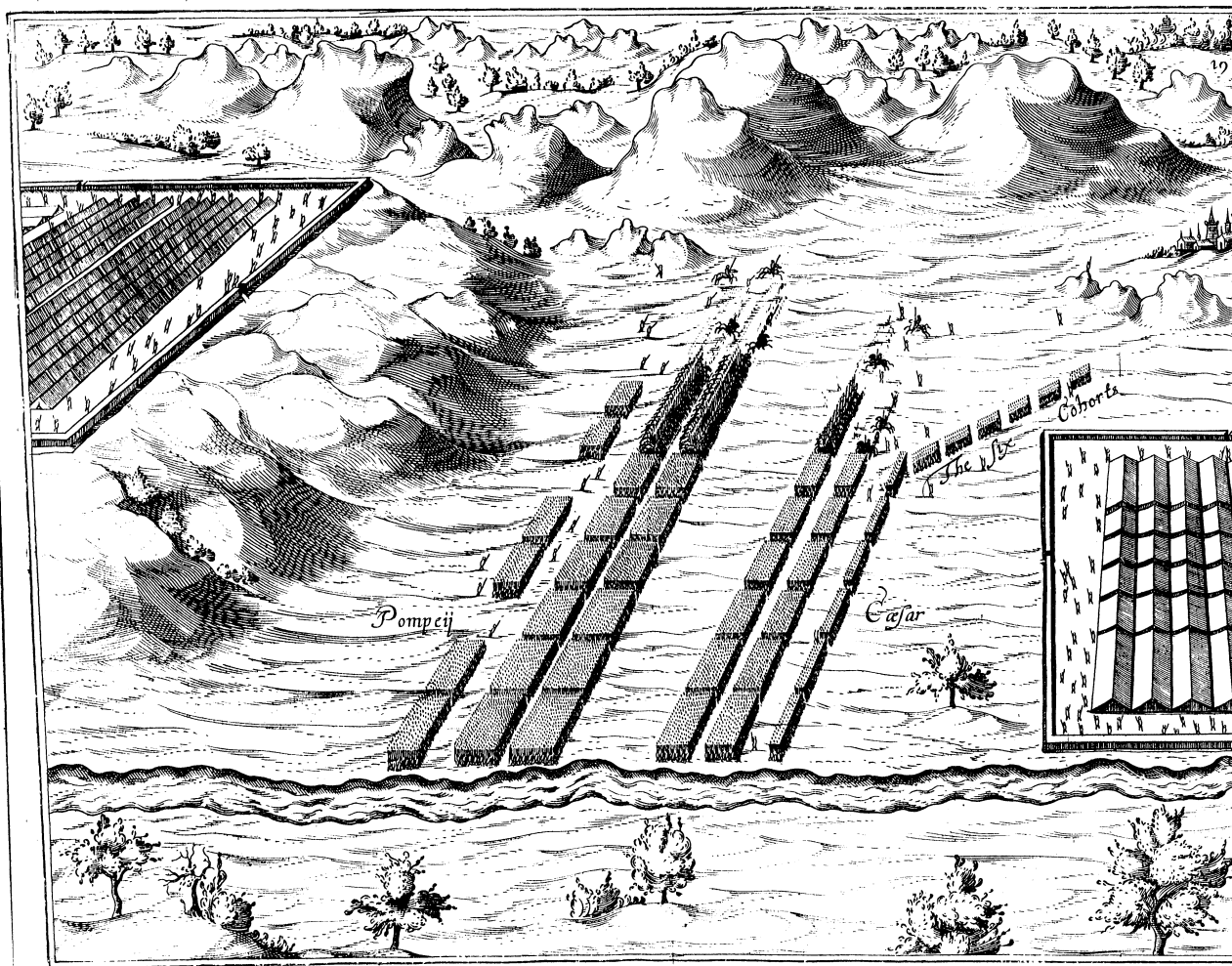
...ed here onto Pompeij Campe, hee obser-
be battelled in this manner; There were
Two legions, which in the beginning of these
order and decree of Senate, taken from Ca-
was called the first, & the other the third:
Pompeij. Scipio had the middle Squa-

...h the Spanish Cohorts, which Afranius
cornet. These Pompeij held to be very strong.
...el between the middle Squadron and the
Land to the Cohorts, which amounted to
...tious and old soldiers, and men of note,
...e, and dispersed them over all the Armie.
...en, he had left in the Campe, or disposed
...right cornet was stinke with a River, that
...d there upon he put all his Cavalrie, together
...the left Cornet.

...me, placed the tenth legion in the right Cor-
...they were very much weakened in the fights
...sed the eight, that he seemed almost to make
...to succour each other. Hee had in all about
...two M. m. He left two cohorts to keepe the
...Antonius: the right to Pub. Sylla, and the
...and put himselfe opposite to Pompeij. And
...e cohorts according as I have formerly decla-
...ould be: inclosed about with the multitude
...e cohorts out of the third battell, & of them
...horsemen: and shewed them what hee would
...the victorie of that day consisted in the
...king the third battell, and likewise the whole
...it order from him: which when he thought fit,
...by an ensigne.

...hem to fight, according to the use of warre,
...and his carriage towards them from time to
...meselves were witnesses, with what labour and
...ced by treaty with Vatinius, as also by employ-
...how he had inclosed at Oricum with Li-
...to treat of these things. Neither was he wil-
...his blood, or to deprive the Common-wealth

This



This speech being deliuered, the souldiers, both requiring and longing with an ardent desire to fight, hee commaunded the signe of battell to bee giuen by a Trumpet.

OBSERVATIONS.



Concerning the order vsed in disposing these Armies, for the tri-
all of this Cause, it appeareth by the storie, that Pompey set two
Legions in his left Corner, which are heere named the first and
the third. Howbeit, Lucan saith, that those Legions were the
first and the fourth.

*Cornus tibi cura sinistri,
Lentule, cum primâ, qua tum fuit, optima bello,
Et quartâ legione datur.*

The middle Squadron was ledde by Scipio, with the legions he brought out
of Syria, which were also two; *Explebat cum Scipione ex Syria legiones duas,*
as it is in the second Chapter of this booke.

In the right Corner, was the Cilician legion, with the Cohorts that Afranius
brought out of Spaine: which, amounting to the number of a Legion,
made that Corner equall to the rest. And so of these fixe Legions, which were
the strength and sinowes of his Armie, hee fashioned his battell into a middle
Squadron, and two Cornets. His other forces, being young souldiers, hee
disposed in the distances, betweene the Cornets and that middle Squadron.

Frontinus, speaking of this point, saith; *Legiones secundum virtutem, fir-
missimas in medio, et in cornu locauit; spacia his interposita Tyronibus supplē-
uit.* His number of men, by our text, was fiftie-five thousand; but Plutarch
maketh them not aboue fortie-five thousand.

Cæsar had not halfe so many men, and yet made a triple battell; but not so
thick or deepe with Legions: for, in the right Corner he put the tenth Legion,
and in the left the ninth and the eight; being both weake and farre spent, by
the former ouer-throwes. Of the other Legions he maketh no mention: but
it seemeth they filled vp the distances betweene the Cornets and the bodie of
the Armie; and were as flesh to those sinowes & bones, which out of the pre-
rogative of their valour, tooke the place of the Cornets, and the middle bulke
of the battell. And fearing least his right Corner should be circumuented, by
the multitude of their Cavalrie, hee drew fixe Cohorts out of his third or last
battell, to make a fourth battell to oppose the Cavalrie: which gorte him the
victorie. For, howsoeuer the Text saith, *Singulas cohortes detraxit*: yet Plu-
tarch saith plainly, that Those Cohorts he thus tooke, were fixe, and amount-
ed to three thousand men: which riseth to the number of so many Cohorts.
And Appian, agreeing hereunto, saith, that his fourth battell consisted of three-
thousand men. Frontinus likewise affirmeth, hee tooke out fixe Cohorts, *et
sensit in subsidio, sed dextro latere conuersas in obliquum*: Whereunto that
Cæsar Lucan agreeth;

Tenet obliquas post signa cohortes.

T 2.

Which

Lib. 2. cap. 3.

Singulas Cohor-
tes detraxit.

Lib. 2. ca. 3.

Lib. 7.

Which is thus to be vnderstood: that they turned their faces towards the left Corner of Pompeis Armie, that they might bee the readier to receiue the Casualtie comming on to inclose Cæsars right wing; as being sure of the other side, which was fenced with a Riuer and a Marish.

Touching Cæsars Speech to the souldiers, it seemed like that of Themistocles, at the battell of Salamina; where Zexxes made a long Oration to encourage the Persians, and lost the day: Themistocles spake but a few words to the Greekes, and got the victorie. How-foeuer; one thing is not to bee omitted, that Plutarch, and such others as haue dipped their penne, either in the sweat, or in the blood of this battell, doe all agree, that Cæsar had not aboute twentie-two thousand men.

CHAP. XXXII.

The Battell beginneth; and Cæsar ouercommeth.

Cæsar.



Here was one Crastinus, in Cæsars Armie, called out to this warre, who the yeere before had leade the first companie of the tenth Legion; a man of singular valour: who vpon the signe of battell giuen, Follow me, saith he, as many of you as were of my companie; and doe that indeauor to your Emperor, which you haue alwaies beene willing to performe.

This is the onely battell remaining vnsought: which being ended, tie shall be restored to his dignitie, and wee to our libertie. And withall, looking towards Cæsar, I will, saith hee, O Emperour, so carry my selfe this day, that thou shalt giue mee thanks, either aliue or dead. And when he had thus spoken, he was the first that ranne out of the right Corner: & about one hundred and twentie elected souldiers of the same Centurie followed voluntarily after him.

There was so much space left betwene both the battells, as might serue either Armie to meete vpon the charge. But Pompey had commaunded his men to receiue Cæsars assault, and to vnder-goe the shock of his Armie, without moving from the place wherein they stood (and that by the aduice of C. Triarius) to the end that the first running out & violence of the souldiers being broken, & the battell dissembled, they that stood persit in their Orders, might set vpon the that were scattered & dispersed; hoping, the piles would not fall so forceable vpon the Armie standing still, as when they aduanced forward to meet them: And that it would fall out withall, that Cæsars souldiers, hauing twice as farre to runne, would by that meanes be out of breath, and spent with weari-ness.

Which, in my opinion, was against all reason: for, there is a certaine incitation and alacrity of spirit, naturally planted in euery man, which is inflamed with a desire to fight. Neither should anie Commander repress or restraime the same, but rather increase it, and set it forward.

Nor

Nor was it in vaine of ancient time ordained, that the Trumpets should euerie where sound, and euery man take up a shout; but that they thought these things did both terrifie the Enemy, and incite their owne Party.

But our souldiers, vpon the signe of Battell, running out with their Piles ready to be throwne, and perceiving that Pompeis souldiers did not make out to meet them (as men taught with long vse, and exercised in former fights) stopp their course of their owne accord, & almost in the mid-way stood still; that they might not come to blowes vpon the spending of their strength: And after a little respite of time, running on againe, threw their piles, and presently drew their swords, as Cæsar had commaunded them. Neither were Pompeis souldiers wanting in this business; for, they receiued the piles which were cast at them, tooke the shock of the Legions, kept their ranks, cast their piles, and betooke them to their swords.

At the same time, the Cavalrie, according as was commaunded them, issued out from Pompeis left Corner, & the whole multitude of Archers thrust themselves out. Whose assault our horsemen were not able to indure, but fell backe a little, from the place wherein they stood: whereby Pompeis horsemen, beganne to presse them with more eagerness; and to put themselves in squadrons, to inclose the Army about. Which Cæsar perceiving, he gaue the signe of aduancing forward, to the fourth Battell, whom he had made out of the number of the Cohorts; who came with such a sling vpon Pompeis horsemen, that none of them were able to stand before them; and turning their backs, did not onely giue place, but fledde all as fast as they could, to the highest hills: whereby, the Archers and Slingers, being left naked without succour, were all put to the sword. And with the same violence, those Cohorts incompassed about the left Corner, notwithstanding any resistance that could be made by Pompeis partie, and charged them behind, vpon their backs.

At the same time, Cæsar commaunded the third Battell, which as yet stood still, and were not remoued, to aduance forward: by meanes of which fresh and sound men, relieuing such as were faint and wearie, as also, that others did charge them behind vpon their backs, Pompeis partie were able no longer to indure it, but all turned their backs and fledde.

Neither was Cæsar deceiued in his opinion, that the beginning of the victorie would growe from those Cohorts which hee placed in the fourth Battell, against the horsemen; according as hee himselfe had openly spoken, in his incouragement to the souldiers. For, by them, first the Cavalrie was beaten; by them, the Archers and Slingers were slaine; by them, Pompeis Battell was circumvented on the left Corner, and by their meanes they began to flie.

As soone as Pompey saw his Cavalrie beaten, and perceiving the part where hee most trusted, to be amused and affrighted, and distrusting the rest, hee forth-with left the Battell, and conuained himselfe on horseback into the Camp. And speaking to the Centurions that had the watch at the Pratorian gate with a loud voice, as all the souldiers might heare, said, Keepe the Campe, and defend it diligently, to preuent any hard casualtie that may happen. In the meane while, I will goe about to the other Ports, to settle the Guards of the Campe.

T 3.

And

And having thus said, hee went into the Pratorium, distrustling the maine point, and yet expecting the event.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Pompey so caried himselfe in the course of this warre, as he rather seemed a sufferer then a dooer; neuer disposing his Armie for any attempt or on-set, but onely when hee brake out of the place wherein he was besieged at Dyrrachium. And accordingly he gaue order, that In the maine action and point of triall, his souldiers should suffer and sustaine the assault, rather then otherwise. But, whether hee did well or no, hath since been in question. Cæsar vterly disliked it, as a thing contrary to reason. *Est quædam, scilicet he, animi incitatio atque alacritas, naturaliter innata omnibus, qua studio pugna incenditur; hanc non reprimere sed augere Imperatores debent.*

Plutarch.

Agreeable wherevnto, is that of Cato the Great; that In cases of battell, an Enemy is to be charged with all violence. And to that purpose it is requisite, to put the souldiers (at some reasonable distance) into a Posterne of vaunting and defiance, with menaces and cries of terrour; and then to spring forward in such manner, as may make them fall vpon their enemies with greater furie: As Champions or Wraithers, before they buckle, stretch out their limbes, and make their flourishes as may best serue to assure themselves, and discourage their aduersaries: According as we read of Hercules & Antæus.

*Ille Cleonæi proiecit terga Leonis,
Antæus libici: perfudit membra liquore
Hospes, Olympiaca seruato more Palestre.
Ille parum fidens pedibus contingere matrem,
Auxilium membris, calidas infudit arenas.*

Lucan. lib. 4.

Howbeit, so far as much as all men are not of one temper, but require seuerall fashions to tune their mindes to the true note of a battell, wee shall find seuerall Nations, to haue seuerall vsances in this point. The Romaines (as appeareth by this of Cæsar) were of auncient time accustomed to sound Trumpets, and Hoboies, in all parts of the Armie, and to take vp a great clamour and shout: whereby the souldiers (in their vnderstanding) were encouraged, and the Enemy affrighted. Where-as, contrariwise, the Greekes went alwaies with a close and silent mouth, as hauing more to doe then to say to their Enemies. And, Thucydides, writing of the Lacedæmonians, the flower of Greece for matter of Armes) saith, that Instead of Trumpets, and Cornets to incite them, they vsed the sweet harmonie of Flutes, to moderate and qualifie their passions, least they should be transported with bridleless impetuosity.

Homer. Iliad. 3.

It is reported, that Marshall Biron, the Father, seemed to dislike of our English march (hearing it beaten by the Drummes) as too slowe, & of no encouragement: and yet it so fitteth our Nation (as Sir Roger Williams then answered)

(swered) as wee haue diuers times ouer-runne all France with it. Howsoever, the event of this battell is sufficient to disprove Pompeis error heerein, and to make good what Cæsar commaunded.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

These fixe Cohorts, which made the fourth battell, did so encounter Pompeis Cavalrie, that they were not able to with stand them. It is said, that Cæsar gaue them order, not to fling their Piles as commonly they did, but to hold the in their hands like a Pike or a Laurel, and make onely at the faces of those Gallants, & men at Armes on horse-back. For the holding of them in their hands, I doe not vnderstand it, and can not conceiue how they could reach more then the next ranks vnto them in that manner. But for making at the faces of the Cavalrie, Florus saith, that Cæsar, as he galloped vp and downe the ranks, was heard to let fall bloody and bitter words, but very patheticall, and effectfull for a victorie: as thus, Souldier, cast right at the face; Where-as Pompey called to his Men, to spare their fellow Citizens.

Lib. 4. cap. 2.

Eutropius, in his Epitome of Suetonius, affirmeth the same thing, both of the one and of the other: and Lucan seemeth to auerre the same, concerning that of Cæsar;

Adversosque iubet ferro contundere vultus.

Lib. 7.

Frontinus hath it thus; *C. Cæsar, cum in partibus Pompeianis, magna equitum Romanorum esset manus, eaque armorum scientia milites conficeret, ora oculoque eorum gladij peti iussit, sic aduersam faciem cadere coegit.*

Lib. 4. cap. 7.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

Amongst these memorialls, Crastinus may not be forgotten, being the first man that began the battell, whom Plutarch, whom C. Crastinus; and saith, that Cæsar seeing him in the morning, as hee came out of his Tent, asked him what hee thought of the successe of the battell? Crastinus, stretching out his right hand vnto him, cried out aloud, O Cæsar, thine is the victorie; and this day shalt thou commend mee, either alieue or dead: And accordingly, brake afterwards out of the ranks: and running amongst the midt of his Enemies, with manie that followed him, made a great slaughter. At last, one ranne him into the mouth, that the sword point came out at his neck, and so slew him.

In the life of Pompey.

By him, and others of like courage and worth, was Cæsar raised from the extremitie of his wants, and the disgrace of his former losses, to the chiefest height of earthly glory: And heerein might well assume, vnto himselfe, that which was formerly said of the people, *Magna populi Romani fortuna, sed semper in malis maior resurrexit*; Together with that of Plutarch, *Res inuicta Romanorum*

Florus.

Lib. 4.
In fides, quanta
Dominum vortu-
tute parasti?

ROMANORUM ARMA. Lucan (peaking of Sæua, formerly mentioned, saith; He shewed a great deale of valour to get Rome a Lord: but vpon Crastinus, hee laeth a heauie doome.

Dij tibi non mortem, quæ cunctis pœna paratur, sed sensum post fata tua dent Crastine morti. Cuius torta manu commisit lancea bellum, primaque Theffaliam Romano sanguine tinxit.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Cæsar preaceth hard after the Enemie, and taketh the Campe.

Cæsar.



Pompeis souldiers being thus forced to flie into their Campe, Cæsar, thinking it expedient to giue them no time of respite, exhorted the Armie to vse the benefit of Fortune, and to assault the Campe: who, notwithstanding the extreame heate (for the busines was drawne out untill it was high noone) were willing to vnder-goe any labony, and to yeeld obedience to his commandements. The Campe was industriously defended, by the Cohorts that had the guard thereof; but much more stoutly by the Thracians, and other succours of Barbarous people. For, such souldiers as were fledde thither out of the battell, were so terrified in mind, and spent vvith vvearinesse, that most of them (hauing laid aside their Armes, and Military Ensignes) did rather thinke how they might best escape, then to defend the Campe. Neither could they which stood vpon the Rampier, any longer indure the multitude of weapons; but fainting with vvounds, forsooke the place: and presently fledde into the high Mountaines adioyning vnto the Campe; being ledde thither by the Centurions, and Tribunes of the souldiers.

In the Campe were found tables ready laid and prepared with linnen, together with cupbords of plate, furnished & set out; and their Tents strewed with fresh hearbes and rushes: and that of Lentulus, and diuers others, with laie, & many other superfluities, discovering their extreame luxurie and assurance of victorie. Whereby it was easily to be conceiued, that they nothing feared the event of that day; being so carefull of such vnneccessary delights. And yet for all this, they vpbraid Cæsars patient and miserable Army, with riot and excess: to whom there were alwaies wanting such requisites, as were expedient for their necessary uses.

Pompey, when as our men were come vvithin the Campe, hauing got a horse, and cast away all Ensignes of Imperiall authoritie, got out at the Decumane gate, and made towards Larissa, as fast as his horse could cary him. Neither did hee stay there: but with the same speede (hauing got a few followers that escaped by flight) posting night & day, came at length to the Sea-side, with a troope of thirre horse; and there went aboard a ship of burthen: complaining that his opinion

only

only deceiued him; being (as it were) betrayed, by such as beganne first to flie: from vvhom hee hoped chiefly to haue had victorie.

OBSERVATIONS.

WHere-as it is said, that a dilatorie course is very profitable and safe; wee are to vnderstand it as a chiefe and maine point, in the dutie of an Embassadour, to temporise in things which are preferred hard vpon him; as being accountable for words and time: but no way charged with expeditions of warre. Wherein Protraction is oftentimes the interrupter of absolute victorie, and the onely supplanter of that which is desired. *Vincere scis Hannibal, sed victoria vti nescis*, was a common by-word, and happened then well for the state of Rome. But now it fell out otherwise; hauing met with one that knew how to conquer, and how to follow victorie to purpose.

For, notwithstanding the battell hee had fought, and the aduantage hee had thereby got, might haue seemed sufficient for one daies labour, yet hee would not let occasion passe, without taking the benefit that was then offered; and neuer ceased, untill he had forced the Campe, and ouer-taken those that escaped the battell: and so made victorie sure vnto him, by driuing the naile home to the head. In regard whereof, he did not vnfitly vse for his word or Motto, they call it, *Μηδὲν ἄρα καλλώτερον*. BY. DEFERRING. NOTHING.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Cæsar besieged those that were escaped into the Hills.



Cæsar, hauing got the Campe, instantly required the souldiers not to looke after pillage and booty, and let slippe the meanes of ending the rest of their busines: which, after hee had obtained, hee began to inclose the Hill about vvith vvorks of fortification. They of Pompeis partie, distrustful the place, for that the Hill had no water, left it at an instant. And all those that were partakers of that fortune, made towards Larissa. Which Cæsar observing, diuided his forces, and commaunded part of the Legions to remaine in Pompeis Campe, and part he sent back into his owne: leading foure Legions along vvith him, he tooke a neerer way to meet vvith them; and hauing gone sixe miles, he imbattelled his forces. Which they perceiuing, betooke themselves vnto a high Hill, vvnder vvich ranne a Riuer.

Cæsar, perswaded the souldiers, albeit they were spent vvith continuall labor all that day, and that night was now at hand, yet they would not thinke it much,

to

Præliet tanta res dilatio. Diony. Halic. lib. 8. Non committuntur legatis irremis aut loca, aut legiones, aut arces: sed verba et tempora. Demost. de falsa legatione.

1 Labor in negotio, 2 fortitudo in periculo, 3 industria in agendo, 4 celeritas in efficiendo, were Cæsars properties.

Cæsar.

to cut off the Riner from the Till by a fortification, to keepe them from watering in the night. Which worke being perfected, they beganne by Commissioners to treat of conditions of yielding themselves. Some few of the Senators escaped in the night-time away by flight.

Cæsar, as soone as it was day, caused them all to come downe from the Hill into the Plaine, & there to cast away their Armes: which they performed without refusall: And casting themselves vpon the earth, their hands spread abroad, with shedding of many teares, desired mercie. Cæsar, comforting them, commaunded they should stand vp: and hauing spoken somewhat touching his clemencie, a little to ease them of their feare, he gaue them all their liues with safetie; commanding the souldiers not to hurt any of them, nor that they should want any thing that was theirs.

These things being thus atchieued with diligence, hee caused other Legions to meet him from the Campe, sending those he had with him to rest themselves: and the same day came to Larissa. In that battaile, hee lost not above two hundred souldiers; but of Centurions, and other valiant men, hee lost thirtie. And Crastinus, fighting valiantly, was slaine (of whom wee formerly made mention) with a sword thrust into the face. Neither was that false which hee said as hee went to the battell: for, Cæsar was perswaded, that Crastinus behaued himselfe admirably in that fight, and did deserue as well of him as a man possibly could.

There were slaine of Pompeis Armie, about fiftene thousand: howbeit, there were of them that yielded themselves, about twentie-four thousand. For, such Cohorts as were in the Forts, did likewise yield themselves to Sylla: and manie fledde into the next Townes and Citties. Of Military Ensignes, there were brought out of the battell to Cæsar, one hundred and fourescore, with nine Eagles. L. Domitius, flying out of the Campe into the Mount, fainting for want of strength, was slaine by the horsemen.

OBSERVATIONS.



ND thus we see the issue of that battaile, and the victory which Cæsar obtained, at as cheape a rate as could be imagined: for, there were slaine twentie-three M. of the enemy, and as manie taken, by rendering themselves, with the losse of two hundred souldiers, and thirty Centurions; amongst who was Crastinus: whose death obliged Cæsar to make this honourable mention of his valour. But as it is obserued by Dionysius Halicarnassensis, *Non Deus quisquam se duobus, pro salute omniū qui certamen ineunt, sponsorem sistit: nec ea condicione imperium accepimus, ut omnes homines deuincamus nullo ex nostris amisso.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXV.

Lælius attempteth to block-in the Hauen at Brundisium: and Cassius fireth Cæsars shippes at Messine.

(..)



Bout the same time, D. Lælius came with his Nauie to Brundisium; and according as Libo formerly did, tooke the land in the mouth of the Port. And in like manner, Vatinius, Gouernour of Brundisium, hauing furnished and sent out certaine Skiffes, inticed out Lælius ships, and of them tooke a Galley, that was further shot out with two lesser shippes into the Straights of the Port: & also had disposed his Cavalry along the shore, to keepe the Mariners from fetching water. But Lælius, hauing the time of the yeere more fauourable and fitter for sayling, supplied his Armie with water from Corfew and Dyrrachium: neither could he be beaten off his designe, nor be driven out of the Port, or from the land, either with the dishonour of the shippes he lost, or with scarcitie and want of all necessaries, untill hee heard of the battell in Thessalia.

About the same time also, Cassius came into Sicilia, with the Nauie of Syria, Phœnicia and Cilicia. And, where-as Cæsars ships were diuided into two parts, Pub. Sulpitius, Prator, being Admirall of the one halfe, and lying at Vibone in the Straights: and M. Pomponius, Admirall of the other halfe at Messana; Cassius came first to Messana, and was arriued before Pomponius heard of his coming: by which meanes, he surprised him, distracted, and much amused, without any order or guardes. And finding a strong and fauourable wind, filled the shippes of burthen, with Roſin, Pitch and Towe, and like matter of firing: and sending them out to Pomponius Nauie, he burned all the shippes, being in number thirtie-five; amongst which there were twentie that had decks. By meanes whereof, they conceiued such a terrour, that albeit there was a legion in Garriſon at Messana, yet the Towne was hardly kept. And, but that certaine Messengers coming post, brought newes at the same instant of Cæsars victory, most men thought the Towne would haue bene lost: but the newes comming so opportunely, the towne was kept.

Cassius departed from thence, & went to Sulpitius fleet at Vibone; where the shippes being brought to shore, were there laid, for feare of the like danger, as formerly they had accustomed. Cassius, finding the wind good, sent in fortie shippes of burthen, furnished with matter to burne the Nauie. The fire hauing taken hold of both Cornets of the fleet, five of them were burned downe to the water. And as the flame beganne to be further caried with the wind, the souldiers of the old legions, which were left for the defence of the shipping, and were

of

Cæsar.

Constrata.

Random probo-
re, vnde ſerui-
to, vnde ſerui-
Dion. Halicarn.

lib.8.

of the number of them that were sicke, did not indure the dishonour: but getting aboard of their owne accord, put the shippes from the shore; and setting vpon Cassius fleet, tooke two Gallies, in one of the which was Cassius himselfe: but hee, being taken out, with a Shiffe fledde away. And furthermore, they tooke two Triremes: and not long after, certaine newes came of the battell in Thessalia, so that Pompeis-party believed it; for, before that time, it was thought to be but a thing giuen out by Casars Legats, & other of his friends. Where-vpon, Cassius departed with his Naue, and left those places.

OBSERVATIONS.

THE branches of a Tree doe receiue life from the stocke, and the stock is maintained by the roote: which being once cut a-sunder, there remaineth no life for stock or bough, leafe or branch. Accordingly it happened with this large-spread Partie; the roote whereof was then in Thessalia: and being broken a-sunder by the violence of Casars forces, it booted not what Lælius did at Brundisium, or Cassius, either at Messana, or Vibo. For, all the parts were ouer-throwne with the bodie: and the fortune of the battaile ouer-swaied other petite losses whatsoeuer beeing so powerfull, in the opinion of the world, *Vt quæ se fortuna, eodem etiam fauor hominum inclinat.* Or, as Lucan saith, *Rapimus, quod cuncta feruntur.*

Pompeius Tri-
gm. lib. 6.
lib. 8.

CHAP. XXXVL

Cæsar pursueth Pompey: who is slaine
in Egypt.

Cæsar.

Cæsar, setting all other things apart, thought it expedient for him to pursue Pompey, into what parts soeuer hee should betake himselfe, least he should raise new forces, and renewe the warre againe: and there-vpon, made forward every day, as farre as his Cavalrie was able to goe; commaunding one Legion to follow after by lesser iourneis. There was a publication made in Pompeis name at Amphipolis, that all the youth of that Prouince, as well Greekes, as Cittizens of Rome, should come to bee inrolled for the war. But it is not possible to discover, whether Pompey did it to take away all cause of suspicion, that he might the longer hide his purpose of flying away, or whether he went about by new leues, to keepe Macedonia, if no man preaced hard after him.

Howsoeuer, he himselfe lay at Anchor there one night. And calling vnto him his auncient Hosts and Friends, hee tooke so much money of them, as would defray his necessarie charges: and understanding of Casars comming, within a few daies he arrived at Mitylen, where hee was kept two daies with foule weather: and

and there, reinforcing his fleet with some Gallies he tooke to him, he went into Cilicia; and from thence to Cyprus. There hee understood, that by the generall consent of the Antiochians, and such Cittizens of Rome as were there residing, the Citadell was already taken to keepe him out: and that Messengers were sent about to those that were fled from his Party, into the bordering Citties, forbidding them to come to Antioche; for, if they did, they should hazard it with the danger of their heads. The like happened to L. Lentulus, who the yeere before was Consul; and to Pub. Lentulus, of Consular dignity: and to some other at Rhodes. For, as many as fled thither after Pompey, and came vnto the Island, were neither receiued into the Towne, nor into the Hauens; but were commanded by Messengers sent vnto them, to depart from thence, and forced to wey anchor against their will: and now, the fame of Casars comming, was spread abroad throughout all the Citties.

Where-vpon, Pompey, leauing off his purpose of going into Syria, hauing taken what money he found in Banke, besides what he could borrow of his priuate friends, and putting aboard a great store of Brasse for the use of warre; with eleuen thousand Armed men (which he had raised partly out of the townes, and partly had forced up, with Marchants, and such others of his followers, whom he thought fit for this busines) he came to Pelusium. There by chance was king Ptolomy, a child, within yeeres, with great forces making war against his sister Cleopatra; whom a few Months before, by meanes of his Allies and Friends, hee had thrust out of his kingdome: And Cleopatras Campe was not farre distant from his.

Pompey sent vnto him, that in regard of ancient hospitalitie, and the amitie he had with his Father, hee might be receiued into Alexandria; and that hee would aide and support him with his wealth and meanes, being now fallen into miserie and calamitie. But they that were sent, hauing done their message, beganne to speake liberally to the Kings souldiers, which Gabinus receiued in Syria, and had brought them to Alexandria; and vpon the ending of the warre, had left them with Ptolomey, the father of this child. These things being known, such as had the procuration of the kingdome, in the minority of the Boy, whether they were induced through feare of gaining the Armie, wherby Pompey might easily setke vpon Alexandria & Egypt; or whether despising his fortune (as for the most part, in time of misery, a mans friends doe become his enemies) did giue a good answer publicly to such as were sent, and willed him to come vnto the King: but, secretly plotting amongst themselves, sent Achilles, a chiefe Commander, and a man of singular audacitie, together with L. Septimius, Tribune of the souldiers, to kill Pompey. They, giuing him good words, and he himselfe also knowing Septimius to haue led a Company vnder him in the warre against the Pirats, went aboard a little Barke, with a few of his followers: and there was slaine, by Achilles and Septimius. In like manner, L. Lentulus was apprehended by commaundement from the King, and killed in prison.

V.

OBSER-

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

IF it be now demanded, Where was Cæſars deſire of Peace? and Why hee purſued not a treatie of Compoſition, at this time vwhen as his tale would haue been heard with gladneſſe, and any conditions of attonement very acceptable to the vanquiſhed? The anſwere is already made in the beginning of this Commentarie: That there was but one time of making peace: and that was, when both Parties were equall, which was now paſt; and Cæſar too farre gone, to looke back vpon any thing that might worke a reconciliation. The one was crept ſo high, and the other caſt downe ſo lowe, that they ſeemed not compatible in any Medium, although it were to the ſauing of the Empire. Howbeit, it is not denied, but that Pompey gaue great occaſion of theſe warres. For, Seneca ſaith; Hee had brought the Common-wealth to that paſſe, that it could not longer ſtand, but by the benefit of ſeruitude. And he that will looke into the reaſons of this conſuſion, ſhall find all thoſe *Cauſæ corruptentes*, which are noted by Ariſtotele to threaten the well-fate of a State, in the exceſſe of Pompeis exorbitance: for, hauing nothing in a Meane, hee held all his fortunes by the tenure of *Nimium*; and was ouer-growne, firſt, with too much honour: ſecondly, with too much wealth: thirdly, with too much power: whereby he exceeded the proportion of his fellow Citizens; and ſo blemiſhed the beautie of that State, whoſe chiefſt graces were in a ſiting equalitie. And, adding to theſe the conuulſions of feare, he made no difficultie to ingage Rome in a bloody warre; as hauing no other hope, but in the conſuſion of Armes.

It is ſaid, that at his arrivall at Mitylene, he had much conference with Cratiſſus, whom Tully mentioneth in his Offices: wherein, amongſt other remonſtrances, the Philoſopher made it plaine, that his courſe of gouernment, had brought a neceſſitie of changing that State, from the liberty of a Common-wealth, to the condition of a iuſt Monarchie. And ſith it fell to Cæſars fortune, if there were any error committed in the ſeizure, he may take the benefit of the generall pardon, exemplified by Trebellius Polia: That no Nation can ſhew a Man that is altogether blameleſſe.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Oncerning the ſtate of Egypt, wee are to note, that Alexander the Great being cut off by death, his Captaines laid hold vpon ſuch Provinces and kingdoms as were vnder their commaunds: amongſt whom one Ptolomeus, the ſonne of Lagus a Macedonian, ſeized vpon Egypt, where he reigned 40 yeres; & of him were all his ſucceſſors called by the name of Ptolomy. This firſt Ptolomy, poſſeſſed himſelfe of Egypt, about the yeere of the world 3640: which was 275 yeres before Pompeis ouerthrow. His ſon that ſucceeded, by the name of Ptolomey Philadelphus, cauſed the Bible to be tranſlated out of Ebrew into Greeke by 70 Interpreters, which are called the *Septuagint*; and made the famous Librarie which was burned in theſe vvarres.

The Father of this young Ptolomey, was the ninth in ſucceſſion from the firſt; and at his death, made the people of Rome Tutors to his children. His eldeſt

Pompeius re-
legit Kenaphe:
vbi ſubito eſſe non
coſſet, niſi bene-
fici ſeruitutis. 5
de bonis. 16.
5 Polit.

Nel nimium co-
pato, was with
golden Letters
at Delphos.

In ſum bellum
eſſe ſis, quibus
inſum armis ſpe-
ciosa eſt. Ma-
cha.

Nuſquam Gen-
tium reperitur,
qua poſſit penitus
approbati.

eldeſt ſonne, and Cleopatra his daughter, reigned together ſixe yeres; but in the end, fell to ſtrife and warres, and were deeply ingaged therein, when Pompey arrived: but ſhortly after, Cæſar to ordered the differences, that hee ſette the Crowne vpon Cleopatras head; who held it peaceably, vntill he came to play that tragical part with Anthony: which beeing ended, the kingdom was then reduced to a Province, vnder the obedience of the Romaine Empire.

Concerning this miſerable end of Pompey, it is truly ſaid of Seneca, that Death is alike to all: for, although the waies are diuers by which it happeneth, yet they all meet in the ſame end. And, forasmuch as Plutarch hath deſcribed particularly the manner of this Cataſtrophe, it ſhall not be impertinent to inſert his relation thereof.

When Pompey heard newes that king Ptolomy was in the City of Peluſium with his Army, making warre againſt his ſiſter, hee went thither, and ſent a Meſſenger before, vnto the king, to aduerſe him of his arrivall, and to intreat him to receive him. K. Ptolomy was then but a young man, in ſomuch, that one Photinus gouerned all the whole Realme vnder him. He aſſembled a Councell of the chiefſt & wiſeſt men of the Court, who had ſuch credit & authority, as it pleaſed him to giue them. They being aſſembled, he commanded euery man in the Kings name to ſay his mind, touching the receiving of Pompey, whether the King ſhould receive him or not. It was a miſerable thing to ſee Photinus, an Eunuch of the Kings, and Theodotus of Chio, an hired Schoole-maſter to teach the young king Rhetoric, & Achilles, an Egyptian, to conſult among theſelues what they ſhould do with Pompey the great. Theſe were the chiefſt Councellors of al his Eunuches, & of thoſe that had brought him vp.

Now did Pompey ride at anchor vpon the ſhore ſide, expecting the reſolution of this Councell: in the which, the opinions of others were diuers, for, they would not haue received him; the other alſo that he ſhould be received. But the Rhetorician, Theodotus, to ſhew his eloquence, perſwaded them, that neither the one nor the other was to be accepted. For, quoth he, if wee receive him, we ſhall haue Cæſar our enemy, and Pompey our Lord: and if they do denie him, on the other ſide, Pompey will blame them for reſuſing him, & Cæſar for not keeping of him; theſe ſhould be the beſt reſolution, to ſend to kill him. For, theſe they ſhould win the good wil of the one, and not feare the diſpleaſure of the other: & ſome ſay moreover, that he added this mock withall, A dead man bites not. They, being determined of this among themſelues, gaue Achilles commiſſion to doe it. He, taking with him Septimius (who had charge afore-time vnder Pompey) and Salius, another Centurion alſo, with three or foure ſouldiers beſides, they made towards Pompeis Gallies, about whom were at that time the chiefſt of his traine, to ſee what would become of this matter. But, when they ſaw the likelihood of their entertainment, & that it was not in Princely ſhew nor manner, nor nothing answerable to the hope which Theophanes had put them in, ſeeing ſo few men come to them in a fiſher boat; they beganne then to miſtruſt the ſmall account that was made of them, and counſelled Pompey to returne backe, and to launch againe into the ſea, beeing out of the danger of the hurling of a Dart.

Mors omnium
par eſt: per que
perit diuerſa
ſunt, id in quod
deſinit vni eſt.
Epiſt. 67.
Hominis ſunt
poma, aut matura
cadunt, aut
acerba ruunt.
Plutar. in vita
I. Pompei.

In the meane time, the fisher-boat drew neer, and Septimius roke, and saluted Pompey in the Romane tongue, by the name of Imperator, as much as so-ueraigne Captaine: and Achilles also spake to him in the Greek tongue, and bade him come into his boat; because that by the shore-side, there was a great deale of mud, & sand banks, so that his Galley should haue no water to bring him in. At the very same time, they saw a farre off diuers of the Kings Gallies, which were arming with all speed possible, & all the shore besides, full of soldiers. Thus, though Pompey & his company would haue altered their minds, they could not haue told how to haue escaped: and furthermore, shewing that they had mistrusted them, then they had giuen the murderer occasion to haue executed his crueltie. So taking his leaue of his wife Cornelia, who lamented his death before his end, hee commaunded two Centurions to goe downe before him, into the Egyptians boat, & Philip, one of his slaues enfranchised, with another slaue, called Scynes. When Achilles reached out his hand to receiue him into his boat, he turned him to his wife and sonne, and said these verses of Sophocles vnto them;

*The man that into Court comes free,
Must there in state of bondage bee.*

These were the last words he spake vnto his people, when hee left his owne Galley, & went into the Egyptians boat, the land being a great way off from his Galley. When he saw neuer a man in the boat speak friendly vnto him, beholding Septimius, he said vnto him; Me thinks, my friend, I should know thee, for that thou hast serued with me heretofore. The other nodded with his head, that it was true, but gaue him no answer, nor showed him any curtesie.

Pompey, seeing that no man spake to him, tooke a little booke he had in his hand, in which hee had written an Oration, that hee meant to make vnto King Ptolomey, and began to read it. When they came neer to the shore, Cornelia, with her seruants and friends about her, stood vp in her ship, in great feare, to see what should become of Pompey. So, she hoped well, when she saw many of the Kings people on the shore, comming towards Pompey at his landing, as it were to receiue and honor him. But euen as Pompey tooke Philip his hand to arise more easily, Septimius came first behind him, and thrust him through with his sword: next vnto him also, Saluius & Achilles drew out their swords in like manner. Pompey then did no more but tooke vp his gowne with his hands, and hid his face, and manly abid the wounds they gaue him, onely sighing a little. Thus, being 59 yeeres old, hee ended his life the next day after the day of his birth.

They that rode at anchor in their shippes, when they saw him murdered, gaue such a fearfull cry, that it was heard to the shore: then weying vp their anchors with speed, they hoisted saile, and departed their way, hauing wind at will, that blew a lustie gale. As soone as they had gotten the maine Sea, the Egyptians which prepared to rowe after them, when they saw they were past their reach, and vnpossible to be ouer-taken, they let them goe. Then, hauing striken off Pompeys head, they threw his body ouer-board, for a miserable spectacle to all those that were desirous to see him.

Philip,

Philip his enfranchised bond-man, remained euer by it, vntill such time as the Egyptians had seen it their bellies full. Then, hauing washed his body with salt water, & wrapped it vp in an old shirt of his, because he had no other shift to lay it in, he fought vpon the sands, and found at length a peece of an old fishers boat, enough to serue to burn his naked bodie with, but not all fully out. As hee was busie, gathering the broken peeces of this boat together, thither came vnto him an old Romaine, who in his youth had serued vnder Pompey, & said vnto him; O friend, what art thou, that preparst the funeralls of Pompey the great? Philip answered, that he was a bond-man of his, enfranchised. Well, said he, thou shalt not haue all this honor alone: I pray thee yet let mee accompany thee in so deuout a deed, that I may not altogether repent mee to haue dwelt so long in a strange Country, where I haue abidden such misery & trouble; but that to recompence me withall, I may haue this good hap, with mine owne hands to touch Pompeys body, and to help to burne the onelic and most famous Captaine of the Romaines.

The next day after, Lucius Lentulus (not knowing what had passed) comming out of Cyprus, sailed by the shore-side, and perceiued a fire made for funeralls, and Philip standing by it: whom he knew not at the first. So hee asked him, What is hee that is dead, and buried there? but straight fetching a great sigh, alas, said he, perhaps it is Pompey the great. Then he landed a little, and was straight taken and slaine. This was the end of Pompey the great. Not long after, Cæsar also came into Egypt, that was in great warres; where Pompeis head was presented vnto him: but he turned his head aside, and would not see it; & abhorred him that brought it, as a detestable murderer. Then, taking his Ring where-with he sealed his Letters, wherupon was grauen a Lyon holding a sword, he burst out a weeping. Achilles and Photinus he put to death. King Ptolomey himselfe also, being ouerthrowne in battaile, by the Riuer of Nilus, vanished away, & was neuer heard of after. Theodotus, the Rhetorician, escaped Cæsars hands, and wandered vp and downe Egypt in great misery, despised of euery man. Afterwards, Marcus Brutus (who slew Cæsar) conquering Asia, met with him by chance, and putting him to all the torments he could possibly deuise, at the length slew him. The ashes of Pompeis bodie, were afterwards brought vnto his wife Cornelia; who buried the in a towne of hers, by the Citie of Alca.

And, hauing in this manner paid the tribute which the law of Nature doth exact, the law of the Twelue Tables did free his Sepulchre from any further disturbance; *Vbi corpus demortui hominis condas sacer esto.* Onely this may be added; That as Fabius was called Maximus, Scipio Magnus, and Pompey Magnus, which titles they caried, as markes of speciall Noblenesse, to raise the aboute the comon worth of men: so their ends made them euen with the lowest of the State. According to that of Seneca; *Intervallis distinguimur: exitu æquamur.*

V 3.

CHAP.

*More Nature
lex est. Mortu-
orum officium
que mortuorum.
Sine, natural.
quest. 6.
Fabius dicitur
Maximus, Sci-
pio magnus. Po-
licanus lib. 8.
Epist. 100.*

CHAP. XXXVII.

Prodigious Accidents, happening vpon the
'Battell in Pharsalia. Caesar commeth
into Egypt.

This that fol-
loweth, bee-
meth of ano-
ther stile.



Caesar, coming into Asia, found T. Ampius going about to take the money out of the Temple of Diana, at Ephesus: and for that cause had called together all the Senators that were in the Prouince, that hee might vse them as witnesses in the matter; but, beeing interrupted by Caesars arriuall, hee fled away: so that two severall times, the money was saved at Ephesus by Caesars means. It was further found very certaine, that in the Temple of Minerva at Elide (a iust calculation of the time beeing taken) the same day that Caesar over-threw Pompey, the Image of victorie which stood before Minerva & looked towards her portrature, did turne it selfe towards the Portall, and the Temple-gate. And the same day likewise, there was such a noise of an Armie, twice heard at Antioche in Syria, and such sounding of Trumpets, that the Cittie ranne in Armes to keepe the walles. The like happened at Ptolomaida. And likewise at Pergamum, in the remote and hidden places of the Temple, which are called adyta, into which it is not lawfull for any man to enter but the Priests, were belles heard to ring. Besides, at Tralibus, in the Temple of Victory (vvhich they had consecrated an Image to Caesar) there was shewed a Palme-tree, which in these daies was growne from betwene the ioynts of the stones, out of the pavement.

Caesar, staying a few daies in Asia, hearing that Pompey was seene at Cyprus, and coniecturing he went into Egypt, for the amities and correspondencie hee had with that Kingdome, besides other opportunities of the place, he came to Alexandria with two legions, one that hee commaunded to follow him out of Thessaly, and another vvvhich he had called out of Achaia, from Eufus a Legate, together with eight hundred horse, ten Gallies of Rhodas, and a few ships of Asia. In these Legions, were not above three thousand two hundred men; the rest, were either wounded in the fights, or spent with trauell, and the length of the journey: but Caesar, trusting to the fame of his great exploits, did not doubt to go with these weak forces, thinking enery place would entertaine him with safetie.

At Alexandria hee vnder stood of Pompeis death: and as hee was going out of the shippe, he heard a clamour of the souldiers, which the King had left to keepe the towne, and saw a concourse of people gathered about him, because the bundle of Rods was caried before him; all the multitude crying out, that the Kings authority was diminished. This tumult being appeased, there were often vp-roares and commotions of the people for enery day after; and many souldiers were slain in diuers parts of the Cittie. Where-vpon, Caesar gaue order, for other Legions to be brought him out of Asia, which he raised and inrolled of Pompeis souldiers.

He

The Priests of
Egypt saide,
That whenoe-
uer the Axe and
the bundle of
Rods, came in
to Alexandria,
the power of
their Kings
should present-
ly cease: accord-

He himselfe was slaid by the winds, called Etesiae, which are against them that saile to Alexandria.

In the meane time, forasmuch as he conceived, that if controuersies between Kings, did appertaine to the people of Rome, then consequently, to him, as Consul; and so much the rather it concerned his office, for that in his former Consulship, there was a league made by the decree of Senate, vvith Ptolomey the Father: In regarde hereof, he signified, that his pleasure was, that both the king and his sister Cleopatra, should dismisse their Armies, and rather plead their Cause before him, then to decide it by Armes.

There was at that time, one Photinus an Eunuch, one that had the administration of the kingdome, during the minoritie of the Child; he first began to cōplain among his friends, and to take it in scorne, that the King should be called out to plead his Cause: and afterwards, hauing gotten some assistance of the Kings friends, he drew the Armie secretly from Pelusium, to Alexandria, and made Achilles (formerly mentioned) General of all the forces; inciting him forward, as well by his owne promises, as from the King, and instructing him by Letters & Messengers, what he would haue done.

Ptolomey, the Father, by his last Will and testament, had left for heires, the eldest of two sonnes, and likewise the eldest of two daughters: and for the confirmation thereof, had in the same Will, chargea and required the people of Rome, by all the gods & the league he made at Rome, to see this accomplished. For which purpose, he sent a copy of his Will to Rome, to be kept in the Treasury: and by reason of the publicke occasions, which admitted no such business for the present, were left with Pompey, and the Originall, signed and sealed vp, was brought to Alexandria.

While Caesar was handling these things, being very desirous to end the controuersies by arbitrement, it was told him on a suddaine, that the Kings Army, and all the Cavalry, were come to Alexandria. Caesars forces were not such that he durst trust vpon them, to haue a battell without the towne; onely it remained, that he kept himselfe in such places, as were most fit & conuenient for him, vvithin the towne, and to learne what Achilles intended. Howsoeuer: he commaunded all the souldiers to Arme; and exhorted the King, that of those which were nereest vnto him, and of greatest authority, hee would send some to Achilles, to knowe his meaning.

Dio Corides and Serapion, beeing deputed there-vnto, hauing bene both Embassadors at Rome, and in great place about Ptolomey the Father; they came to Achilles: whom as soone as they were come into his presence, & before he would heare or vnderstand what they would, commaunded them to be taken away, and slaine. Of whom, one hauing receiued a wound, was caried away by his own people for dead. The other was slaine out-right. Wherevpon, Caesar wrought to get the King into his owne hands; thinking that his Name & Title would preuaile much amongst his people: as also to make it appeare, that this warre was rather mooued by the priuate practice of some seditious thienes, then by order & commandement from the King.

ding as it was
written in a Co-
lunne of gold,
at Memphis.

OBSERVATIONS.

Lib. 2. Epist. 8.

THe multiplicitie of occasions and troubles, which happen to such as haue the ordering of any businesſes of import, doth make that of Plinie often remembered: *Veteribus negotijs noua accreſcunt, nec tamē priora peraguntur; tot nexibus, tot quaſi Catenis, maior in dies occupationum agmen extenditur.* For, albeit Pompey had now ſpent his malice, and was no more to appeare in Armes againſt Cæſar: yet his hap was by flying, to draw him (as it were by way of reuenge) into a place, where hee was neceſſarie to be intangled in a dangerous warre.

Lib. 15. cap. 18.

To theſe prodigies here mentioned, may be added that of Aulus Gellius, that The ſame day the battell happened, there fell out a ſtrange wonder at Padua: where a certaine Prieſt, called Cornelius, of Noble race, and holie life, ſuddainlie fell into an extraſie, and ſaid, he ſaw a great battell aſſare off; Darts and Piles ſie thick in the ayre, ſome flying, and ſome purſuing, great ſlaughter, accompanied with many lamentable groanes and cries: and in the end, cried out, that Cæſar had got the victorie. For which, he was mocked for the preſent; but, afterwards, held in great admiration.

Lib. 5. cap. 9.

Plinie maketh the ſmall increaſe of Nilus, to bee a fore-teller of Pompeis death; *Minimumque Phariſico bello veluti necem magni prodigio quodam ſumme auerſante.*

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Cæſar landeth his forces, taketh Pharus, and cauſeth Ptoſinus to be ſlaine.



THE forces that were with Achilles, were neither for their number, or ſaſhion of men, or uſe or experience in war, to be contemned, hauing twentie-two thouſand men in Armes. Theſe troops conſiſted of the Gabinian ſouldiers, which were now growne into a cuſtome of life and liberty of the Egyptians: and hauing forgot the name and diſcipline of the people of Rome, had there married wuiues, and moſt of them had children. To theſe were added ſuch as were gathered from the thieues and robbers of Syria, the Province of Cilicia, and other ſinitimate Regions: beſides many baniſhed men, and others, condemned to die, that fledde thither. And for all our fugitiues, there was euer a ſure and certaine receipt at Alexandria, and a certaine condition of life: for, vpon giuing vp of his name,

he

he was preſently inrolled a ſouldier: and if one chanced to be taken and apprehended by his Maſter, hee was preſently reſcued by the conſcure of ſouldiers; vwho, being all in the ſame condition, did ſtrive for him, as for theſelues: theſe required the Kings friends to be ſlaine. Theſe were accuſtomed to rob rich men of their goods to better their pay, to beſiege the Kings houſe, to expell ſome out of their kingdome, and to ſend for others home, according to an old cuſtome and priuiledge of the Alexandrian armie.

There were, beſides, two thouſand horſe, that had beene of auncient continuance in many of the warres held at Alexandria, and had brought back Ptoſomey the father, and reſtored him to his kingdome; had ſlaine Bibulus two ſons, and had made warre with the Egyptians: and this uſe and knowledge they had of vuarre. Achilles, truſting to theſe forces, and contemning the ſmall number of Cæſars troopes, did take and poſſeſſe Alexandria; and further, aſſaulting that part of the towne which Cæſar held with his men, did firſt of all endeavour to breake into his houſe: but Cæſar, hauing diſpoſed the cohorts in the ſtreets & waies, did beare out the aſſault. At the ſame time, they fought likewiſe at the Port, and it came at length to a very forcible encounter: for, hauing drawne out their troopes, the fight began to be hot in diuers ſtreets and lanes; and the Enemy (in great troopes) went about to poſſeſſe themſelues of the Gallies, of which there were L. found there, that were ſent to ſerue Pompey, and returned home againe after the battell in Theſſalia. Theſe were all Triremes, and Quinquere-mes, rigged, and ready to goe to ſea.

Beſides theſe, there were twenty-two, which were alwaies accuſtomed to bee the beſt, for the defence of Alexandria, and were all furniſhed with decks: which if they had taken, together with Cæſars ſhipping, they would haue had the Hauē and the Sea at their commaund; and by that meanes, hindered Cæſar from ſuccours and prouiſion of victuall: in regard whereof, they fought hard on both ſides; Achilles expecting victory, and our men for their ſafetie. But Cæſar, obtained his purpoſe: and becauſe he was not able to keepe ſo many ſeueral things with ſo ſmall forces, he ſet them all on fire, together with thoſe that were in the Road, & preſently landed ſome ſouldiers at Pharus; which is a tower in an iſland, of a great height, & built with ſtrange workmanſhip, taking that name from the iſland: this iſland lieth ouer againſt Alexandria, and ſo maketh it a Hauē. But former Kings had enlarged it 9 hundred paſes in length, by raiſing great mounts in the Sea: and by that meanes, had brought it ſo neere to the towne, that they ioynted them both together with a bridge.

In this iſland dwelt diuers Egyptians, and made a Village, of the bigneſſe of a Towne: and what ſhippes ſoeuer had fallen off their courſe, either by tempeſt or error, were there robbed by theſe Egyptians. For, by reaſon of the narrow entrance, no ſhippes can come into the Hauē, but by the fauour and leaue of them that hold Pharus. Cæſar, being afraid of this, while the Enemy was buſie in fight, landed his ſouldiers, tooke the place, and there put a garriſon. Whereby he brought it to paſſe, that both come and ſuccours might ſafely come by ſea to ſupply him: for, he had ſent to all the conſining Regions for aide. In other places of the towne they ſo fought, that they gaue ouer at length vpon equall conditions: which

which happened by reason of the narrowness of the passages: And a few of each side being slaine, Caesar tooke in such places as were most conuenient for him, & fortified them in the night. In this quarter of the Towne, was contained a little part of the Kings house (wherein, hee himselfe at his first arriual, was appointed to lodge) and a Theater ioyned to the house, which was in steed of a Castle, and had a passage to the Port, and to other parts of Road. The daies following, he increased these fortifications, to the end he might haue them as a wall against the enemy, and thereby need not fight against his will.

In the meane time, the younger daughter of King Ptolomey, hoping to obtaine the Crowne, now in question, found meanes to conuay herselfe out of the Kings house, to Achilles, and both ioynly together, undertooke the managing of that warre: but presently there grew a controuersie between the, who should command in Chiefe; which was the cause of great largesse and rewards to the souldiers, either of them being at great charges and expences to gaine their good wills.

While the Enemy was busied in these things, Photinus, the Governour of the young King and Superintendent of the kingdome on Caesars partie, sent Messengers to Achilles, exhorting him, not to desist in the business, or to bee discouraged. Vpon the discouering and apprehension of which Messengers, Caesar caused him to be slaine. And these were the beginnings of the Alexandrian warre.

OBSERVATIONS.

Pharus is a little Island in the Sea, ouer-against Alexandria; in the midst whereof, Ptolomey Philadelphie built a tower of an exceeding height, all of white Marble. It contained many Stages, and had in the toppe many great Lanternes, to keepe light in the night, for a marke to such as were at Sea. The Architector ingraued there-vpon this inscription; *Sofrates Gnidiem, the sonne of Dexiphanes, to the Gods, Conseruators, for the safety of Nauigators.*

It was reckoned for one of the seauen Wonders of the world. The first whereof was the Temple of Diana, at Ephesus. The second, was the Sepulchre which Artemisia, Queene of Caria, made for her Husband, Mausolus, whose ashes she dranke. The third, was the Collossus of the Sunne, at Rhodes. The fourth, was the Walls of Babylon. The fift, was the Pyramides of Egypt. The sixt, was the Image of Iupiter Olympian, at Elide, which was made by Phidias, and contained three-score cubites in height; and was all of luorie, and pure Gold. And the seauenth, was this Pharus.

F I N I S.

ERRATA.

Page.	Line.	Faults.	Corrections.
41	2	Ensignes	ensignes.
125	25	uncapable	uncapable.
133	30	ergo	ego.
150	3	sopken	spoken.
205	19	they	as they.

THE MANER OF OVR MODERNE TRAINING, OR TACTICKE PRACTISE.

FOR as much as my purpose was to make this taske of Observations as a paralel to our moderne Discipline, I did not thinke it fit to mingle the Tacticke Practise of these times with the vie of foregoing ages, but rather to shut vp these Discourses therewith, as the second line of this warlike paralell, which is thus drawne in the best fashion of moderne Art.

In the knowledge of marshalling an Armie, there is nothing more especially to be regarded, then that from a confused companie of men, hauing chosen the fittest for the warres, we should so place and digest a conuenient number of them, that in marches, in incamping, in battels we may be able with a few well ordered to incounter a farre greater armie in confusion, and to ouerthrow them. From hence *AENEAS* did define the Art of warre, to be the knowledge of warlike motions.

Before this vnexpert armie shall be able to be moued in such fashion, it shall not be amisse to acquaint it with the most vsuall termes, wherewith they shall be often commanded into diuerse postures as occasion shall be offered. For as in the art of Fencing, no man shall be able to turne and wind his bodie for his best aduantage to offend his enemie, or defend himselfe, vnlesse first his maister shall instruct him in the seuerall parts and postures thereof: so euery souldier or the whole troope as one bodie, or one souldier shall neuer be readily instructed to transforme or turne it selfe by diuerse motions into different formes, vnlesse they first vnderstand what is meant by Fronts and Flanckes, by Files and Ranckes, what by Leaders and Followers, by Middlemen and Bringers vp. By this meanes each souldier vnderstanding what the terme doth signifie, shall readily both apprehend and execute such commandements as the Captaine or Officer shall direct them.

A File is a certaine number of men following singly one Leader vnto the depth of 3 or 10, as they shall be commaunded. The auncients haue called this File *Seriem*, *ordinationem*, or *decuriam*: it consisteth of Leaders and Followers, placed according to their worth and valor: and especially there ought to be regarded, the Leader or *Decurio*, the fifth, sixth or Middlemē, & the tenth

A File.

130	THE MANER OF OVR
<i>The Leader.</i>	<p>and last called the Bringer vp or <i>Tergiductor</i>. First therefore every souldier being aptly fitted vnto his severall armes according to his worth, age and stature, they are to be disposed into severall files, wherein every one is especially to acknowledge his leader or foremost man to be the author of all his motions, and therefore ducly attending what directions shall be commaunded, each follower shall according to the motions of his leader or foremost man, order his owne; and is to be excused if he attend the motions of his leader before he moue himselfe.</p>
<i>A Ranke or Front. Battalion.</i>	<p>When many files are thus disposed together, all the leaders making one and the same front, and their followers observing likewise one and the same proportion of distance before, and after, and on each side; these Files thus ioyned make one Battalion, the front whereof is called a Rancke, and so likewise the second and third in depth, according to the number of men in each file. The first, second and third, and so forward in each file, are called Sidemen in respect of the same numbers in the next file. Neither must every souldier onely regard the motions of their Leader, but he must also diligently respect his sidemen, and such as shall be placed on his right and left hand called his ranckes: so that both in files and ranckes he may alwaies be found in the same distance wherein he is commaunded.</p>
<i>The number of souldiers in a Battalion uncertaine. The length.</i>	<p>It should be impertinent to the purpose to prescribe a certaine number of souldiers vnto these Battallions, onely thus much for the proportion: that it ought neuer to exceed so much, but that it may easily vpon any occasiō be changed into such a forme or fashion to fight, as may be thought fittest for the present. The length of this Battallion is diversly termed amongst the Latines, as <i>Front, Facies, Adstructio, iugum, &c.</i> but in our moderne practise, most familiarly the Front or Rancke.</p>
<i>Breadth or depth.</i>	<p>The breadth of the Battallion, which is from the leader to the bringer vp with the distance betweene all the followers, is said to be the length or depth of one file or rancke.</p>
<i>Dignities in places to be observed.</i>	<p>In the disposing of souldiers into files and ranckes, besides their observing a rightline in their places and standing, we must likewise especially respect the different worth and qualitie of the souldiers, that every one according to his worth may be fited vnto his proper place, and accordingly receive advancement, as the death of his Leaders, and true value of his desert by his Commander shall give occasion.</p>
<i>The first ranke</i>	<p>First therefore there must be especiall choice made of the leaders of each file, or first front or ranckes of the Battallion, of the most expert, ablest and best armed men: because that as from them the rest are to receive directions of their after motions: so in them the greatest hope of the day doth consist.</p>
<i>The bringers vp or Tergiductores or last ranke.</i>	<p>Next vnto the first it must be provided, that the bringers vp or last rancke called <i>Tergiductores</i> be litle inferior, well experienced, wise and valiant, that they may both know when to reprehend their former Ranckes, and vge the forward, if they see them declining or yielding vpon false occasions, as also to be able vpon any sudden alarme given in the reare, to turne faces about and make themselves a Front for the best resistance.</p>
	Neither

MODERNE TRAINING.	131
<p>Neither must it be neglected concerning the second and ninth ranckes, that they also may be furnished with the next most sufficient men, both because of their nearnesse vnto daunger, as also that if their leaders or bringers vp shall either be slaine or disabled by wounds, they may presently succeed in their places and make them good.</p>	<i>The second & ninth ranckes.</i>
<p>There is also a good decorū to be observed in the middlemen, or fift and sixt ranckes, both for the men themselves and their armes, that in our marches when the middlemen or sixt ranckes shall be called vp to front with their leaders, they may in some sort and proportion answer their places, as also when we double our front by calling vp middlemen to fight in a greater breadth, they may not be vnfitable: but especially in marches, that they may be able to make the best resistance, when they shall become the flankes of the Battallions.</p>	<i>The fift and sixth ranckes.</i>
<p>As these respects ought to be observed in ranckes, so the files also are not without their different degrees of dignitie. As the leader of the right hand file is accounted to haue the first place of honour in the Battallion: for he doth not onely leade the rest in his owne file, but he is the author and beginner of the motions of the whole Battallion.</p>	<i>Files. The right hand file.</i>
<p>The leader of the left hand file hath the next place, because that he with the leader of the right hand file do alwaies in their marching and imbatelling rectifie or rancke the whole front of the battallion: & so consequently all the next of their files as they stand in order, euen vntill the middle, who are accounted the last in dignitie.</p>	<i>The left hand file.</i>
<p>The Battallion being thus disposed into files and ranckes, and each file and rancke according to his worth and experience rightly advanced: it followeth that there should be a iust distance proportioned betweene either, that at all times vpon all occasions, they might be found readie, and in comeliest fashion, either to offend their enemy, or defend themselves. These distances which every follower must observe in respect of his leader: and every leader and follower in respect of the sidemen, may be reduced vnto three severall Orders, as followeth.</p>	<i>Distances betweene files and ranckes.</i>
<p>The first is called open Order; the distance whereof is twelue feete betweene every follower and his leader, or betweene every ranke; and sixe feete betweene them and the sidemen, or betweene every file. This order is commonly vsed vpon marches when the enemy is knowne to be farre off, as also in priuate exercising of souldiers for their severall managing of their armes. It differeth somewhat from the <i>Ordinatus Miles</i> amongst the <i>Romaines</i>, who alwaies observed but foure cubits in files and ranckes.</p>	<i>Open order.</i>
<p>The second distance is called Order, when we contract the battallion both in length and breadth, and gather the souldiers within a nearer scantling both in files and ranckes, that is, by observing fixe feete in their files betweene the follower and leader, and three feete betweene the ranks or sidemen. This distance is vsed when we march toward an enemy neare at hand, or in marches by reason of the opportunitie of the place suspiciously dangerous. This is also neare vnto <i>Densatus ordo</i>, but onely that that was but two cubits in both files</p>	<i>Order.</i>
f 2	

and ranks.

*Cloſe order,
pouldron to
pouldron.*

The third & laſt order, is when either we attend the enemy his preſent aſſault, or that we intend to charge him vpon our ſecureſt and beſt diſtance, when e- uery follower ſtandeth three ſeete or his rapier length behind his leader, and a foote and a halfe from the ſidemens or files; or when every ſouldier occupieth but one foote and a halfe for his owne ſtation, ioyning pouldron to pouldron, or target to target. This differeth from *Conſipatus ordo*, becauſe that alloweth but one cubit for files and ranks, and this cloſe order alloweth one cubit in the file, but two in the ranks.

*The maner of
charging with
ſine ranks.*

This diſtance doth agree alſo beſt with the length of our pikes of 15 or 16 feet long. For it is thought fit oftentimes that the battallion conſiſting of ten ranks, there ſhould not charge more at one time then the 5 formoſt, ſo that the pikes of the fiſt ranke might be three ſeete ouer the formoſt ſhoulder, and the other ſiue ranks ſhould in this cloſe order or nearer if it be poſſible, follow the other charging, with their pikes advanced, vntill ſome occaſion ſhould require their charge. In the meane time they ſhould perſorme their dutie in keeping the ſiue formoſt ranks from retiring, and beſides adde ſtrength vnto the charge or ſhocke.

The maner of exerciſing of compoſed Battallions with their different motions.



HE files and ranks being thus vnderſtood, diſpoſed and or- dered, and all parts and members of the battallion being ioyned in their iuſt proportion and diſtance, able and fir to be altered vpon any ſodaine occaſion (as if it were but one entire body) into ſeueral and diuers poſtures, and to make reſiſtance vnto what forces ſoeuer ſhall oppugne the ſame: it might be thought needleſſe to haue made the diſpoſition of the members ſo exact, vnleſſe by continuall practice and exerciſe they might be made nimble and ready, not only to defend themſelues and their whole body on all ſides, but alſo to be able to offend whenſoeuer they ſhall eſpie the leaſt occaſion of aduantage.

The termes of direction or commaund, which are commonly vſed in this moderne diſcipline of martiall exerciſe, as they are not many, onely anſwering to the different poſtures which are required in the Battallion, ſo they are and muſt be ſhort and perſpicuouſly plaine, that by this means being ſodainly vttered, eaſily apprehended and vnderſtood, they may as ſpeedily be put in execution by thoſe which ſhall be commaunded.

*Stand in ſer.
In are to ſtare.*

Fiſt therefore that the Battallion may be commaunded into ſome one ſa- ſhion or poſture, from whence it ſhall be fit to conuert it ſelfe into all other, the Capitaine or Officer ſhall bid them ſtand in front. When every particular ſouldier compoſing himſelfe after his foremoſt leader, ſtandeth comely in file and rancke, fronting vnto ſome certaine place, or to the Capitaine, as ſhall be thought beſt for the preſent.

In

In this and all other directions whatſoeuer, it ſhall be eſpecially obſerued, that every follower attending what is commaunded, marke his next leader, and accordingly moue himſelfe, as he ſhall ſee him moue firſt.

The Battallion therefore thus fronting, if the enemy ſhould ſuddenly ei- ther aſſault the right or left ſlancke, it ſhall be commaunded to turne faces to the right or left hand, when every ſouldier obſeruing his leader ſhall turne his face and make his ſlancke his front according to the direction.

There is alſo a doubled motion or declination to the right or left hand, when every ſouldier obſeruing his leader ſhall turne their bodies twiſe to the right or left hand, and by that means become turned with their faces where their backs were, as if they expected an enemy in the rere, or being to per- forme ſome other motion that may be offered: beginning this alteration from the right or left hand as ſhall be commaunded.

As every particular ſouldier in the troope is thus commaunded at ſometimes to turne his face to the right or left hand, or about, the Battallion ſtanding in or- der, that is, according to the diſtance before named; ſo the whole Battal- lion being reduced into their cloſe order, is commaunded to turne as one body to the right or left hand. It is performed thus: imagine the Battallion ſtand fiſt in order, it ſhall be commaunded that they cloſe their files to the right hand; when the right file ſtanding ſtill, the reſt turning their faces to the right hand, march into their cloſe order & returne as they were: next that they cloſe their ranks from behind, when every follower marcheth forward to his leader vnto his rapiers point as is ſaid before. This done, (the leader of the right file ſtanding immoveable) all the reſt (as the body of a ſhip or a great gate) turne about that leader, as about the hinge or center, every one keeping the ſame diſtance and order wherin they were firſt placed, as if they were but one entire body.

When the ſame Battallion is to be reſtored into the ſame ſtation wherin it was firſt, it is commaunded; Faces about to the left hand, and march into your order from whence you were cloſed. Then let your leaders or firſt ranks ſtand ſtill, and the reſt turning faces about, march ranks in order as before: then turn as you were, and you are reſtored.

When the whole Battallion being in their cloſe order ſhould turne about & make the Rere the Front, it is done by a double turning or declination, and commaunded to wheele about, which is anſwerable to the former faces about or mutation.

There is alſo another wheeling in this ſort, when the front changeth the af- ſpect thrice; for as wheeling about maketh the Front the Rere, ſo this wheeleth from the right hand to the left, or contrariwiſe: which faſhion is ſo ſeldome v- ſed, that we ſcarce afford it a name.

In all ſuch motions and alterations, it is moſt fit that all men perſorme their directions with their pikes advanced, being in that fort moſt eaſie to be com- maunded, as alſo leſſe troubleſome to their followers and leaders.

*Faces to the
right or left
hand.*

*Declinate in ha-
ſtam vel in ſcu-
tum.*

*Faces about
to the right or
left hand.*

*Duplicata decli-
natio or mutatio*

*Wheele to the
right or left
hand.*

*Conuerſio in
haſtam vel ſcu-
tum.*

As you were.

*Reſolutio.
Reuerſio.*

Wheele about

Inflexio militi.

Reflexio.

Countermarching Files and Ranks.

THere is also another meanes to prevent the enemy his assaulting vs in the reare or flanke, left he should find our worst men least able to make resistance; and this is performed by countermarching both files and ranks three diuers wayes apeece.

The first was vsed by the Macedonians, after this fashion: First the leader turneth his face about towards the right or left hand, and so the next follower marching behind his leader turneth also, and so the third and fourth, vntill the bringer vp haue caried himselfe out into a new place in the reere further from the enemy, as he was before next vnto him. But this neither was nor is accounted safe or secure, because it doth somewhat resemble a flying or running away from the enemy, which might giue him no small incouragement, and therefore it is not much in practise.

Only at some times, the bringers vp marching throughout beyond the leaders, vntill they possesse the same space before them which they did behind them, all turning their faces about, make their leaders to affront the enemy, who were before farthest from them.

The Lacedaemonians vsed the contrarie, as it were pursuing the enemy: the bringer vp first being turned face about, and so the next marching before him, and so the third, vntill the leader himselfe became also turned, and in the foremost front vnto the enemy. Which with vs is somewhat otherwise, but yet both affronting, and as it were pursuing the enemy: because our leaders first begin this motion, and so countermarching through on the right or left hand, become in the front in a new space of ground, who were before in the reere.

The third and last was inuented by the Persians, whom when the place or neare approach of the enemy would not suffer to change their ground, they were wont to countermarch the front to the right or left hand: & being come vnto the depth of the bringers vp, to stand still vntill the other halfe file had likewise marched forth, and fallen vpon their leaders in euery file. In all these it is especially commaunded, to march still in the same distance, and by whole ranks, to prevent confusion, which (especially the enemy at hand) must needs be most dangerous, and therefore carefully to be auoided.

In like sort the ranks may countermarch, when either the right wing would be strengthened by the left, or the left by the right, alwayes marching by whole files towards the right or left hand, according as they shall haue the direction, either changing the ground, or vpon the same ground, as in the former countermarches.

There is vsed also another kinde of strengthening both the front and flanke when occasion shall be offered, vz. by doubling either files or ranks. And this, either by doubling the number of souldiers in the same files or ranks, keeping still the same breadth and depth of ground, or else by doubling the ground keeping the same number of souldiers. The files are doubled, when the second file shall insert it selfe into the first, the leader thereof putting him-
selfe

*Files.**From the reere through.**Euolutio Macedonica.**From the front through.**Laconica euolutio.**From the front and stand.**Chorica euolutio.**Countermarching of ranks.**The doubling of files to the right or left hand.*

selfe a follower vnto the leader of the first, and the next follower follower to the next in the first file, and so forwards. And likewise the fourth file inserting it selfe into the third, and the sixth into the fifth. And this is to be performed when the Battallion standeth in his order.

To double the place or depth, is when the same number of men shall put themselves out of their order into their open order, either by aduancing forward, or by falling backwards, as they shall be commaunded.

The ranks are doubled two manner of wayes, either by inserting the second into the first to the right or left hand, as before in the files; or else (the enemy being at hand) by ioyning whole troopes together to the right or left wing, according as occasion shall be offered: and this is held to be the safest when the enemy is neare, to auoid confusio. It is performed either in the same ground, or by doubling the ground, when either we desire to exceede the front of our enemy his battallion, or to prevent lest we our selues be included. The termes to both are, Double your files or ranks to the right or left hand: and when you would haue them returne againe into their proper places, it is commaunded; As you were.

The ordinarie directions which are especially giuen in these martial exercises are, first that no man in the time of exercising or marshalling shalbe lower then his Officer: but euery one attending to his place, when he is commaunded, shall diligently hearken to such directions as shall be giuen. The Captaine in the front shal speake, and the Sergeants in each flanke shal giue the word vnto the Lieutenant or Ensigne in the reere: who as in his proper place, seeth all things executed accordingly as the Captaine shall commaund. It shall be vnpossible to performe any thing herein, vnlesse first euery one do exactly obserue his leader and his sideman: and to this purpose it is often commaunded, Keep your files, Keep your ranks.

Of Marches.

IN champions there needs no great labour to marshall particular troopes for their after marches: because they may march either by whole diuisions, obseruing onely their course of indifferencie, that euery diuision may euery third day haue the vanguard; or else in such forme and fashion as the Generall hath proposed for a day of battell, according as the danger of an expected enemy shall giue occasion. But because all countries will not afford a champion for the marching of an armie, and therefore not possible to march farre with many troopes in front, nor many files of any one troope or diuision, by reason of often straights, and passages betwixt hilles, woods, or waters. It is provided, though by long induction, the whole armie shall be extended into a thinne length and few files, yet the souldiers well disposed shalbe as readily able to defend them selues and offend the enemy on their flanks (from whence only in such streights the danger is eminent) as if they were to affront an enemy with an entire battallion in a champion country.

*By men.**Duplicate altitudinem.**By ground.**Doubling of ranks by inserting or adding new troopes.**Duplicate longitudinem.**Side to side kept.**In a champion.**In streights or narrow passages.*

*How to march
shall a diuision
for such a
march.*

First therefore a diuision or Battallion being ordred and drawne before the Quarter, into one euen front of iust files, ten in depth; the muskettiers equally diuided on the right and left flanks of the pikes, all standing in their order, that is to say, fixe feete distant in files and ranks; the Capitaine carefully provideth, that the first, fifth, sixth and tenth ranks be alwayes well filled and furnished with his most able and best armed souldiers. Which done, he commaundeth first the middlemen or halfe files to come a front with their leaders, so that the diuision becommeth but siue in depth. Next he commaundeth to turne faces to the right or left hand, as direction shall be to march from that quarter: and so the whole diuision resteth readie in his fashion to march siue in front, the one halfe of the muskettiers in the vanguard & the other in the rere, the pikes in the battell, and both flanks well furnished with the ablest and best men to offend or defend as there shalbe occasion: that is to say, the right flanks with the first and fifth ranks, and the left with the sixth and tenth ranks. If occasion afterwards shall be giuen of a halt in a champion or before the quartering, the Capitaine commaundeth first vnto all, (they being first closed into their order) Faces as you were; next vnto the halfe files, Faces about, & march out, and fall againe vpon your files. By which meanes the diuision becometh againe reduced into the same front and fashion from whence it was first transformed, readie to encounter an enemy, or to be drawne into the Quarter.

*To reduce the
again into
their first
front.*

*The manner
of charging
pikes with
pikes.*

*Five ranks
only.*

*By the whole
depth.*

*To charge
with musket-
ters.*

*There must
not be too many
in a ranke.*

In the retreat.

When pikes are to charge pikes in a champion, it vseth to be performed two seueral wayes: first the whole diuision being commanded into their close order, the siue first ranks charging their pikes, euery follower ouer his leaders shoulder directeth his pike as equally as he can, and the first ranke shall haue three feet of his pike ouer the formost shoulder. The other siue ranks with their pikes aduanced follow close vp in the rere, either readie to second the formost, or to be employed in the rere as occasion shall be offered. Otherwise and most vsuall, when the whole depth of the files throughout the diuision shall charge together, all fast locked and vnited together, and therefore most able to make the strongest shooke offensiu or defensiu: provided alwayes that none mingle their pikes in others files, but the whole file one in anothers shoulder.

In charging with muskettiers, it is obserued no way convenient that there should be too many in a ranke, or that the ranks should be too long. For the first ranke is commanded to aduance ten paces before the second, and then to discharge, and wheeling either to the right or left hand, falleth into the rere; and so the second aduancing to the same distance, dischargeth and wheeleth as before; and likewise the third, and so forward as long as the Officer shall be commaunded. Which shal not so well be performed the ranks being extraordinary long, because it will require so long a time to wheele from the front that the second may succeed, vnlesse by direction the ranke may diuide it selfe the one halfe to the right hand and the other to the left in wheeling to the rere.

In the retreat the whole ranks hauing turned their faces about, are to march three or foure paces forward, their chiefe officer coming in the rere, first commaundeth the last ranke to make readie and then to turne faces about and discharge, and wheele about to the head or front of the diuision: and being

clearly

clearly passed the next ranke to performe as much: and so the rest in order.

Where the passages are narrow, and the diuision can not come to charge in front, as betweene two waters or woods, the manner of charging is different, for there being siue or ten files led in the induction, that file which flanketh the enemy dischargeth first onely, & the rest marching continually forwards, it standeth firme vntill the last ranke be passed, and then sleueth it selfe on the left flanke and makes readie; and so the second file and the third, so long as the enemy shall continue, there being a continuall discharging by files as before by ranks. Vnlesse it be in the pases of Irelād, meeting with an irregular enemy, where they vse to intermingle their files of shot with pikes, that the one may be a defence for the other, when the enemy shal come vp to the sword, as they vse there verie often.

*The manner of
charging by
files in nar-
row passages.*

*In the pases
of Irelād.*

How directions are deliuered in the warres.

ALL directions in the warres haue euer bene deliuered either by signes such warlike instrument. Concerning those visible signes displayed into the souldiers, the falling of mists, the raising of dust, showers of raine and snowe, the beames of the Sunne, hillie, vneuen and crooked passages, by long experience haue found them to be most doubtfull and vncertaine; as also because as it was a matter of great difficultie to inuent different signes vpon all sodaine occasions, so it is almost an impossibilitie, that the common souldier (who oftentimes is found scarce capable of the vnderstanding of plaine words distinctly pronounced) should both apprehend and vnderstand sodainly, and execute directly the true sense and meaning of his Commanders signes.

By signes.

The Drumme & Trumpet are yet vsed, but because many different sounds are not easily distinguished in souldiers vnderstanding without some daunger of confusion, we onely command by the inarticulate soundes, to arme, to march, to troope, to charge, and to retreat: with all which seuerall notes the souldier is so familiarly to be acquainted, that so soone as he heares them beaten, he may be readie sodainly to put them in execution, as if he heard his Capitaine pronouncing as much.

*By drumme
or trumpet.*

The directions by word of mouth are infinite, according to the different occasions which shall be offered; yet alwayes with this caueat, that they be short, yet perspicuous, without all ambiguitie, and plainly pronounced, first by the Capitaine, then deriued by the Sergeants through the diuision or Battallion. Though infinite, yet the most vsuall are these: To your armes: Keepe your files, keepe your ranks: Follow your leader: Leaders looke to your files: Keepe your distance: Faces to your right hand: Faces to your left hand: Close your files: Close your ranks: Stand as you are: As you were: Faces about to the right hand: Wheele about to the right or left hand: Double your ranks: Double your files: Leaders countermarch through to the right or left hand: Leaders countermarch to the right or left hand and stand: Middlemen

*By word of
mouth.*

*The most vsu-
al directing
termes in ex-
ercising a bat-
talion or diuiso*

come forth and fall vpon your leaders. Besides many fit termes commanded in managing particular armes, as pikes and muskets, which are omitted.

And this much touching the *Tactick* practise of our moderne warres, which I haue the rather added in regard that diuerse soldiours, as vnacquainted both with the manner and the value thereof, do thinke a heape of people vn-martialled, to be as available for a great designe, as any other number distinguished in files and parts, and disposed for facill and easie motions, according to the powerfull circumstances of time and place. Wherein, howsoever the practise of the Turke and the Hungarian may seeme to giue warrant to that opinion, yet the vse of Armes amongst the Grecians and the Romaines, whose conquering armies are pregnant witnessers of the excellencie of their military discipline, shall speake sufficiently for order and *Tactick* motion as most necessarie partes in a well ordered warre.

There are diuerse faults escaped in printing, as it often falleth out in such works, which the Reader may be pleased to amend.

FINIS.

